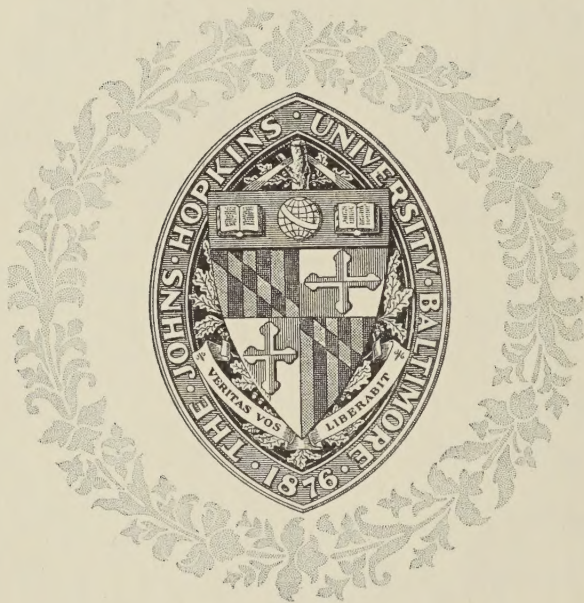


THE DIAL
OF
PRINCES
1557.









Gift of

Mr. Lawrence Gardiner

Gift of Mr. Lawrence Gardner

T. & S. Club

Thomas North second son of Edward first
Lord North by Alice daughter of Oliver Squyer
of Southby near Portsmouth.

He was knighted

married 1 Elizabeth daughter of ... Colwell,
and relict of Robert Rich who died s.p. -

2 ... widow of Bridgewater doctor
of civil law by whom he had issue Edward
North who married Elizabeth daughter
of Thomas Wren of Hadnam in the Isle
of Ely.

Diall of Princes first Edition 1557

second Ed. "nowe newly revised and
corrected by hym [T.N.] reformed of
fautes escaped in the first Edition: with an
amplification also of a fourth booke annexed
to the same, Entitled The favoured Courtier,
never heretofore imprinted in our vulgare
tongue. Lond. by R. Tottel - 1582. 4°.

The morall Philosophie of Doni drawne out of the auncient
writers. a worke first compiled in the Indian tongue, and
afterwardes reduced into diuers other languages: and now
lastly englished out of Italian by Tho. North. Lond.
by Henry Denham 1570. 4°. (Ded. to Rob. Dudley Earle
of Leicester.

The diues of the noble Grecians and Romanes compared to-
gether by that graue learned Philosopher and Historiogra-
pher Plutarchus of Chæroneæ. Translated out of Greeke into
French by James amiot &c and done into English by Tho.
mas North. Lond. Pr by Richard Field for Thomas
Wright 1595. Folio.

This had been licensed to Vautrollier & Wright in 1579.
Herbert p. 1071

The writing on the other
side is that of
Dr. Bluff — — Malcom

FO 2326
N6 D53
1857 QR

Luzara, Antonio de
" The Bird of Paradise. 1857.

To the Mooste hyghe and

vertuose Princesse, Mary, by the grace of G D D,

QVENE of Englande, Spaine, Fraunce, both Sicilles, Ierusalem,

Naples, and Irelande. Defendour of the faith, Archiduchesse of

Ausria, Duchesse of Burgundie, Mylaine, and Brabante,

Countesse of Haspource, Flaunders, and Tyroll.

Longe health and perpetuall

felycitie.



THE Deuine philosopher Plato, mooste gracious soueraigne Lady, traualinge all his lyfe time to abolishe the barbarous maners of the Gretians, and to induce a ciuile forme of liuing amonge the people: ordeined a lawe to the greate comforte of those that folowed vertue, and no lesse to the terrour of others that haunted vices. The vvliche commaunded, that not onely those, vvliche broughte in, or inuented any nevv thinge that mighte either corrupte the good maners; violate the aunciente customes, hinder throughe euill example good liuinge, impoison vvith erronious doctrine the consciences, effeminate vvith voluptuous pleasures the heartes, impouersishe vvith vnprofitable marchaundise the people, or diffame through malicious vvordes the renovvmes: shoulde be (as vnprofitable membres) from the common vveth expelled and banished: but also ordeined, that those vvwhich studied to publishe any institution, apperteininge, eyther to the honoure of the Goddes, to the reformation of the frayltie of men, or by any other meane, to the profit of the vveale publike, shoulde be condignlye of the common vvealth entertained, preferred, and honoured. Then, if this lawe vvhere iust, mooste gracious souereigne Lady (as it is mooste iuste in dede) vvho deserued more honourable enterテインement amonge the liuinge, or vvho meriteth a vvorthier fame amonge the deade, then Don Antony of Gueuara, the Auctor hereof: For by his stayed life, God hath bene glorified, by his holsome doctrine, the people of Spaine, heretofore edified, and by his svvete and vvritinges, vve (and sundrye other natyons) at thys presente maye be muche profited. The vvhyche thoughte they are all pythy and full of hyghe doctrine: yet this entituled *Los relox de principes*, aboue the rest (in my opinion) is most profounde

A

and

Handwritten marginal note in a cursive script, likely a library or ownership mark, partially legible as "Nonnulli leges hanc..."

THE EPISTLE.

pleasaunt. For yf the zeale that I beare to his vvorks deceiue not my adgement, there is no Auſtor (the ſacred letters ſet aparte) that more effectually ſetteth out the omnipotencie of God, the frailty of men, the inſtancie of Fortune, the vanity of this vvorlde, the miſerie of this life, and finally that more plainely teacheth the good, vvhiſhe mortal men ought to purſue, and the euil that al men ought to flye: then this preſent vvorke doth. The vvhiſhe is ſo ful of highe doctrine, ſo adourned vvith auncient histories, ſo auctorized vvith graue ſentences, and ſo beautified vvith apte ſimylitudes: that I knowve not vvhoſe eyes in redynge it can be vvried, nor vvhoſe eares in hearinge it not ſatiſfied. Conſidering therefore (moſt gracious ſoueraigne Ladye) that this vvorke maye ſerue to hygh eſtates for counſell, to curious ſerchers of antiquities, for knowvledge, and to all other vertuous gentlemen for an honeſt, pleaſaunte, and profitable recreation, and finallye that it maye profite all, and can hurte none: I (according to my ſmal knowvledge and tender yeares) haue reduced it into oure vulgare tongue, and vnder your graces name haue publiſhed it for the commodity of many. Moſt humbly beſeching your highnes to accept in good part (according to your graces accuſtomable goodnes) this my good vvil and trauayle: vvhiſhe here I offer as a pledge of my bounden duty to vvardes your hyghnes, and alſo as a perperual memory of the ſeruent zeale I beare to my coun- trey. And in ſo doinge your grace ſhal not onely encourage me, beinge yonge, in theſe my firſt fruytes: but alſo others, (peradventure) of more ripe yeres, to attempt the like enterpriſe, by the vvhiſhe the deuine maieſtie may be immortally glorified, your puiſaunt name vvorthely magnified, your royal parſon duely obeyed, and al your graces natural, and louinge ſubiectes greatly profited.

At Lincones Inne the. 20. of Decembre.

Your highnes moſt humble and loyall ſubiecte,

Thomas North

The Generall Prologue

vpōn the Booke entytled, the Diall of Princes, With the
famous booke of MARCVS AVRELIVS, Compyled by the
reuerende ffather in God, Don Antony of Gueuara, Byshop
of Guadix, Confessor, and Chronicler, of Charles the fyfte,
Emperour of Rome, to whom, and to all other
Princes and noble men, this worke
was directed.



POLONIVS THIANEVVS, disputinge with the Schol-
lers of Hiarcas, saide, that amonge all the affectiōs of nature, nothing
is moze naturall, than the desire, that all haue to maintayne their lyfe.
Besydes that, the auncient Philosophers are agreed in their disputa-
tions, we also our selves dayly se it by experience, that to lyue, men doe
trauaile, to lide, birdes do fly; to liue, fishes do swim, and to lyue beas-

tes do hide them selves. Finally I say, there is no liuing creature so brutish, that hath not
a naturall desier to lyue. And albeit many of the auncient Paynens so lytle esteemed their
lyfe, that of their owne free willes, they offered them selves to death: yet they did not this, for
that they dyspyled lyfe: but because they thoughte that for their lytle regardynge lyfe, wee
would highly esteeme their fame. For asmuche as men of haute courages seeke rather to
win a longe durynge fame, than to saue a shORTE lastynge lyfe. The euyl willes, that men
haue to die, are easely sene, by the great paynes they take to lyue. For it is a naturall thing
to all mortall men, to leaue their lyues with sorowe, and take their dethe with feare. Ad-
mytte that all do taste this corpozall death, and that generally, both good, and euyl do dye:
yet notwithstandinge, there is great difference, betwene the death of one, and the death of
another. If the good desyre to lyue, it is for the greater desire they haue to do good: but yf
the euyl desier to liue, it is for that they woulde abuse the worlde longer. For the childe-
ren of vanitie, call no tyme good, but that wherē they liue accordynge to their owne desires.
I let ye vnderstande, that are at this p̄sent, and ye also, that shall come hereafter, that I
direct my wyrtynge vnto those, which embrace vertue, and not vnto those, that are bozne a
way with vice. God doth not way vs as we are, but as we desier to be. And let no man say,
I woulde, and can not be good: for as we haue the audacitie to commit a faulte, so (yf we
lyfe) we may enforce our selves, to worke amendes. All our vndoing procedeth of this, that
we all outwardly make a shewe of vertue, but inwardly in dede, we employe our power
to vyce, whiche is an abuse, where with all the worlde is corrupted, and decestred. For hea-
uen, is not furnysshed but with good dedes, and hell is not replenished but with euyl de-
sires. I graunt, that neither man, nor beaste, desiroth to die, but all trauaile to thende they
may liue. But now I aske the this queston, What doth it auayle a man, to desyre his lyfe
to be prolonged, if that it be wicked, vngoodly, and defamed? The man, that is high minded,
proude, vnconstante, cruell, dydoinefull, enuious, full of hatred, angry, malicious, full of
wyath, couetous a lier, a glutton, a blasphemur, and fit all his doynge disordred, why wyl
we suffer him in the worlde? The lyfe of a poore man, that for nede steleth a gowne, or any
other small trifle, is forth with taken away, why than is he, that disturbeth a whole comyn

The generall

wealth, left alvne: I would to god, there were no greater theues in the world, than those,
 whiche robbe the tempozall goodes of the ryche, and that we did not winke continually at
 them, whiche take alwaye the good renoume, as well of the riche, as of the poore. But we
 chastice the one, and dissemble with the other, the whiche thing is evidently sene, how the
 thesse that stealeth my neighbours golwne is hanged forthwith, but he that robberth me
 of my good name, walketh still before my doore. The deuine philosopher Plato, in the first
 booke, that he made of lawes, saide. We ordaine and comaunde, that he that bleseth not him
 selfe honestly, and hath not his house well resourmed, his riches wel gouerned, his family
 well instructed, and lyueth not in peace with his neighbours, that vnto him be assigned
 tutors, whiche shall gouerne him, as a foole, and as a vacabonde, shalbe expulsed from the
 people: to thintent, the common wealthe be not throughte him infected. For there is neuer
 * contention, nor strife in a common wealthe, but by suche men, as arre alwayes out of or-
 der. Truly the deuine Philosopher Plato had greate reason in his sayenges, for the man
 that is vitious of his personne, and dorhe not trauaile in thinges touching his house, nor
 heapeh his family in good order, nor lyueth quietly in the common wealthe, deserveth to
 be banished, and deliuen oute of the countrey. We see, in dyuerse places, many madde men
 tied, and bound faste, which if they were at libertye, would not doe suche harme, as those,
 which dayly walke the streates, at their owne willes, and sensualitie. There is not at this
 tyme, so greate, or noble a Lord, nor Lady so delicate, but had rather suffer, a blowe on the
 * heade with a stone, than a blot, in their good name, with an enill tonge. For the wounde of
 the heade, in a moneth or twoe, may wel be healed: but the blemmishe of their good name,
 during life, wil neuer be remoued. Laertius saith, in his booke of the life of philosophers,
 that Diogenes (being asked of one of his neighbours, what they were, that ordeined the
 lawes:) answered in this wise. Thou shalt vnderstand, my friend, that the earnest whole
 desire of our forefathers, and all the intention of the Philosophers was, to instructe them
 in their common wealthe, howe they oughte to speake, how to be occupied, howe to eate,
 how to slepe, how to treate, how to apparail, how to trauaile, and how to rest: and in this,
 consisteth all the wealthe of worldely wysedome. In deede, this Philosopher in his an-
 * swere, touched an excellent pointe, for the lawe, was made for no other cause, but to bridel
 him, that liueth without reason or lawe. To men, that will liue in rest, and without trou-
 ble in this life, it is requisite, and necessarye, that they chose to them selves, some kind, and
 maner of lyuinge, wherby, they maye maintayne their house in good order, and confirme
 their liues, vnto the same. That estate ought not to be, as the folie of their parson dothe de-
 sire, nor as maye be most pleasaunte, to the delightes of the bodye: but as reason teacheth
 * them, and god commaundeth them, for the surer saluacion of their soules. For the children
 of banitie, embrace that onely, which the sensuall appetite desireth, and reiecte that, which
 reason commaundeth. Sence the time that trees were created, they alwayes remayninge
 in their first nature, vntil this present day, doe beare the same lease, and frute, which thins-
 ges are plainly seen in this, that the date tree, beareth dates, the figge tree, figges; the nut
 tree, nattes, the peare tree, peares, the apple tree, apples, the chesnutte tree, chesnuttes, the
 Oke, acornes, and so conclude: I saye, all thinges haue kepte their firste nature, saue
 onely, the sinful man, which hath fallen by malice. The planettes, the starres, the heauens,
 the water, the earthe, the ayer, and the fier: the brute beastes, and the fishes, all continue
 in the same estate, wherin they were firste created, not complaininge, nor enuieng one the
 other. Man complaineth continually, he is neuer satisfied, and alwaies desireth, to chaunge
 his estate. For the sheperd would be a husbandman, the husbandman a squier, the squier a
 knight,

Prologue.

* Knight, the knight, a king, the king, an Emperour. Therfore I say, that felwe is the num-
ber of them that seke amendement of life: but infinite are they, that trauaile to better their
estate, and to encrease their goodes. The decaye of the common wealthe (at this presente)
through all the worlde is, that the dyre, and withered okes (which haue ben nourished vpon
* pon the sharpe mountaynes) would now seme to be daintye date trees, cherished in the
pleasaunt gardenes, I meane, that those which yesterdaie coulde haue ben pleased with
dyre acornes, in a poore cottage at home: at this daie wil not eat, but of delicate dishes, in
other mens houses abroad. What estate men oughte to take vpon them, to kepe their
conscience pure, and to haue more rest, in their life, a man cannot easely describe. For there
is no state in the churche of god, but men maye therein (if they will) serue god, and profite
them selues. For there is no kinde of life in the worlde, but the wicked (if they perseuer, and
continew therein) maye sclaunder their personnes, and also lease their soules. Plini in an
epistle y^e he wrote to Fabatus his frend, saith. There is nothing among mortal men more
common, and more daungerous, than to giue place to vaine imaginacions, whereby, a man
beleueth the estate of one, to be muche better, than the estate of an other. And hercof it pro-
cedeth, that the worlde dothe blinde men so, that they will rather seke that, which is an o-
ther mans, by trauaile, and daunger: than enioye their owne, with quiet, and rest. I saye
the state of Princes is good, if they abuse it not. I saye the state of the people is good, if
they behaue them selues obediently. I saye the estate of the rich, is good, if they wil godly
vse it. I saye the estate of the religious is good, if they be able to profite others. I saye the
estate of the communaltie is good, if they will content them selues. I saye that the estate of
the poore is good, if they haue pacience. For it is no merite to suffer many troubles, if we
haue not pacience therein. During the time of this our miserable life, we cannot denaye,
* but in every estate there is bothe trouble, and daunger. For then onely our estate shalbe
perfite, when we shal come gloriously in soule, and bodye, without the feare of death: and
also, when we shal reioyse without daungers in life. Returninge againe to oure purpose
(mightie Prince) although we al be of value litle, we al haue litle, we al can attaine litle,
we al know litle, we al are able to do litle, we all do liue but litle. Yet in all this litle, the
state of Princes semeth some great, & high thing. For y^e worldly men say, there is no such
felicitie in this life, as to haue authoritie to commaund many, & to be bounde to obey none.
But if either subiectes knewe, how dere Princes bye their power to commaund, or if Prin-
ces knewe, how swete a thinge it is, to liue in quiet: doubtlesse, the subiectes woulde pyt-
* their rulers, and the rulers, would not enuye, their subiectes. For full felwe are the plea-
sours, which Princes enioye, in respecte of the troubles, that they endure. Sithe then the
* state of Princes is greater than all, that he maye doe more than all, is more of value
than all, vpholdeth more than al, and finally that from thence, procedeth the gouernement
of al, it is more nedeful, that the house, the person, and the life of a Prince, be better gouer-
ned, and ordred, than all the rest. For euen as by the yarde, the marchaunte measureth al
his war: so by the life of the Prince, is measured the whole comon weale. Many sorowes
endureth the woman, in nourysshing a waywerde chylde, greate trauaile taketh a schole
maister, in teaching an vntowarde scholler, muche paine taketh an officer, in gouerninge
a multitude ouergreat: how great than is the paine, and perill, whereunto I offer my selfe,
in takinge vpon me to order the life, of such a one, vpon whose life, hangeth al the good
state of a common weale. For Princes and greate Lordes, oughte of vs to be serued,
* and not to be offended: we ought to exhorte them, not to bere them: we ought to entreate
them, not to defame them: finally I saye, that right simple reckon I that surgeon, which
a. ii. with

The generall

- * With the same plaisters he layed to a harde heele, seeketh to cure the tender eyes. I meane by this comparison, that my purpose is not to tell princes in this booke, what they be, but to warne theim, what they ought to be: not to tel them what they doe, but to aduise them, what they ought to doe. For that noble man, which wil not amende his lyfe, for remorse of his owne conscience, I doe not thinke that he wil amend it, for the writing of my penne.
- * Paulus diaconus the historiographer, in the seconde booke of his commentaries, sheweth an antiquitie, righte worthy to remember, and also, pleasaunt to reade. Although in dede, to the hinderance of my selfe, I shal reherse it. It is, as of the henne, who by longe scrappinge on the dongehil, discovereth the kniffe, that shall cut hir owne throte. Thus was the case, Hannibal, the most renowned captaine of Carthage (after he was bairnquished by thaduenturous Scipio) fled into Asia, to kinge Antiochus, a prince then liuing, of great vertue, who receiued him into his realme, tooke him into his protection, and right honourably entertained him, in his house. And certes, the king Antiochus did herein, as a pitefull prince, for there is nothinge, whereby Princes approue them selues more noble, than by succouring those which are noble, in their necessitie. These two princes bled of custome, ofte to hunte in the mountaynes, ofte to dyspozte theim in the fieldes, ofte to betwe theire armyes: But most of all, they wente to the schooles to here the Philosophers, And trulye they dyd like wyse and skilfull men. For there is no hower in a daye otherwise so wel employed, as in hearinge a wise pleasaunt tonged man. There was at that time in Ephesus, a famous philosopher called Phormio, which openly red, and taught, the people of that realme. And one daye as these princes came into the schole, the Philosopher Phormio, chaunged the matter, whereupon he red, and of a sodayne, began to talke of the meanes, and wayes, that princes ought to vse in warre, and of thozder to be kepte in geuing battayle. Suche, so straunge, and high phrased was the matter, whiche he talked of, that not onely they merueiled, which neuer before sawe him: but euen those also, that of longe time, had dayly hearde him. For herein, curious, and flourishing wittes, shewe their excellencye, in that they neuer wante freshe mater, to entreate vppon. Greatlye gloried the kinge Antiochus, that this Philosopher (in presence of this straunge prince) had so excellently spoken, so that straungers might vnderstand, that he had his realme stozed with wise men.
- * For, couragious and noble princes, esteeme nothing so precious, as to haue men balaunt, to defende their frontiers, and wyse, to gouerne their common weales. The king Antiochus demaunded of the prince Hannibal, how he liked the talke of the philosopher Phormio, to whome, Hannibal stoutely answered, and in his aunswere, shewed hym selfe to be of the same stoutnes, that he was the same daye, whan he wanne the greate battayle at Camas. For although, noble harted and couragious princes, lose all their estates, and realmes: yet they wyll neuer confesse their hartes to be ouerthrowen, nor bairnquished. And these were the wordes, that at that time Hannibal said. Thou shalt vnderstand king Antiochus, that I haue seen dyuerse dotting olde men, yet I neuer sawe a more dootarde foole, than Phormio, whom thou caulest such a great philosopher. For the greatest kinde of folly is, whan a man, that hath onely a litle baine science, presumeth to teache, not those which haue onely science, but also suche, as haue most certeine experience. Tel me (kinge Antiochus) what harte can brooke with patience, or what tonge can suffer with silence, to see a sely man (as this philosopher is) nourished all his life time, in a cozner of Grece, studieng philosophie, to presume (as he hath done) to talke before the prince Hannibal, of the affaires of warre, as though he had ben, either lord of Affrike, or captaine of Rome. Certes, he either sal litle knoweth hym selfe, or els but litle esteemeth vs. For it appeareth by

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and set in great authoritie. But if he come in the time of an other effeminate and co-
 uetouse pynce, he shall not be regarded at all. For he wil rather esteeme one, that will aug-
 mente his treasour at home: than him, that can baynquish his enemyes in battayle. So
 likewise it chaunserh to wise, and vertuous men, the which, if they come in the time of ver-
 tuous and learned pynces, are esteemed & honoured: But if they come in the time of bayne
 and vicious pynces, they make small accounte of theim. For it is an auncient custome a-
 monge vanities childezen, not to honoꝛ him, which is to the common wealthe mosse profits-
 table: but him, which to the pynce, is most acceptable. The ende why this is spoken (Most
 pufant Prince) is, because these two renoumed philosophers were in Grece bothe at one
 tyme, and because the deuine philosopher Plato, was so muche esteemed, and made of, they
 did not greatly esteeme the philosopher Demosthenes. For the emynente and highe res-
 noume of thone, dimynished the estimation (amonge the people) of the other, and especiall,
 whan they be bothe of one profession. Although Demosthenes was suche a one in dede,
 as we haue sayd, that is to witte, eloquente of tonge, ready of memoꝛye, sharpe and quicke
 of witte, in liuinge seuer, sure, and profitable in geuinge of counsaile, in renoume excel-
 lente, in yeares very aunciente, and in philosophie, a man righte well learned. Yet he re-
 fused not, to goe to the schooles of Plato, to heare moꝛall philosophie. He that shoulde reade
 this thing, or heare it redde, ought not to merueyle, but to folow it, and to profite likewise
 in the same, that is to vnderstande, that one philosopher learned of an other, and one wise
 man, suffered him selfe, to be taughte of an other. For, knowledge is of such a qualitie, that
 the moꝛe a man knoweth, dayly there encreaseth in him a desire to know moꝛe. Al thinges
 of this life (after they haue ben tasted, and possessed) cloyethe a man, wearyeth and trou-
 bleth him, true science only excepted, which neuer dothe cloye, wearye, nor trouble theim.
 And if it happen the werpe anye, it is but the eyes, which are wearied with lookinge, and
 readinge: and not the spytte, with seekinge, and tastinge. Many Lordes, and my familiare
 frendes doe tell me, and aske, how it is possible I shoulde liue with so muche studie. And
 I also theim, how it is possible for theim, to liue so longe in idelnes. For consideringe the
 prouocation & assautes of the flethe, the daungers of the world, the temptacions of the de-
 uil, the treasons of enemyes, & the importunities of frendes: what harte can suffer, so great,
 and continual trauaile, but onely in reading and comforting him selfe in bookes: Truly,
 a man ought to haue moꝛe compassion, of a simple ignorant man, than of a poore man.
 For there is no greater povertye vnto a man, than to lacke wisdom, whereby he shoulde
 knowe, how to gouerne him selfe. Therfoꝛe folowing our matter, the case was such. That
 one day Demosthenes (going to the schole of Plato) saw in the market place of Athens,
 a great assembly of people, which were hearing a philosopher, newly come vnto that place:
 and he spake not this without a cause, that there was a great cōpany of people assembled.
 For that naturally, the common people are desirous, to heare, new and strange thinges.
 Demosthenes asked, what philosopher he was, after whom so many people went: & when
 it was answered him, that it was Calistratus the philosopher, a man, which in eloquence,
 was very swete and pleasaunt, he determined, to staie, and heare him, to thende, he would
 know, whither it were true or vaine, that the people tolde him. For oftentimes it happeneth,
 that amonge the people, some get theim selues great fame, moꝛe by fauoure, than by good
 learninge. The difference that was betwixte the deuine Philosopher Plato, and Cal-
 listratus, was, in that Plato was exceedingly well learned, and the other very eloquent:
 and thus it came to passe, that in liuinge, they folowed Plato: and in eloquence of speche,
 they folowed Callistratus. For there are diuers men sufficientely well learned,
 which

The generall

* Whiche haue profounde doctrine, but they haue no waye nor meanes to teache it otheſe.
 De moſthenes, hearing Calliſtratus but ons, was ſo farre in loue with his doctrine, that
 he neuer after heard Plato, nor entred into his ſchole, for to harken to any of his lectures,
 at whiche newes, diuerſe of the ſages of Grecia, marvelled muche, ſeing that the tonge
 of a man was of ſuche power, that it had put all their doctrine to ſylence. Althoughe I
 applye not this example, I doute not but you vnderſtande to what ende I haue declared
 it. And mozeouer I ſaye, that althoughe Princes haue in their chambers bookes ſo well
 corrected, & men in their houſes ſo wel learned, that they maye worthely keape theſtimate
 ſto; which Plato had in his ſchole, yet, in this caſe it ſhould not diſpleaſe me, that the diſ-
 ference, that was betwene Plato, and Calliſtrate, ſhould be, betwene Princes, and this
 booke. God forbidd, that by this ſayeng men ſhould thinke, that I meane to diſſwade Prin-
 ces, from the companie of the ſage men, or from readinge of anye other booke but this,
 for in ſo doinge, Plato ſhould be reſected, which was deuine; and Calliſtratus embraced,
 which was moze worldly. But my deſyre is, that ſoſtime they would uſe to reade this boke
 a little, for it may chaunce, they ſhal finde ſome hoſſoe counſaile therein, which at one time
 * or other, may profite them in their affaires. For the good & careful princes, ought to graſſe
 in their memozy, the wiſe ſaiengs which they reade, & forget the cankered iniuries, which
 to them are done. I do not ſpeake it without a cauſe, that he that readeth this my writing,
 ſhal finde in it ſome profitable counſaile. For al that which hath ben writen in it, hath ben
 in euery worde, and ſentence, with great diligence ſo wel weyed, and corrected, as if therein
 onely conſiſted all the hoole matter. The greateſt grieſe, that learned men feele in their
 writinge, is, to thinke, that if there be many that biewe their doings, to take profite ther
 by, they ſhal perceiue that they are as many moe, which occupy their tonges, in the ſclaunder
 and diſpraiſe thereof. In publiſſhing this my wooke, I haue obſerued the maner as
 they do, that plant a newe gardein, wherin they ſet Roſes, whiche glue a pleaſaunt ſauour
 to the noſe, they make faire grene plattes, to deliyght the eyes, they graſte fruitful trees, to
 be gathered with the handes, but in the ende, as I am a man, ſo haue I writen it for men,
 * and conſequently, as a man I may haue erred, for there is not at this day ſo perfite a pain-
 ſer, but another will preſume to amende his wooke. Thoſe whiche diliy gently will ende-
 uour themſelues to reade this booke, ſhal finde in it very profitable counſailles, very ly-
 uely lawes, good reaſons, very notable ſaiengs, ſentences very profound, woꝝthy exam-
 ples, & hiſtoꝝies very aunciente. For to ſaie the trouthe, I had a reſpecte in that the doctrine
 was auncient, and the ſtile newe, not for that onely, becauſe it ſhould be giuen to a prince,
 whiche is a greater Lord, Kinge, and Emperour, than any other, and that I, amonge all
 his other ſubiectes, am one of the leaſt, yet he ought not for my baſe condicion, to diſdayne
 to caſt his eyes vppon this, nor to thinke ſcoꝝne to put that thing in prooſe, which ſemeth
 * good. For a good letter, oughte to be nothing the leſſe eſtmed, although it be wyrtten with
 an euil penne. I haue ſaide, and will ſaye, that princes and great Lordes, the ſtonter, the
 richer, & the greater of renoume they be, the greater neede they haue of men, of good know-
 ledge aboute them, to counſell them in their affaires, and of good bookes, whiche they may
 reade: and this they ought to doe, aſwel in proſperitye, as in aduerſitye, to the ende, that
 * their affaires in tyme conueniente, maye be debated, and redreſſed. For otherwyſe, they
 ſhould haue time to repent, but no leaſure to amende. Plinie and Marcus Varro, Strabo
 and Macrobe (whiche were hiſtoꝝlographers, no leſſe graue, than true) were at great con-
 trouerſye, in prouing what thinges were moſt autentike in a common weale, and at what
 time, they were of al men accepted, Seneca in a piſſle he wrote to Lucilla, praiſed without
 ceaſing,

Prologue: III

tellinge, the common wealth of the Rhodiens, in the whiche (with much adoe) they bent
 them selves altogether to kepe one selfe thinge, and after they had therbypon agreed, they
 kepte and mainteined it in solatylt. The deuine philosopher Plato, in the sixte booke ena-
 titled *De legibus*, ordeyned, and commaunded, that if any citizen, dyd inuente any new
 thinge, whiche neuer before was reade, nor harde of, the inuentour thereof shoulde firste
 practise the same, for the space of .10. yeres in his owne house, before it was brought into
 the common wealth; and before it should be published vnto the people, to thende, if the in-
 uencion were good, it should be profitable vnto him, and if it were noughte, that than the
 daunger and hurte thereof, should lighte onely on hym. Plutarke in his *Apothemies*
 saith, that Licurgus, bypon greuous penalties did prohibite, that none should be so hardy
 in his common wealth, to goe wandering into straunge countreys, nor that he should
 be so hardy, to admit any straungers to come into his house, and the cause why this lawe
 was made, was, to thend straungers should not bring into their houses, thinges straunge,
 and not accustomed in their comon wealthe, and that they, trauelynge through straunge
 countreys, should not learne newe customes. The presumption of men now a dayes is so
 great, and the consideration of the people so small, that what soeuer a man would speake,
 he speaketh, what so euer he can inuente, he dothe inuente what he would, he dothe wyte,
 and it is no merueill for there is no man that wyl speake againste them. For the common
 people in this case are so light, that amonges them, you maye daylye see new deuises, and
 whether it hurte, or profite the common wealth, they force not. If there came at this day,
 a baine man amonges the people, which was neuer seen, nor hearde of before, if he be any
 thinge subtile, I aske you but this question: Shall it not be easye for him to speake, and in-
 uent what he listeth, to set forth what he pleaseth, to perswade that, whiche to him seemeth
 good: and all his sayenges to be beleued? Truly it is a wonderfull thinge, and no lesse sclau-
 derous, that one should be sufficiente, to peruerthe the senses, and iudgements of all, and
 all not able to repress, the lightenes and vanitie of one. Thinges, that are newe and not
 accustomed, neither princes oughte to allowe, nor yet the people to vse. For a newe thing,
 oughte no lesse to be examined & considered, before it be brought into the common wealth:
 than the greate doubt whiche arys in mens myndes. Rufinus in the prologue of his
 seconde booke, reprehendeth greatly the Egyptians, because they were so curious in spea-
 kinge fine wordes, and aboue all others, he gretely prayseth the Romaines, for that they
 were very hard of belife, & that they scarcely alwayes credited the sayenges of the Grekes,
 and because they were discrete, in admittinge the inuencions of the Egyptians. This
 autho: hath reaso to praisse thone, and dispraisse thother. For it procedeth of a lighte iudge-
 ment, to credite all thinges, that a man heareth, and to doe all thinges, that he seeth. Re-
 turninge: therefore now to our matter. Marcus Varro sayd, there were .5. thinges in the
 worlde, very harde to bringe in, whereof none (after they were commonly accepted) were
 euer losse, or forgotten, for euen as thinges vainely begonne, are easely left off: so such
 thinges, which with greate feare, and doute were accepted, with much diligence, are al-
 wayes obserued. The firste thinge, that chiefly thorough out all the worlde was accepted,
 was alme to liue togethers: that is to say, they shuld make places, townes, villages, cities
 and comon welthes. For according to the sayeng of Plautus, the first, & best inuentours of
 the comon welth, were the antes, which (according to the experience we see) do liue togethers,
 do trauaile togethers, do go togethers, & also for y winter, they make prouision togethers,
 and furthermore, none of these antes do geue the selves, to any priuat thing, but all theirs
 is brought into their comon welth. It is a meruelous thinge, to beholde the comon welth
 of the

The generall

of the antes, how nerely they trim their hilles, to behold how they sowe alway the graine, when it is wet, and howe they dye it whan they fele anye moysture to beholde howe they come from their worke, and how the one doth not hurte the other. And to behold also, how they doe reioyce the one, in the others trouble. And that, whiche is our greatest confusion is, that if it should come to passe so, thousande antes would lyue in a lyttle cane of earthe, and two men onely, cannot liue in peace, and conerde in a common wealthe. Woulde to god, the wysedome of men were so greate to kepe them selves, as the prudence of the antes is, to lyue. Whan the worlde came to a certayne age, and mens wittes waxed more fine, than strauntes sprange vp, which oppressed the poore, theues that robbed the riche, rebels that robbed the quiet, murderers that slewe the patient, the ydell that ate the sweete of other mens browes, all the which thinges considered, by them, which were vertuous, they agreed to assemble and liue together, that therby, they might preserue the good, and withstande the wicked. Macrobius, in the seconde booke of Scipions dreame sayeth, that covetousnes, and avarice, was the greatest cause, why men inuented the common wealthe. Plinie in the seuenth booke. 52. chapitre saith, the firste that made small assemblies, were the Atheniens, and the firste that builde greate cities, were the Egyptians. The seconde thinge, that was accepted throughtoute all the worlde, were the letters, whiche we reade, whereby we take profite in wrytyng. Accordyng whereunto Marcus Varro sayeth, the Egyptians praysse them selves, and say, that they dyd inuente them: and the Assyrians as a firme the contrarie, and swear that they were shewed firste of all amongest them. Plinie in the seuenth booke sayeth, that in the firste age, there was in the alphabet, no more than 16. letters, and that great Pallamedes at the sieg of Troye, added other. 4. and Aristotle saith, that immediately after the beginninge, there were sounde, 18. letters. And that afterwarde Pallamedes did adde but. 2. and so there were. 20. and that the Philosopher Epicarme, did adde other two, whiche were. 22. It is no great mater, whether the Egyptians or the Assyrians firste sounde the letters, But I say, and affirme, that it was a thing necessarye for a common wealthe, and also for the increase of mans knowlage. For yf we had wanted letters, and wryttinges, we could haue had no knowlege of the tyme past, nor yet our posteritye could haue ben aduertised, what was done in our dayes. Plutarke in the seconde booke entituled De uiris illustribus, and Plinie in the seuenth booke and. 42. chapitre, doe gretefully praysse Pirrotas, because he firste founde the fier in a flinte stone. They gretefully commendid Protheus, because he inuented harness, and they highly extolled Panthazille, because he inuented the hatchet. They praised Cithous, because he inuented the bowe, and the arrowes. They gretefully praised Phenileus, because he inuented the crosse bowe, and the sling. They highly praised the Lacedemonians, because they inuented, the helmet, the spere, and the sword. They commendid those of Thessalia, because they inuented the combate on horsebacke, and they commendid those of Affrike, because they inuented the fight by sea. But I doe praysse, and continually wyl magnifye, not those which founde the arte of fightinge, and inuented weapons to procure warre, for to kill his neighbour: but those, which founde letters, for to learne science, and to make peace betwene two princes. What difference is there, to wet the penne with inke, and to painthe the spere with blood, to be enuironed with bookes, or to be laden with weapons. To study howe every man ought to liue, or els to goe pryuely and robbe, in the warres, and to lye in waighe to kyl his neighbour. There is none of so vaine a iudgement, but wyl praysse more, the speculation of the sciences, than the practise of the warre. Because that in the ende, he that lea-
 neth sciences, learneth noughte els, but howe he, and others oughte to lyue. And he that
 learneth

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learneth warlyke feates, learneth none other thinge, than howe to sleie his neighbour, and to destroye others. The third thinge, that equallye of all was accepted, were lawes. For admittē, that al men now liued togethers in common, if they would not be subiecte one to another, there would muche contention arise amongstest theim, for that accorpyng to the sayeng of Plato, there is no greater token of the distruction of a comon weale than when many rulers are chosen therein. Plinie in his seuenth booke. 56. chapter saith, that a quene called Ceres, was the firste, that taughte theim to sowe in f̄ fieldes, to grinde in milles, to paste and bake in ouens, and also she was the firste that taughte the people to liue according to the lawe. And by the meanes of all these thinges our forefathers called her a goddess. Sins that time, we neuer haue seen, heard, nor red of any realme, or other nation (as wel straunge, as barbarous) what so euer they were, but haue had lawes, whereby the good were fauoured, and also institutions of greuous paines, wherewith the wicked were punished. Although truly I had rather, & it were better, that the good shuld loue reason: than feare the lawe. I speake of those which loue to doe euil workes for feare onely, of falling into the punishments appointed for euil doers. For although men appoyne that which they doe, yet god condemneth that, which they desire. Seneca in an epistle he wrote to his frend Lucille, sayde these wordes. Thou writest vnto me Lucille, that those of the Ile of Scicili, haue caried a greate quantitey of corne into Spaine, and into Affrike, the which thinge was forbidden by a Romaine lawe, and therefore they haue deserved greuous punishment. Now because thou arte vertuous, thou maist teache me to doe wel, and I that am olde, wil teache the to saye well: and this is, because that amongst wise and vertuous men, it is not enough to saye, that the lawe commaundeth, appointeth, and suffereth this thing, but in asmuch, as it is agreing with reason. For the crowne of the good is reason, and the scourge of the wicked is the lawe. The fourth thinge that commonly through the world amongst all men was accepted, was the barbers. And let no man take this thing in mockerye. For if they doe reade Plinie in the. 59. chapter the seuenth booke, they shal finde for a trouthe, that the Romaines were in Rome. 454. yeares, without pouling or shauinge the heeres of the beard of any man. Marcus Varro said, that Publius Phicinius, was the firste that broughte the barbers fro Scicili to Rome. But admittē it were so or otherwise: yet notwithstanding there was great contention among the Romaines, For they sayde, they thought it a rathe thinge for a man to commit his life to the curtesye of an other. Dionisius the Siracusan neuer trusted his beard with any barboz, but when his daughters were very littel: they clipped his bearde with sisers, but after they became great, he would not put his trust in them to trimme his beard, but he him selfe did burne it with the shales of nuttes. This Dionisius Siracusan, was demaunded why he would not truste anye barbour with his beard. He answered, because I knowe that there be some, which wil geue more to f̄ barbour to take away my life, than I wil giue to trimme my bearde. Plinie in the seuenth booke saith, that the great Scipio called African, and the Emperour Augustus, were the first that caused theim in Rome to haue their beards. And I thinke, thend why Plinie spake these thinges, was to eralte these two princes, which had as great courage, to suffer the rayfours touche their throtes, as thone for to fighte against Hanniball in Affrike, & thother againste Sextus Pompeius in Scicili. The fiftē thing which commonly through the world was accepted, was the clockes, which the Romaines wanted a long time. For as Plinie and Marcus Varro say, the Romaines were without clockes in Rome, for the space of. 595. yeares. The curious historiographers declare thre maner of clockes, that were in olde time, that is to say, clockes

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kes of the houres, clockes of the sonne, and clockes of the water. The clockes of the sonne
 Aneximenides Millelius inuented, who was greate Animandras scholer. The clocke
 of the water, Scipio Nasica inuented, & the clocke of houres, one of the scholers of Tha-
 les the philosopher inuented. Of all these antiquities, whiche were brought into Rome,
 none of them were so acceptable to the Romaines, as the dialles were, wherby they mea-
 sured the daye by the houre. For before, they could not saye, we wil ryse at .7. of the clocke,
 we wil dine at .10. we wyl see one thother at .12. at .1. we wil doe that we oughte to doe. But
 before they sayde, after the sonne is bp, we wyl doesuch a thinge, and before it goe downe,
 we wyl doe that we ought to doe. Thoccasion of declaringe vnto you these .5. antiquities
 in this preamble was, to no other intente, but to call my booke the Dial of Princes. The
 name of the booke being newe (as it is) maye make the learninge that is therein, greatlye
 to be esteemed. God forbyd that I should be so bolde to saye, they haue ben so longe time in
 Spayne without dialles of learning, as they were in Rome without the dyal of the sone,
 the water, and of the houres. For that in Spayne haue ben alwayes men wel learned in
 sciences, and very expert in the warres. By great reason and of greater occasiō, the prin-
 ces oughte to be commended, the knyghtes, the people, their wittes, and the fertillitye of
 their countrey: but yet to al these goodnes, I haue sene many vnlearned bookes in spayne,
 which as broken clockes, deserue to be cast into the fier to be forged anew. I do not speake
 it without a cause, that manye bookes deserue to be broken, and burnt. For there are so
 many, that without shame and honestie doe set for the bookes of loue of the worlde, at this
 daye as boldely, as if they taught theim to dispise and speake euil of the worlde. It is pitye
 to see how many dayes, and nightes be consumed, in reading vayne bookes (that is to say)
 as Dylon and Valentine, the Courte of Venus, and the .4. sonnes of Amon, and diuerse
 other vaine bookes, by whose doctrine I dare boldely saye, they passe not the tyme but in
 perdition: for they learne not how they oughte to flye vice, but rather what way they may
 with more pleasour embrace it. This dial of princes is not of sande, nor of the sonne, nor
 of the houres, nor of the water, but it is the dial of life. For h other dialles serue to knowe,
 what houre it is in the nighte, and what houre it is of the day: but this sheweth and tea-
 cheth vs, how we oughte to occupye our mindes, and how to order our lyfe. The propertye
 of other dyalles is, to order thinges publykes: but the nature of this dyal of princes is,
 to teache vs how to occupye our selues euerye houre, and howe to amende our
 lyfe euerye momente. It lytle auayleth to keape the dyalles well, and to
 see thy subiectes, dyssolutely without anye order, to
 range in routes, and dayly rayse debate
 and contention, amonge
 them selues.

(*)

¶ In this

In this Prologue, the

Authour speaketh particularly of the

Booke, called Marcus

Aurelius.



TH E greatest vanitie that I finde in the worlde is, that vayne men are not onely contente to be vayne in their life: but also procure to leaue a memozye of their vaintye, after their deathe. For it is so thought good, vnto vayne & lyght men, whiche serue the worlde in vayne workes: that at the houre of their deathe, when they perceiue they can doe no more, and that they can no longer preuaile, they offer

them selues vnto deathe, which now they see approche vppon theim. Manye of the worlde are so fleshed in the worlde, that althoughe it forsaketh theim in deedes: yet they wyl not forsake it in their desires. And I durste sweare, that if the worlde coulde graunt them perpetual life, they would promise it alwayes to remaine in their custonable folye. What a number of vaine men are alīue, which haue neither remembraunce of god to serue him, nor of his glory to obey him, nor of their conscience to make it cleane: but like brute beastes folow, and ronne after their voluptuous pleasours. The brute beast is angry, if a man keape him to much in awe: if he be werpye, he taketh his rest, he slepeth when he lysteth, he eateth and drinke, when he commeth vnto it, and vnles he be cōpelled, he dothe nothing, he taketh no care for the common wealth, for he neither knoweth how to folow reason, nor yet how to resiste sensualitie. Therfore, if a man at all times should eate when he desireth,

* reuēge him selfe whē he is moued, commit adultry when he is tempted, drinke whē he is thirstie, and sleepe when he is drousey, we might more properly call suche a one, a beaste nourished in the mountaines: than a man brought vp in the common wealth. For hym

* properly we maye cal a man, that gouerneth him selfe like a man, that is to saye, confor-
mable vnto suche thinges as reason willeth, and not whereto sensualitie leade. Let vs leaue these vaine men which are alīue, and talke of them that be deade, against whom, we dare saye, that whiles they were in the worlde, they folowed the worlde, and liued ac-
cording to the same. It is not to be meruelled at, that sins they were liuing in the worlde they were nored of some worldlye pointe. But seiing their vnhappy and wicked life is ended: why wyl they then smell of the vanities of the worlde in their graues: It is a greate shame, and dyshonour for men of noble and stoute hartes, to see in one minute the ende of

* our life, and neuer to see the ende of our folye. We neither reade, heare, nor see any thing more comen, than such men, as be most vnprofitable in the common wealth, and of lyfe moste reprobate to take vppon theim most honour whiles they liue, and to leaue behinde theim the greatest memozye at their deathe. What vaintye can be greater in the worlde, than to esteeme the worlde whiche esteemeth no mān, and to make no compte of god, who so greatly regardeth all men: what a greater folye can there be in man, than by muche trauaile to encrease his goodes, & with vaine pleasours to lose his soule? It is an olde plague in mannes nature, that many (or the most parte of men) leaue the amendement of their life farre behinde: to set their honour the more befoze. Suetonius Tranquillus, in the firste booke of the Emperours saith, that Iulius Cesar (no further than in Spaine, in the city
of Gades) sawe in the temple, the triumphes of Alexander the great paynted, the whiche,

b. ii.

whan

The Auctoures

When he had wel belmed, he sighed merueilous sore, & being asked why he did so, he answered. What a wooll case am I in, that am nowe of thage of 33. yeres, and Alexander at 30. had subdued the whole world, and rested him in Babilon. And I (beinge as I am) a Romaine, neuer did yet thinge worthy of praise in my lyfe, nor shal leaue any renoume of me after my deathe. Dion the Grecian, in the seconde booke de Audacia saith, that the noble Drusius, the Almayne, vsed to visite the graues and tombes, of the famous and renowned, which were buried in Italie, and did this alwayes: especially at his going to warfare, and when it was asked him why he did so, he answered. I visite the sepulchers of Scipio and of dyuerse others whiche are deade, befoze whome all the earthe trembled, when they were alieue. For in beholdinge their prosperous successe, I byd recouer bothe strength, and stoutnes. He saith furthermore, that it encourageth a man to fighte againste his enemies, remembreinge he shal leaue of him a memory in tyme to come. Cicero saith in his Rhetorike, & also Plinie maketh mention of the same in an epistle: that there came from Thebes (in Egipte) a knight to Rome, for no other purpose, but onely to see, whether it were true or no, that was reported of the notable thinges of Rome. Whom, Mescenas demaunded, what he perceived of the Romaines, and what he thought of Rome. He answered: the memory of the absente dothe more contente me: then the glozy of the present doth satisfie me. And the reason of this, is. The desire, which men haue to excel the liuing, and to be equal vnto the dead: maketh thinges so straunge in their lyfe: that they deserue immortal fame after their death. The Romaines reioysed not a litle, to heare such wordes of a straungers mouth, where by, he praised them which were departed, and exalted them that yet liued. What a thing it is to consider the auncient heathens, which neither feared hel, nor hoped for heauen, and yet by remembraunce of weakenes, they toke vnto them strength: by cowardnes, they were boldened: through feare, they became hardye, of daungers, they tooke encouragement: of enemies, they made frendes: of pouertie, they toke patience: of malice, they learned experieñce: finally I say, they denied their owne willes, & folowed thopynyons of others, onely, to leaue behinde them a memory with the dead, and to haue a litle honour with the liuing. How many are they, that truste the vncōstantenes of fortune, onely to leaue some notable memory behind them. Let vs call to minde some worthy examles, whereby they may see that to be true, which I haue spoken. What made king Nirus, to inuente such warres: Quene Semiramis, to make such buildinges: Vlisses the Grecian, to sulke so many seas: kinge Alexander, to conquere so manye landes: Hercules the Thebane, to set by his pillars where he did: Caius Cesar the Romaine, to geue 52. batailles at his pleasure. Cyrus king of Persia, to overcome both the Asiaes: Hannibal the Carthaginēsis, to make so cruel warres against the Romaines: Pirthus king of Epirotes, to come downe into Italye: Atila kinge of the Huns, to despye al Europe: truly they would not haue taken vppon them suche daungerous enterprises, onely vppō the wordes of them which were in those dayes present: but because we should so esteeme them that should come after. Being then that we be men, & the children of men, it is not a litle to be meruailed at, to see the diuersitie betwene the one, & the other, and what cowardnes their is in the hartes of some, and contrariwise what courage in the stomakes of others. For we see commonly now a daies, that if their be 10. of stoute courages, whiche are desirous with honoure to dye: there are 10. thousande cowardes, whiche through shamefull pleasures seke to prolonge their life. The man that is ambitious, thinketh him mosse happy, who with much estimacion can keape his renoume, and with litle care regarde his life. And on the other side, he that wil set by hys life, shall haue, but in

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small estimatiō his renowne. The Sirians, the Affirians, the Thebanes, the Caldes, the Greekes, the Macedoniās, the Rodians, the Romaines, the Huns, the Germanes, & the frēche men, if such noble men (as among these were most famous) had not aduentured their liues by such daūgerous enterprizes, they had neuer got such immortal fame as they had done to leaue to their posteritie. Sextus Cheronēsis, in his third booke, of y^e valiaunt deades of the Romaines, saith, that y^e famous capitaine Marcus Marcellus (which was the first of al men, that saw the backe of Hannibal in the field) was demaūded of one how he durst enter into battaile, with such a renowned capitaine as Hannibal was, to whome he answered: friend, I am a Romaine bozne, & a capitaine of Rome, and I must daylye put my life in halsard, for my cōtreis sake, for so I shal make perpetual my rencume. He was demaūded againe, why he stroke his enemies with such fiercesnes, and why he did so pittefully lament those, which were ouercome after the victoꝝ gotten in battaile: he answered: the capitaine which is a Romaine, & is not iudged to be a tiraunt, ought with his owne hand to shed the bloud of his enemies, and also to shed the teares of his eyes. A capitaine Romaine, ought moze to auaiūce him of his clemencie, then of hys bluddie victoꝝ.

And Marcus Marcellus saith further, whan the Romaine capitaine shal be in y^e field, he hath an eye to his enemies, with hope to vanquish the thē, but after they be vanquished, he ought to remember they are men, and that he might haue ben ouercome. For fortune

sheweth her selfe in nothing so common, as in the succesles of warre. Certes, these were wordes wel beseming such a man, and surely we may boldly say, that al those which shuld heare, or reade such thinges, would cōmend the wordes, which that Romaine spake: but fewe are they, that in dede would haue done, the feates that he did. For there be many, that are ready to praise in their wordes y^e which is good, but there are fewe that in their wordes, desire to folow the same. Such hartes as are vniquiet, and muche altered by spight & enuie, that they bare towarde their auncientes (which through manfulnes attained vnto great triumphes, and gloꝝ) let them remember, what daungers and trauailles they passed through, befoze they came thereto. For there was neuer Capitaine that ever triumphed in Rome, vnlesse he had first aduentured his life a thousand times in the feilde. I thinke I am not deceiued, in this that I wil say. That is to wete, al are desirous to taste of the mary of fame present: but none wil breake the bone for feare of perill ensuing. If honoꝝ coulde be bought with desire onely, I dare boldly say, it would be moze esteemed in these daies of the pooze age: then it was in times past, of the valiaūt Romaine Scipio. For there is not at this day so pooze a man, but would desire honour aboue al thinges. What a doleful case is this to see, many gentlemen & yong knightes, become euil disposed vacabōdes, and loyters: the which, hearing tel of any famous battaile fought, & that many of their estate and professiō haue done valiaunt feates in the same: immediately there with be stirred, & set on fire through enuies heate, so that in y^e same surpe, they chaūge their robes into armour: & with al speede, prepare them selues to warre, to exercise y^e feates of armes. And finally (like yong men, without experyēce) make importunate sute, & obtaine licence, & money of their frendes to go vnto y^e warres. But after they are ons out of their cōntrey, & see them selues in a straunge place, their daies euil, & their nightes worse, at one time they are commaūded to skirmishe, & at an other time to watche, whē they haue bitailes they want lodging, & whan the pay day cometh, that pay, & the nerte also is eaten and spent. With these & other like troubles & discommodities, y^e pooze yong men are so affonied: especially, whan they cal to mind, the goodly wide haules, so wel hanged & trimmed, wherein they greatly delighted to passe the time in sōmer seasō. When they remember their great chimneis at

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home, whereby they comforted their cold limmes, & how they bled to sit quietly vpon the
 sonny bankes in winter. For the remembraunce of the pleasour past, greatly augmenteth
 the paines present. Forwithstanding their parentes & frendes, had admonished them here
 of before. And now being beatē, with their owne folpe, & feling these discōmodities, which
 they thought not of before, they determine to forsake the warres, & eche one to retourne
 home to his owne againe. But where as they asked licence but ons to go forth, now they
 were enforced, 10. times before they could come home. And the worst is, they went forth
 loden with money, and retourne home loden with vices. But the ende why these thinges
 are spoken is, that sage & vertuous men, should marke by what trade the euil disposed seek
 to gaine: whiche is not gotten by gasinge at the windowes: but by keping the frontiers
 against their enemies: not with playenge at tables in the tauernes: but with fighting in
 the fieldes: not trimmed with clothe of gold or silkes: but loden with armour & weapōs,
 not praucinge their palfreys, but discoueringe the ambushementes: not sleapinge until
 noone, but watching all night: not by auaucing him of his apparail and handsonnes,
 but for his stout couragiousnes: not banketting his frendes, but assaulting his enemyes:
 though a knight doe these thinges, yet he ought to consider, that it is vanitie and folish-
 nes. But seeing the world hath placed honour in such a vaine thing, & that they can attaine
 vnto it by none other way, the yōge aduenturous gentlemen, ought to employe thereunto
 their strength, with stout courage, to atchieue to some great actes, worthy of renowne.
 For in the ende, when y warre is iustly begonne, and that in y defence of their countrey,
 they ought to reioyse more of him that dieth in the handes of his enemies: then of hym,
 whiche liueth accompanied with vices. It is a great shame & dishonour to men of armes,
 and yonge gentlemen being at home, to heare the prayse of them which be in the warres:
 for the yōge gentleman ought not to thinke it honour for him, to heare or declare y newes
 of others: but that others shuld declare the vertuous deedes of him. & how many are they
 in the worlde this day (puffed vp with pryde, and not very wyse) whiche stil prate of great
 renowne, and yet passe their life with smal honestie. For our predeceßours fought in the
 fieldes with their lances, but yonge men now a daies, fighte at the table with their tōges.
 Admitte that al vaine men desire, & procure to leaue a memozye of their vanitie: yet they
 ought to enterpryse suche thinges in their life, whereby they might winne a famous re-
 nowne (and not a perpetual shame) after their death. For there are many departed, which
 haue leste such memozy of their workes, as moueth vs rather to pitye their folpe, than to
 enuy their vertue. I aske those that reade or heare this thing, if they wyl be in loue with
 Nembroth the firste tiraunt: with Semiramis, which sinned with her sonne: with An-
 thenor, that betrayed his countrey: with Medea, that slewe her child: with Tarquine,
 that enforced Lucrecia: with Brutus, that slewe Caesar: with Dilla, that shed so much bloud:
 with Catilina, that pladed the tiraunt in his countrey: with Iugurtha, that strangled his
 bretherne: with Nero, that killed his mother: with Heliogabalus, that robbed the tem-
 ples: with Domitian, that in nothing delighted so muche, as by straunge meanes to cor-
 ment men, and to dryue away flies with his owne handes. Smal is the nōber of those that
 I haue spoken, in respecte of those which I could recite: of whom I dare say and affirme,
 that if I had ben as they, I cannot tel what I would haue done, or what I should haue de-
 sired: but this I know, it would haue ben more paynes to me, to haue wonne the infamye
 that they haue wonne, then to haue lost the life that they haue lost. It profiteth him litle, to
 haue his pōdes ful of fishe, & his parkes ful of deere, which knoweth, neither how to hunt,
 nor how to fishe. I meane to shew by this, y it profiteth a man litle to be in great authori-
 ty,

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eye, if he be not esteemed, nor honoured in the same. For to attaine to honour, wisdom is requisite: & to kepe it, patience is necessarie. With great considerations, wise men ought to enterpryse, dangerous thinges. I assure the they shal neuer winne honour, but where they vse to recouer sclaunder. Returnyng therefore to our matter (Puissant Prince) I sweare, & durst undertake, that you rather desire perpetual renowne throughe deathe: then any idel rest in this life. And hereof I do not merueil, for there are some: that shal alwaies declare the prowesses of good princes, & others which will not spare to open the vices, of euil tirantes. For although your imperial estate is much, and your catholike persone deserueth more: yet I beleue with my harte, and see with these eyes, that your thoughtes are so highly bent vnto aduenturous deedes, & your harte so couragious to set vpon them, that your maiestie little esteemeth the inheritaunce of your predeceßours, in respect of that you hope to gayne, to leaue to your successeurs. A capitaine asked Iulius Cesar as he declareth in his commentaries) why he traualled in the winter in so harde frost, & in y^e sommer in such extreme heate. He answered: I wil do what lieth in me to do, and afterwarde, let the fatal destinies do what they can. For the valiaunt knight, that giueth in battayle thonses, ought more to be esteemed: than sickle fortune, whereby the victorie is obtained, sins fortune giueth the one, and aduenture giveth the other. These wordes were spoken, like a stout & valiaunt captayne of Rome. Of how many princes do we reade, whom truly I much lament to see, what flateries they haue heard with their eares being alieue, and to rede what sclaunders they haue susteyned after their death. Princes and great lordes, should haue more regarde to that, which is spoke in their absence: then vnto y^e, which is done in their presence. Not to that which they heare, but to that, which they would not heare: not to that, which they tel the, but to y^e, which they would not be tolde of: not to that is wrytten vnto them beyng alieue, but to that, which is wrytten of them after their death: not to those that tell them lyes, but to those which (if they durst) would tel them trouthe. For men many tymes refraine not their tonges, for that subiectes be not credited: but because the prince in his authority is suspected. The noble and vertuous prince, should not sitte from the trouthe whereof he is certified: neyther with flateries and lyes, should he suffer him selfe to be deceiued: but to examine him selfe, & see whether they serue him with trouthe, or deceiue him with lyes. For there is no better witnes and iudge of trouthe & lyes: then is a mans owne conscience. I haue spoken al this, to thintent your maiestie myghte know, that I wil not serue you, with that you should not be fertied. That is, to shewe my selfe in my wryting a flaterer. For it were neither mete nor honest, that flateries, into the eares of such a noble prince shuld enter: neither, that out of my mouth (which preache the deuine trouthe) such vaine tales shuld issue. I say, I had rather be dispraised for trewe speaking, then to be honoured for flaterie and lieng. For of trouthe in your highnes it shoulde be muche lightnes to heare them, and in my basenes great wickednes to inuente them. Now againe folowinge our purpose I saye, the histories greatlye commende Ligurgus, that gaue lawes to the Lacedemonians. Numā pompilius, that honoured and adourned the churches. Marcus Marcellus, that had pitye on those which were overcome. Iulius Cesar, that forgauē hys enemyes. Octavius, that was so welbeloued of the people. Alexander, that gaue rewardes and giftes to all men. Hector the troiane, because he was so valiaunt in warres. Hercules y^e Thebane, because he employed his strength so wel. Vlisses y^e gretian, because he aduētured him self in so many daungers. Pirrhys king of Epirotes, because he inuēted so many engins. Catull⁹ Regul⁹, because he suffered so many

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formentes. Titus & Emperour, because he was father of y^e Orphanes. Traianus, because
 he edified sumptuous & goodly buildings. The good Marcus Aurelius, because he knew
 more then all they. I do not say that it is requisite for one prince in these daies, to have in
 him all those qualities: but I dare be bolde to affirme this, y^e even as it is impossible for
 one prince to follow all: so likewise it is a great sleaunders for him to follow none. We doe
 * not require princes to doe all that they can, but to applye themselves to doe some thinge, y^e
 they ought. And I speake not without a cause, that which I haue said before, For if Princes
 did occupy themselves, as they ought to doe: they shoulde haue no time to be bitious.
 * Plinie saith in an epistle, that the great Cato, called Censor, did weere a ring wth his fin
 ger, wherein were written these wordes. *Esto amicus vniuersi, & inimicus nullius.* whiche
 is, be friend to one, and enemye to none. He that would deapely consider these fewe wordes,
 shall fynd therein many graue sentences, And to applye this to my purpose, I say, the
 prince, that would well gouerne his comon weale: shew to all equall iustice: desire to possesse
 * a quyet life: to get amonge all a good fame: and that coueteth to leaue of him selfe a
 perpetuall memory: ought to embrace the vertues of one, and to reiecte the vices of all. I
 allow it very well, that princes should be equall: yea and surmount many: but yet I aduise
 them, not to employ their force, but to follow one. For oftentimes it chaunceth, that many,
 which suppose them selues in their life to excel all (when they are dead) are scarcely found
 * equall to any. Though man hath done much, and blessed what he can: yet in the end, he is
 but one, one mind, one power, one byrth, one life, and one death. The sithen he is but one,
 let no man presume to know more than one. Of all these good princes, whiche I haue nam
 med, in the roole of iustice, the laste was Marcus Aurelius, to the intent, that he shoulde
 weaue this webbe. For suppose we reade of many princes, that haue cempyled notable
 thinges, the which are to be redde, and knowe, but al that Marcus Aurelius said, or did,
 is worthy to be knowen, and necessary to be followed. I doe not meane, this prince in hys
 heathen law, but in his vertuous deedes, let vs not staye at his belyef: but let vs embrace
 * the good that he did. For compare many christians with some of y^e heathen, and looke howe
 farre we leaue them behind in faith: so farre they excel vs in vertuous workes. All the old
 princes in times past, had som philosophers to their familiars, as Alexander, Aristotle.
 king Darius, Herodotus. Augustus, Pisto. Pompeius, Plauto. Titus, Plinie. Adria,
 Secundus. Traian, Plutarchus, Anthonius, Apolonius, Theodotius, Claudius. Se
 verus, Fabatus. Finally I say, y^e philosophers the had such authoritie in princes palaces:
 that children acknowledged them for fathers, and fathers reuerenced them as maisters.
 These sage men were alieue in the company of princes: but the good Marcus Aurelius (whose
 doctrine is before your maiestie) is not alieue, but dead: Yet therfore, that is no cause why
 his doctrine should not be admitted. For it may be (paraduenture) that this shal profite vs
 more, whiche he wrote with his handes, than that, which others spake with their tonges.
 Plutarke saith, in the time of Alexander the great, Aristotle was alieue, and Homere
 was dead. But let vs see how he loued the one, & reuerenced the other, for of truth he slept
 alway wth Homers booke in his handes, & waking he red y^e same with his eyes, & alwaies
 kept the doctrine therof in his memory, & layed (whē he rested) the booke vnder his heade.
 The which priuiledge Aristotel had not, who at al times could not be heard, & much lesse
 * at al seasons be believed: so that Alexander had Homere for his friend, and Aristotel for a
 maister. Other of these philosophers were but symple men: but our Marcus Aurelius,
 was both a wise philosopher, and a valiaunt prince: and therfore reaso would he should be
 credited before others. For as a prince he wil declare y^e troubles, & as a philosopher he wil
 redresse

redreffe the. Take you therfore (Myfaint Prince) this wife philofopher & noble emperour
for a teacher in your youthe, for a father in your gouernment, for a captayne generall
in your warres, for a guyde in your iourneys, for a frende in your affayres, for an
example in your vertues, for a mafter in your fciences, for a pure white in your defires,
and for equall matche in your deedes. I wyll declare vnto you the lyfe of this beinge a
heathen, and not the lyfe of an other beinge a Chriftian. For how much gloze this hea-
then prince had in this worlde, beinge good and vertuous: fo muche paines your maieftie
shall haue in the other, if you fhall be wicked and vicious. Behold behold, noble prince,
the lyfe of this Emperour, and you fhall fee howe cleere he was in his iudgement, howe
bryght in his iuftice, howe circumspecte in his lyfe, howe louinge to his frendes, howe
patient in his troubles, howe he difsembled with his enemies, howe feuer againft Ty-
rauntes, how quiet amonge the quyet, howe great a frende to the fage, and louer of the
fimple, how aduenturous in his warres, and amiable in peace, and aboue all thinges
howe hygh in wordes and profounde in fentences. Many tymes I haue bene in doute
with my felfe, whether the Eternall maieftie (whiche gyueth vnto you princes the tem-
porall maieftie to rule aboue all other in power and authorite) did exempte you that are
princes more from humayne frailtye: then he did vs, that be but fubiectes, and at the laft
I knewe he dyd not. For I fee euen as you are children of the worlde: fo you do lyue ac-
cordinge to the worlde. I fee euen as you trauaile in the worlde: fo you can know nothing
but thinges of the worlde. I fee becaufe you lyue in the flefhe, that you are fubiecte to the
miferies of the flefhe. I fee though for a tyme you prolonge your lyfe: yet at the lafte you
are brought to your graue. I fee your trauaile is great, and that within your gates there
dwelleth no reffe. I fee you are colde in the wynter, and hote in the fommer. I fee that
hunger feebleth you, and thirfte troubleth you. I fee your frendes forfake you, and your
enemies affault you. I fee that you are fadde, and lacke ioye. I fee you are fycke, and be
not well ferued. I fee you haue much, and yet that whiche you lacke, is more. What wyll
ye fee more, feinge that princes dye? O noble prynces, and great Lordes, fynes you muft
dye, and become wormes meate, why doe you not in your lyfe tyme ferche for good coun-
fayle, If the princes and noble men, commit an errour, no man dare chaftice them, where-
fore they ftand in greater neede of aduife and counfayle. For the trauailer, who is out of
his waye, the more he goeth forward, the more he erreth. If the people doe amiffe, they
ought to be punifhed: but if the prince erre, he fhoulde be admonifhed, and as the prince
wyll the people fhoulde at his handes haue punifhement: fo it is reafon that he at their
handes fhould receyue counfayle. For as the wealth of the one dependeth on the wealth of
the other: fo truly if the prince be vicious the people can not be vertuous. If your maieftie
wyll punifhe your people whiche wordes commaunde them to prynces this prefent worke
in their hartes. And if your people would ferue your hyghnes with their aduife: let them
likewife befeche you to reade ouer this booke. For therein the fubiectes fhall fynd how they
may amend, and you Lordes fhall fee, all that you ought to doe. Whether this prefent worke
be profitable or noe, I wyll not that my penne fhall declare: but they whiche reede it fhall
iudge. For we authours take paines to make & tranflate, & others for vs to gyue iudge-
ment & fentence. Fro my tender yeres vntyll this prefent, I haue liued in this worlde, occupieng
my felfe in reading & ftudieng humane, & deuyn books, and although I confefle my des-
bilitie to be fuch, & I haue not reade fo much as I might, nor ftudied fo muche as I ought:
yet notwithstanding al this I haue redde, hath not caufed me to mife fo much, as the doctrine of
Marcus Aurelius hath, fithen in the mouth of an heathen, god hath put fuch a great treafure,
The

The Auctoures Prologue.

The greatest parte of all his workes were in Greeke: yet he wrote also many in latin. I haue drawen this out of Greeke through the healepe of my frendes, and afterward out of latin into our bulgare tonge by the trauaile of my handes. Let al men iudge what I haue suffered in drawing it out of Greeke into latyn, out of the latin into the bulgar, and out of a plaine bulgar, into a swete and pleasaunt style. For that banquet is not counted sumptuous, vnles there be both pleasaunt meates, and sauory sauces. To cal sentences to mind, to place the wordes, to examyn languages, to correcte sillables: what swette I haue suffered in the hote sommer, what bytter colde in the sharpe winter, what abstinence from meates when I desired to eate, what watchinge in the nighte whan I should haue slepte, what cares I haue suffered in steed of reste that I mighte haue enioyed: let others proue, if me they wyll not credite. The intention of my painefull trauailes, I offer to the diuine maiestie vppon my knees, and to your highnesse (noble Prince) I present this my worke, & humbly beseeche god, that the doctrine of this booke, may be as profitable vnto you & the common wealthe in your lyfe: as it hath ben to me tedious, and hinderance to my health. I haue thoughte it good to offer to your maiestie the effecte of my labours, thoughe you peraduenture wyl litle regarde my paines: for the requiting of my trauaile and reward of my good wil, I require nought els of your highnes, but that your rudenesse of my vnderstandinge, the basenes of my style, the smalnes of my eloquence, the euill order of my sentences, the vanitie of my wordes, be no occasion, why so excellent and goodly a worke shoulde be litle regarded. For it is not reason, that a good horse should be the lesse esteemed, for that the ryder knowethe not howe to make hym ronne his carrier. I haue done what I coulde doe, doe you nowe what you ought to doe, in geuinge to this present worke grauntie, and to me the interpretoz therof, authoritie.

I saye no moze, but humblye beseeche god to maintayne your estimation and power in earth: and that you may afterwarde enioye the fruition of his deushe presence in heauen.



The Argument of the Booke

called the Diall of Princes. Wherein the authour

declareth, his intencion and maner of

proceedynge.



Rchimenedes, the great and famous Philosopher, (to whom Marcus Marcellus for his knowledge sake granted life, and after, using Pyromancie deserved death) being demanded what

time was, sayde, that time was the inuentor of all newtyes, and a Regestre certayne of antiquities, which seeth of it selfe the beginning, the middell, and the ending of all thinges. And finally, time is he that endeth al. No man can deny but the definition of this Philosopher is true: for if time could speake, he would certifie vs of sondry thinges, wherein we doubt, and declare them, as a wytnes of sight. Admyt all thinges peryshe, and haue an end: yet one thinge is exempted, and neuer hath end, which is trueth, that amongst all thinges is priuiledged in such wise, that the triumpheth of time, and not time of her: for accordinge to the bytyme sayenge, it shalbe more easy to se heaue, and earth to fall: then ons, truth to perish. There is nothing so entyre, but may be diminished: nothinge so healthful, but maye be diseased: nothinge so strong, but may be broken: neyther any thinge so wel kept, but may be corrupted. And finally I say, there is nothing but by time is ruled and gouerned, saue onely truth, whiche is subiect to none. The frutes of the spring time haue no force to gyue sustenance, nor perfecte sweetenes to giue any sauour, but after that the sommer is past, and hatuest cometh, they rypp, and then all that we eate, nourisheth more, and giueth a better taste. I meane by this, when the worlde beganne to haue wyse men, the more Philosophers were esteemed for their good manners, the more they deserved to be repproued for their euill vnderstandings. Plato in his second booke of the comon wealch said, that the auncient Philosophers (aswell Grekes, as Egyptians and Caldees,) which first beganne to behold the starres of heauen, and ascended to the toppes of the mount Olympus, to vew the Influences, and motions of the planettes on the earth, deserved rather pardone for their ignorance, then prayse for their knowledge. Plato said further, that the Philosophers which were before vs, were the firste that gaue them selues to searche out the truth of the Elementes in the heauen, and the first which sowled errors in thinges naturall of the earth. Homere in his hylhade agreynge with Plato, sayeth. I condene all that the auncient Philosophers knew, but I greatly commend them for that they desyred to know. Certes Homere saide well, and Plato saide not amysse: for if amongst the firste Philosophers this ignorance had not raygned, there had not bene suche contrary sectes in euery Schoole. He that hath the redde, not the bookes which are lost, but the opinions: whiche the auncient Philosophers had, will graunte me, though the knowledge were one: yet their sectes were diuers: that is to say. Cinici, Stoici, Academici, Platonici, and Epicurei, which were as variable the one fro the other in their opinions, as they were repugnant in their condicions. I will not, neither reason requireth, that my penne should be so much dismeasured, as to repproue those, which are dead, for to giue the glory alonely, to the that are aliue: for the one of the knew not al, neyther were the other ignorant of al. If he deserueth thakes that sheweth me the waye, wherebye I oughte to go: no lesse then meryteth he, which warneth me of the place, wherein I may erre. The ignorance of our forefathers, was but a gyde to kepe

The Argumente

vs from errynge: for the errour of them, shewes vs the truth: to their muche praise, and to our great shame. Therefore I dare boldly say, yf we that are nowe, had ben then, we had knowen lesse then they knewe. And yf those were nowe, whiche were then, they woulde haue knowen more, then we know. And that this is true, it appereth wel, for that the aun-
 * cient philosophers, throughte the great desyre they had to knowe the trouth, of small and bypathes haue made brode and large waies, the whiche we now wil not se, nor yet walke therein. Wherefore we haue not so muche cause to bewaile their ignorance, as they had reason to complaine of our negligence. For truth, whiche is (as Aulus Gellius saith) the
 * daughter of time hath reueled vnto vs the errours, whiche we ought to eschewe, and the true doctrines, whiche we ought to folowe. What is there to se, but hath ben sene: what to discover, but hath ben discovered: what is there to reade, but hath ben red: what to write, but hath ben written: what is there to knowe, but hath ben knowen: & nowe a dayes, hu-
 maine malice is so experte, men so well able, and our wittes so subtyll, that we wante no-
 thinge to vnderstande, neither good, nor euill. And we vndoe our selues by sekynge that
 vaine knowledge, which is not necessarie for our life. No man vnder the pretence of igno-
 raunce, can excuse his faulte, sens all men knowe, all men reade, and all men learne, the
 which is euident in this case, as it shall appere. Suppose the ploughe man, and the learned
 man do go to the lawe, and you shall perceyue, the labourer (vnder that symple garment)
 to forge to his counsellour halfe a dosen of malicious trickes, to delude his aduersarye as
 synely: as the other that is learned shalbe able to expound. 2. or 3. chapters of his booke. If
 men would employe their knowledge to honestie, wisdom, patience, and merce, it were
 well: but I am sorre they knowe so moche, onely for that they subtillye disceiue, and by
 vsury abuse their neighbours, and kepe that they haue vniustly gotten, and daylye gaine
 more, inuentinge newe trades. Finally I say, yf they haue any knowledge, it is not to as-
 * mende their lyfe: but rather to encrease their goodes. If the deuill could sleepe, as men do,
 * he might safely sleepe, for whereas he waketh to deceiue vs, we awake to vndo our selues.
 well, suppose that al which hertofore I haue said is true. Let vs now leue asyde craft, and
 take in hande knowledge, the knowledge whiche we attaine to, is so small, and that which
 we should attaine to so great, that all that we knowe, is the least parte of that we are ig-
 nozaunt. Euen as in thinges natural, the elementes haue their operations, accordyng to
 the variety of time: so moral doctrines (as the ages haue succeeded) & sciences were discou-
 red. Truly al fruites come not together, but when one faileth, another cometh in season.
 I meane, that neither all the Doctors amonge the Christians, nor all the Philosophers
 amongst the Gentiles were cōcurrant at one time, but after the death of one good, there
 came another better. The chiefe wisdom, whiche measurcth all thinges by Justice, and
 disperseth them accordyng to his bounty, wil not, that at one time they should be al wise
 * men, and at an other time al simple. For it had not ben reason the one should haue had the
 frute, and the other the leaues. The olde worlde that ran in Saturnes dayes (otherwysse
 called the golden worlde) was (of a truth) muche esteemed of them that saue it, and greatly
 cōmendid of them that wrote of it. That is to say it was not gilded by the Sages, whiche
 did gilde it: but because there was no euil men, which did vngilde it. For as the experience
 of the meane estate & nobility teacheth vs, of one only parson, dependeth aswell the fame
 and renoume, as the infamy of a hole house, and parentage. That age was called gol-
 den, that is to say of golde, and this our age is called yronne, that is to say, of yron. This
 difference was not, for that golde then was found, and now yron: nor for that, in this our
 age there is want of them that be sage: but because the numbꝛe of them sarmounterh,
 that

that be at this day malicious. I confesse one thinge, and I suppose many will fauoure me in the same: that there were neuer so many teachers of vertues, and so fewe followers of the same. Phauorin the philosopher (which was maister to Aulus Gellius, and his especial frende) said oftentimes, that the philosophers in olde time were holden in reputacion, by cause there were fewe teachers, and many lerners, we now a dayes see the contrary, for infinitie are they whiche presume to be maisters but fewe are they, whiche humble themselves to be scollers. a man maye knowe, how lyttel wyse men are esteemed at this houre, by the great veneration that the philosophers had in the olde time. What a matter is it to see Homere, amongst the Grecians, Salamon, amongst the Hebrues, Liturgus, amongst the Lacedemoniens, Phozomeus, also amongst the Grekes, Ptolomeus, amongst the Egyptians, Luit, amongst the Romanes, & Cicero, likewise amongst the Latines, Appolonius, amongst the Indians, and Secundus amongst the Assirians. How happye were those philosophers, to be as they were in those dayes, when the world was so full of simple personnes, and so destitute of sage men: that there flocked great numbers, out of diuers countreies, and straunge nations: not only to heere their doctrine: but also to see their persones. The glorious saint Hierome, in the prologue, to his bible saith. When Rome was in her prosperitie, then wrote Titus Liuius his decadess: yet notwithstandinge, men came to Rome, more to speake with Titus Liuius, then to see Rome, or the highe capitall thereof. Marcus Aurelius writing to his frend called Pulio sayde these wordes. Thou shalt vnderstand my frend, I was not chosen emperour, for the noble bloud of my predecessours, nor for the fauoure I had, amongst them now present, for there were in Rome, men of greater bloud & riches then I, but the emperour Adrian my maister setting his eyes vpon me, chose me for his sonne in lawe, the emperour Anthony my father in lawe, for no other cause, but for that they saue me a frende of the sages, and an enemye of the ignorant: happye was Rome to chose so wise an emperour, and no lesse happye was he to attaine to so great an emptier. Not for that he was heire to his predecessours, but for that he gaue his minde to studie. Truly, if that age then were happye, to enioye his parson: no lesse happye shal ours be now at this present, to enioye his doctrine. Salust saith, they deserved great glory, which did worthy seates: and no lesse renowne merited they, whiche wrote them in highe stile. What had Alexander the great ben, if Quintus Curtius had not written of him: what of Ulysses, if Homere had not ben borne: what had Alcibiades ben, if Peronophon had not exalted him: what of Cyrus, if the philosopher Chilo, had not put his actes in memory: what had ben of Pirrus, king of the Epirotes, if Hermicles cronicles were not: what had ben of Scipio the great Affricane, if it had not ben for his decadess of Titus Liuius: what had ben of Traiane, if the renowned Plutarche had not ben his frend: what of Nerua and Anthoniuss the meke, if Pholios the greke had not made mention of them: how should we haue knowen the stout courage of Cesar, & the great prowess of Pompeius, if Lucanus had not written them: what of the twelue Cesars, if Suetonius tranquillius had not compiled a booke of there liues, & how should we haue knowen the antiquities of the Hebrues, if the vpright Ioseph had not ben: who coulde haue knowen, the comminge of the Vombardes into Italue, if Paulus Diaconus had not writ it: how could we haue knowen the comming in, the going out, and ende of the Gothes in Spaine, if the curious Roderiens had not shewed it vnto vs: By these thinges that we haue spoken of before, the readers may perceiue, what is due vnto the Historiographers: who, in my opinion, haue left as great memorye of them, for that they wrote with there penne, as the princes haue done for that they did with their swordes. I confesse, I deserue

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not to be named amongst the sages, neither for that I haue wrytten and translated, nor yet for that I haue composed, therefore (the sacred and deuine letters set a side) there is nothing in the world so curiously wrytten, but neabeth correccio, & as I say of the one, so will I say of the other, and that is, as I with my wil, do renounce the glory whiche the good for my learning would giue me: so in like manner, euil men shall not want, that against my wil, will seeke to defame it. The other wryters, finally esteeme the labour and paines we haue to wryte, althoughe in dede we are not ignoraunt of a thousande enuious tonges, that wil backbite it. Many now a daies are so euil taught, or to say better, so enuious, that when the auctour laboureth in his studie, they playe in the streets: when he waketh, they sleepe. When he fasteth, they eate: when he sitteth turning the leaues of the booke, they go hunting after vices abroad: yet for al that, they wil presume to iudge, depaue, and condemn an other mans doctrine, as if they had the auctoritie that Plato had in grece, or the eloquence that Cicero had in Rome. When I finde a man in the latene tongue wel sene, his bulgar tongue wel polished, in histories wel grounded, in greake letters very experte, and desirous to spend his time with good bookes: this so herotical and noble a parsonage: I would not only he should correcte my worke: but also I would desier him to put my doctrine vnder his fete: for it is no shame, for a vertuous and wise man, to be corrected of an other wise man. * Yet I would gladly know, what patients can suffer, or harte dissemble, when two or thre be assembled together at meate, and after (at the table or otherwise) one of them taketh a booke, at aduventure in his handes, against the which, another wil saye, it is to longe, and an other wil saye, it speaketh not to the purpose: another it is obscure, and another the wordes are not wel couched: another wil say, al that that is spoken, is fained, one wil say he speaketh nothing of profite, another he is to curious, and the other, he is to malicious. So that in speakinge thus, the doctrine remaineth suspicious, and the auctour scapech not scotte free. Suppose them to be such, that speake it, and at the table do finde such fautes, therefore they deserue pardon: for they speake not accordinge to the bookes whiche they haue redde: but accordinge to the meates which they haue eaten: for he that taketh not that in gest, which is spoken at the table, knoweth not what gesting meaneth. * It is an olde custome to murmure at vertuous dedes, and into this rule, entreth not onely those that make them, but also those, which wryte them. Which thing semeth to be true: for that Socrates was reproued of Plato, Plato of Aristotle, Aristotle of Auerois, Secilio of Sulpitius, Lelius of Varro, Marinus of Ptolomeus, Ennius of Horace, Seneca of Aulus Gelius, Crastonestes of Strabo, Thessale of Gallia, Hermogaras, of Cicero, Cicero of Salust, Origines of Saint Hierome, Hierome of Ruffinus, Ruffinus of Donatus, Donatus, of prosper, and prosper of Lupus. Then sithe that in these men, & in their workes hathe ben such neade of correction, which were men of great knowledge, and lanterns of the world: it is no marueil at al, that I haue such fortune, since I know so litle as I doe. He maye worthely be counted baine & light, which at the first sight, or for only once reading, wil rashlye iudge that, which a wise man with much diligence, and studie hathe wryten. The auctours, & wryters are oftentimes reproued: not of them, which can translate, and compile workes, but of those, which can not reade, and yet lesse vnderstande them, to thintent, simple folkes should count them wise, and take there partes in condemning this worke, and esteeme him for a great wyse man, I take god to witnes, who can iudge, whether my intencion were naught to compile this worke, and also I lay this my doctrine at the fete of wise and vertuous men, to the ende, they maye be protectours, and defendours * of the same. For I trust in god, thoughe some would come to blame (as diuers do) the simple

ple wordes, whiche I spake, yet others would not saye, to declare the good intencion that I mente, and to declare further I saye, that dyuerse haue written of the time of the sayde Marcus Aurelius, as Herodian wrote ytell, Eutropius lesse, Lampridius not so muche, and Iulius Capitolin, somewhat moze. Likewyse ye ought to know, that the maysters whiche taught Marcus Aurelius sciences, were Iunius Rusticus, Cinna Catululius, and Sextus Cheronensis, whiche was neaphue to the great Plutarque. These thre were those, that principallie as witnesse of sight, wrote the most parte of his life and doctrine. Manye maye marueile to here tell of the doctrine of Marcus Aurelius, sayeng, it hath ben kepte hidde and secret a great while, and that of mine owne hed I haue inuented it. And that there neuer was anye Marcus Aurelius in the worlde. I know not what to saye now vnto them, for it is euident to all those whiche haue redde any thinge, that Marcus Aurelius was husbande to Faustina, father to commodus, brother to Annius Verus, & sonne in lawe to Antonius Pius, the seuenth (of Rome) Emperour. Those, which saye I only haue made this doctrine, truly I thanke them for so sayeng, but not for their so meaning. For truly, the Romaynes would haue set by my Image in Rome, for perpetual renoume, if so graue sentences should haue proceeded from my heade. We se that in our time, which was neuer sene before, & heare that, we neuer harde before. We practise not in a new worlde, and yet we meruaile that there is at this present a new booke. For for that I was curious to discouer Marcus Aurelius, or studious to translate him. For truly it is worthy he be noted of wise personnes, and not accused of enuious tonges. For it chaunceth oftentimes in huntinge, that the moste simplest man kylleth the deare. The last thinge, whiche the Romaynes conquered in Spayne, was Cantabria, whiche was a citie in Nauarra, ouer against Logrono, and situated in a highe countrey, where there is now a baine of vygnes, and the Emperour Augustus, whiche destroyed it, made tenne bookes de bello cantabrico, where are thinges worthy of notinge, and no lesse pleasant in readinge, whiche hapned vnto him in the same conquest. As Marcus Aurelius was brought me from Florens, so was this other booke of the warres of Cantabrie, brought me from Colleine. If perhappes I toke paynes to translate this booke, as selue haue done, whiche haue sene it, they would speake the like of it, that they dyd of Marcus Aurelius. Because men are so longe in speakinge, and so bylese in studeng, that without anye let or shame, they wil abowe, no booke to be in the worlde this daye, but that they haue redde, or seen it. I haue as muche profited in this writtinge, whiche is humaine: as other doctours haue done in matters, whiche are deuine. It is not translated worde for worde, but sentence for sentence. For we other interpreters, are not bounde to giue wordes by measure: but it suffiseth vs, to giue sentences by waighte. I began to stude this wooke in the yere, a thousande, siue hundred, and eightene, and vntil the yere, a thousande, siue hundred, twentie and foure, I could neither vnderstande, nor know, wherein I was occupied. Immediately the yere folowinge. 24. his maiestie being with the seauer diseased, I (accordinge to his commaundement) shewed him Marcus Aurelius to passe the time, that then was vncorrected, and humbly beseeching him (said) that for recompence of all my trauaile, I desired no other rewarde, but that no man in hys chamber myghte copie the booke. And I in the meane time proceeded to accomplyshe the worke. Because I dyd not meane in suche maner to publyshe it, for other wyse, I sayd his maiestie should be euil serued, and I also of my purpose preuented: but my sinnes caused, that the booke was copied, and conueyed from one to another. And by the handes of Pages, sondrie tymes wyppen: so that there encreased dayly in it errours, and faultes. And since there was but

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one originall coppye, they brought it vnto me to correct, whiche if it coulde haue spoken,
 would haue complayned it selfe, more of them that dyd wyrite it: then of those wiche dyd
 steale it. And thus when I had finished the worke, and thought to haue published it, I
 perceaued that Marcus Aurelius: was now imprinted at Ciuile. And in this case, I take
 the readers to be iudges, betwene me and the Imprinters, because they maye see whether
 it maye stande with law, and iustice, that a booke, which was to his imperial maiestye de-
 dicated, the auctour thereof being but an infant, & the booke so vnperfecte and vncorrect,
 without my consent or knowledge should be published. Notwithstanding they ceased not,
 but printed it againe in Portugal, and also in the kingdome of Nauarra. And if the firste
 impression was faulty, truly the seconde and the thirde were no lesse. So, that which was
 wyrtten for the wealthe of al men generallye, each man dyd applye to the profite of him
 selfe particularlye. There chaunced another thinge of this booke, called the golden booke
 of Marcus Aurelius, which I am ashamed to speake, but greater shame they shuld haue,
 that so dishonestly haue done. That is, some made them selues to be auctours of the whole
 worke, others saye, that parte of it was made, and copiled of their owne heades: the which
 appeareth in a booke in print, wherein the auctour dyd like a man boyde of all honestye,
 and in another booke, one vsed likewise the wordes whiche Marcus Aurelius spake to
 Faustine, when she asked him the key of his study. After these theues came to my know-
 ledge, iudge you, whether it were inoughe to proue my pacience. For I had rather they
 had robbed me of my goodes, then taken away my renowme. By this, all men shall see,
 that Marcus Aurelius was not then corrected, nor in any place perfecte, whereby they
 might perceauie, that it was not my minde to translate Marcus Aurelius: but to make a
 diall for princes, whereby, all christen people maye be gouerned and ruled. And as the
 doctrine is shewed for the vse of many, so I would profite my selfe, with that whiche the
 wise men had spoken and wyrtten. And in this sorte, proceedeth the worke, wherein I put
 one, or two, chapters of mine, and after I put some epistles of Marcus Aurelius, and
 other doctrine of some auncient men. Let not the reader be disceaued, to thinke that the
 one, and the other is of the auctour. For although the phrase of the language be mine, yet
 I confesse the greatestt parte that I knew, was of another man, although the historiogra-
 phers and doctours (with whome I was holpen) were manye: yet the doctrine whiche I
 wrote, was but one. I wil not denye, but I haue left out some thinges, whiche were super-
 fluous: in whose steade, I haue placed, thinges more swete, and profitable. So that it
 needeth good wittes, to make that whiche semeth in one language grosse, in ano-
 ther, to giue it the apparaunce of golde. I haue deuised into three bookes, this
 present diall of Princes. The first treateth, that the prince ought to be a good
 christian. The second, how he ought to gouerne his wife, and children. The
 thirde teacheth, how he shuld gouerne his person, and his commen
 wealthe. I had begonne another booke, wherein was conteyned,
 how a prince should behaue him selfe in his courts, and pala-
 ce, but the importunitie of my frendes, caused me
 to withdrawe my pen, to the ende I might
 bringe this worke
 to lighte.

The Table of the Diall of Princes.

The Prologue generall, of the Auctour
The Prologue, vpon the booke entituled Marcus Aurelius.
The Argument of the whole booke.



He firſte Chapter entreateth of the linage, and byrth of Mar. Aur. where the auctour reciteth at the beginninge of the booke. 3. chapters, in ſ which he declareth the diſcourſe of his life: for by his owne Epiſtles and doctrine this whole worke is proued.

Of a letter, whiche the Emp. Mar. Aur. wrote to his friend Pulio: wherein he recounteth the order of his life, and amonge other thinges declareth the wordes which a poore man of Pola ſpake vnto the Romaine Cenſor. ca. 2.

Mar. Aur. concludeth his letter, & mentioneth the ſciences, which he lerned, and all the matters which he had, and in the end he recytleth ſiue notable thinges in the obſeruatione of the which, ſ Romaines were very curious. ca. 3.

Of the excellency of the Chriſtian Religion, wherby the true god is knowne, and of the vanities of the auncientes in times paſt. ca. 4.

How among the auncientes the Philoſopher Buriſſo was eſteemed, and the wordes he ſpake vnto the at the houre of his death. ca. 5.

Of the wordes, whiche a philoſopher ſpake in the Senat of Rome. cap. 6.

How the gentiles thought that on God was not of power ſufficient, to defend them from their enemies. cap. 7.

Of a letter that the Senate ſent vnto all thoſe, which were ſubiect to the empyre. ca. 8.

Of the liuing God & of the maruailes he wrote in ſ old lawe, to manifeſt his diuine power, & of the ſuperſtition of the falſe gods. ca. 9.

That ther is but one god, & that that Realme is happy, whiche hath a king that is a good Chriſtian. cap. 10.

Of ſundry gods, whiche the auncientes worſhipped and of their temples. cap. 11.

Of the diuerſite of gods whiche the Romaines and other auncient people had. the intent of the auctour was to wryte thoſe thinges, becauſe the Chriſtian prince myght ſee what a ſingular benefyte we haue, whiche know the true God. cap. 12.

How Tyberius the knight was choſen Emp. onely for being a good Chriſtian. And how God depriued Juſtintian the ponger, both of his empyre & ſences for being an heretik. 13.

Of the wordes whiche the emperreſſe Sophia ſpake to Tyberius, whych ſounded to his reproſſe, for that he conſumed the treasures which ſhe had gathered. cap. 14.

The aunſwer of Tyberius vnto the emperreſſe, wherein he declareth that princes neede not to houre by great treasures. cap. 15.

How the Cheſeteyne Marſes overcame many battailes, onely for that his whole confidence was in God. Of the reprochefull wordes which Sophia the emperreſſe ſpake vnto Marſes, wherein may be noted the vniuerſalities of princes towards their ſeruautes. ca. 16.

Of a letter whiche the empe. Mar. Aur. ſent to the king of Trinary, in the which he recytleth the traualles, whiche they endured together in their youth, and reproueh him of his ſmal reuerence towards the ſeples. ca. 17.

The emp. proceedeth in his letter to admoniſhe princes to be fearefull of their gods, and of the ſentence whiche the Senate gaue vpon this king. cap. 18.

How the gentiles honoured thoſe which were deuoute in the ſeruite of the gods. cap. 19.

For ſ. cauſes princes ought to be better Chriſtians, then their ſubiectes. cap. 20.

Of the philoſopher Bias, & of the tenne lawes, which he gaue worthy to be had in mind. 21.

How god from the beginning puniſhed euill men by his iuſtice. cap. 22.

The Auctour proueth by. 12. examples ſ princes are ſharply puniſhed when they blurpe boldly vpon the Churches, and violate the Temples. cap. 23.

How Valentinian the Emp. becauſe he was an euill Chriſtian, loſt in one day both the empyre and his life, and was burned alive in a thepeccote. cap. 24.

Of the emp. Valentinian. and the emp. Gratian his ſone which becauſe they were good Chriſtians were alwaies fortunate. that god geueth victories vnto princes mozt throught ſ teares of them, that pray, then throught the weapons of thoſe that ſpyght. cap. 25.

Of the godly oration, which the emp. Gratian made to his ſouldiours beſore he gaue the battayle. cap. 26.

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famous Booke of Marcus Aurelius. Where

in he treateth, what excellency is in the pynce,

that is a good Christian : and contrariwise,

what euilles do folowe him, that is

a cruell tyrante,



The firste Chapter.

Where the Auctoure speaketh of the byrthe, and lynage, of the vvyse Philosopher and Emperoure, *Marcus Aurelius*. And he putteth also, at the beginninge of this Booke, thre Chapters, vwherein he entreateth, of the discourse of his life: for by his Epistles, and doctrine, the vvhole of this presente vvorke is proued.



AFTER the death of the Emperour Antonius Pius, in the. 695. yeares, from the foundation of Rome, in the 173. Olimpiade: Fuluius Cato, and Gneus Patroclus, then beinge consules, the. 4. daie of October, in the highe Capitoll of Rome, at sute of the whole Romaine people, and with thasent, of the sacred Senate: Marcus Aurelius was proclaimed Emperour vniuersal, of the whole Romaine monarchie. This noble pynce was naturallie of Rome,

borne in the mounte Celio, on the fyrte day befoze the Calendes of Marse, whych after the Latins accounte: is the. 26. daie of Apryll. His graundefather was called Annius verus, and was chose senator, in the tyme of the Emperours Titus and Vespasian, his great grandefather, was named Annus Verus, which was borne in Spayne, in the free towne of Gububa, when the warres were mosse cruell, betwene Caesar and Pompeius, at what time many Spaniards fled to Rome, and many Romaines ranne into Spayne, by this meanes this Emperour had a great graundefather a Romaine: and a greete grandmother, a Spaniard. His father was named Annius Verus, after his graundfather, and great grandfather, for the occasion wherof, the auncient historiographers call him, Marcus Antonius Verus. And true it is, that the Emperoure Adrian, was alwaie called Verissimus, for that he neuer forged lye, nor swarned at any time from the trouthe. These Annii veri, were a kynted in Rome, (as Iulius Capitolinus reporteth) whiche vaunted themselves to come of Numa Pompilius, and Quintus Curtius, the famous Romaine, which (to worke the Romain peoples safetye, and his owne person euerlastinge memorye

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moſe) willingly theſe hym ſelfe, in to the lake of ſcurſe, that as then was ſene in Rome. This Emperours mother was called Domitia Clauilla, as recoſteth Cinnana, in the booke that he wrote of Romaine pedigrees. That ſtocke of Camilli, was in thoſe daies, hyghly honoured in Rome: for that they conueyghed their diſſente from that Camillus, whyche was y renoumed and valiaunte Romaine captaigne, who deliuered Rome, when the Gawles had taken it, and beſieged the Capitoll. The men that ſprange of this linage, beare the name of Camilli, for remembraunce of this Camillus. And the women that came of the ſame ſtocke, kepte the name of Clauilla, the ſaide Camillus his daughter. Thys Clauilla refuſed marriage, and choſe to lyue amonge the beſtall virginites: and there longe ſpace remayned, enduring a ſharpe and harde lyfe. And ſhe was ſo precise in her life, that in the time of Seuerus Emperour of Rome, her tombe was honoured as a relique, whereon was engraueſd thys Epitaphie.

*Clauilla lo, doth beare engraueſd reſt
That onely was, Camillus daughter detie
Twieſe twentye yeares, and ſixte, ſhe hath poſſideſt
A couerte lyfe, vntoucht of any ſeere.*

*The kinge of Trinacry, coulde not ber moue
To taſte, the ſwete delight of wedlockes bande
Nor trayne by ſiue, her ſacred mynde to loue
Incloſed in lreſt, ſo deepe dyd claſſenes ſtande.*

*But oh, great wronge, the crawlyng wormes her do
To gnawe, on that vnſpotted ſencles corſe
That rage of youth, ſpent vndeſyled ſo
With ſober lyfe, in ſpue of Cupides force.*

But to our mater, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the Romaines kepte a certaine law in the .12. tables, y wordes wherof were theſe. The ordeyne and commaunde, that all the Romaines, ſhall for euer haue ſpeciall priuiledge in euery ſuche place, where they auncetours haue done to the Romaine people, any notable ſeruiſe. For it is reaſon, that wher the citizen aduentureth his

lyfe, there the citie ſhould doe hym ſome honoz after his death. By vertue of this law, all the familie of Camilli, euer enioyed the keepinge of the hyghe Capitoll, for that by his force & pollicy, he chaſed the frenche men from the ſiege. Cruellye it is not vknownen, that this noble knight, and valyaunt captaine Camille dyd other thinges as great, and greater, than thys: but becauſe it was done within the circuite of Rome, it was eſtmed aboue all his other actes, and prowes. And here in the Romaines ſwarued not farre from reaſon, for that amongeſt al princely vertues, y is eſtmed to be the chiefeſt, which is employed, to the profite of the comon wealth. The Romaine Cronicles with teares ceaſe not to lament the ruine of their countrey, ſeyng that varietye of time, the multitude of tyrantes, the crueltye of ciuill warres, were occaſion, that the auncient ſtate of the Romaine gouernment came to vtter deſtruction, and in the ſteede thereof, a new and euill trade of lyfe to be placed. And hereof no man ought to maruaile, for it chaſeth through out al realmes and nations (by oft chaunging gouernours,) that among the people dayly ſpringeth ſondry newe vices. Pulio ſaith, that for no alteration whiche befell to the comon weale, for no calamity which euer Rome ſuffred, was that priuiledge taken awaie from the linage of Camill: I meane, the gouernment of y high Capitoll: except it were, in the time of Scilla the conſul, when this family was ſore perſecuted, for none other cauſe, but for that they fauoured the conſull Marius. This cruell Silla, beinge deade, and the pitiful Iulius Ceſar preuaillinge, all the baniſhed men from Rome returned home agayne to the common wealth. As touching the auncetours of Marcus Aurelius the Emperour, what hath bene their trade of life, or eſtate, pouertie, or riches, ſtandinge in fauour, or diſpleaſour, what proſperitie, or aduerſitie they haue had, or ſuffred: we finde

Ande not in wyrtynge, though with great
 dyligence they haue ben serched for. And
 the cause hereof was, for that the auncient
 wyrters of the Romaine histories, touched
 the lyues of the emperours fathers (speci-
 allye, when they were made prynces) more
 for the good merites that were in the chil-
 dren, then for the greate estimacion, that
 came fro the fathers. Iulius Capitolinus
 sayth, that Annius Verus father of Mar-
 cus Aurelius, was Pretor of the Rhodian
 armyes, and also warden, in other fronti-
 ers, in the time of Traiane the good, Adri-
 an the wyse, and Antonye the mercifull.
 Whiche Emperours, trusted none with
 their armyes, but dyscrete, and valyaunte
 men. For good prynces, chuse alwaye suche
 captaynes, as can by wysedome guide the
 armye, and with valiauntnes giue the bat-
 taile. Though the Romaines had sondrye
 warres in diuerse places, yet cheselye they
 kept great garrisons alwayes in foure par-
 tes of the world. That is to say, in Bizance
 (which now is Constantinople) to resiste
 the Parthiens, in Gades (which now is
 called Calis) to withstand the Portugales,
 in the riuer of Rene, to defende them sel-
 ues from the Germaines: and at Colosses
 (which now is called Rhodes) for to sub-
 due the Barbariens. In the moneth of Ja-
 nuary, when the Senate distributed their
 offices, the dictatoure, being appointed for
 6. monethes, and the 2. Consulles chosen
 for one yeare: incontinently in the 3. place,
 they chose 4. of the moste renowned per-
 sonnes, to defende the saide 4. dangerous
 frontiers. For the Romaines neither fea-
 red the paynes of hell, nor trusted for re-
 warde in heuen: but sought by all occasi-
 ons possible in their life, to leaue some no-
 table memozy of them, after their deathe.
 And that Romaine was counted most va-
 liaunte, and of the Senate best fauoured;
 to whom they committed the charge, of the
 moste cruel, and dangerous warres. For
 their strife was not to beare rule, and to be

in office to get mony: but to be in the fron-
 tiers, to ouercome their enemies. In what
 estimacion these 4. frontiers were, we may
 easely perceiue, by that we see, the most no-
 ble Romaines, haue passed some parte of
 their yowthe in those places as captaynes,
 vntill suche time, that for more weightie af-
 faires, they were appointed from thence to
 some other places. For at that time, there
 was no worde so greuous to a citeyzein, as
 to saye, go, go, thou hast neuer ben brought
 by in the warres: and to proue the same,
 great Pompey passed the winter season in
 Biscaya, the aduenturours Scipio, in Co-
 longes, the couragious Caesar, in Gades,
 and the renowned Marcus, in Rhodes.
 And these 4. were not only in the frontiers
 as aforesayde in their yowthe: but there they
 dyd suche valiaunt actes, that the memozy
 of them, remayned euermore after their
 deathe. These thinges I haue spoken to
 proue, syth we finde, that Marcus Aure-
 lius father, was captaine of one of those 4.
 frontiers: it foloweth, that he was a man
 of singuler wysedom, and prowesse. For as
 Scipio sayde (to his frende Masinissa in
 affrike) it is not possible, for a romaine cap-
 taine, to want either wysedome, or cou-
 rage, for thereunto, they were predestined
 at their birth. We finde in no history, from
 whence, when, or how, in what countreis,
 nor with what persones, this captaine pas-
 sed his yowth. And the cause is, for that the
 Romaine cronicklers were not accustomed,
 to wyte the thinges done by their prynces,
 before they were created: but only the actes
 of yong men, which from their yowth, had
 their hartes stoutly bent to greate aduen-
 tures. And in my opinion, it is well done. *
 For it is greater honour, to obtaine an em-
 pire by policie: then to haue it by descent, so
 that there be no tyrannie, Suetonius Tra-
 quillus, in his firste booke of Emperours,
 counteth at large, the aduenturous enter-
 prises taken in hande, by Iulius Caesar in
 his yonge age, thereby to shew vnto prin-
 ces

ses, how earnestly Iulius Cæsars harte was
 hēt to winne hē Romaine Monarchie, & like-
 wise, how wisdom failed him, in behauing
 hym selfe therein. A philosopher of Rome
 wrote to Phalaris the tiraunt, whiche was
 in Cicilli, asking him, why he possessed the
 realme so long by tyrannye: Phalaris aun-
 swered hym agayne in another epistle, in
 these fewe wordes. I graunte (q he) that
 ❖ I was a tiraunte in vsurpinge it. For no
 man occupieth another mans right, but by
 reason, he is a tiraunte. But yet I will not
 agree, to be called a tiraunte, sith it is now
 32. yeares, sins I haue possessed it. And
 though I haue atched it by tyrannye, yet
 I haue gouerned it by wisdom. And I let
 the to vnderstande, that to take another
 mans goodes, it is a thing easie, but to kepe
 them, I ensure the it is verie harde. The
 Emperour Marcus Aurelius, married the
 doughter of Antonius Pius, the 16. Em-
 perour of Rome, and she was named Dina
 Faustina, who, as sole heire, had the em-
 pire: and so, throughe maryage, Marcus
 Aurelius came to be emperour. this Fau-
 stine, was not so honest, and chaste, as she
 was faire, and beautifull. She had by him,
 two sonnes, Cōmodus, and Verissimus.
 Marcus Aurelius triumphed twise, once,
 when he ouercame the Berthians, and an
 other tyme, when he conquered the Argo-
 nates, and Pirrathes. He was a man, very
 wel learned, and of a deepe vnderstanding.
 He was as excellent, bothe in Greke and
 latin, as he was, in his mother tonge. He
 was verie temperate in eatinge, and drin-
 kinge: he wrote many thinges, full of good
 learninge and swete sentences: he dyed in
 conquering the realme of Pannonia, which
 is now called Hongrye. His death was as
 much bewayled, as his lyfe was desyred.
 And he was loued so intierly in the cite of
 Rome, that euerye Romaine, had a statue
 of him in his house, to thende, the memozy
 of him (amonge them) should neuerde caye.
 The which thing, they neuer did for any or

ther, that was either king, or emperoure of
 Rome. He gouerned hē empire, for the space
 of 18. yeres, with vpright iustice: and dyed,
 at the age of 63. yeres, with much honour,
 in the yere clymatericke, which is, in h. 60.
 and 3. yeres, wherein the life of man; con-
 neth in great perill. For then are accom-
 plished the nine seuens, or the seuen nynes.
 Aulus Gellius, writeth a chapter of this
 mater, in the booke, Denotibus Artibus.
 Marcus Aurelius, was a prince, of lyfe
 moste pure, of doctrine most profound, and
 of fortune moste happye, saue onely, for
 Faustine his wife, and Commodus hys
 sonne. And to the ende we maye see, what
 Marcus Aurelius was, from his infācie,
 I haue put here an epistle of hys, whiche
 is this.

❖ The seconde Chapter.

❖ Of a letter, vvhiche *Marcus Au-*
relius sent, to his frende *Pullio*,
 vvherein he declareth, the ordre
 of his lyfe.



Marcus Aurelius, onely Em-
 perour of Rome, greteth hē his
 olde frende *Pullio*, wissheth
 healte to thy personne, and
 peace to the comen wealth. As I was in
 the temple, of the bestal virgins, a letter of
 thine, was presented vnto me, which was
 wyrtten longe befoze, and greatly desired of
 me: but the best therof is, that thou writting
 vnto me briefely, desiredst, that I shuld write
 vnto the at large. Whiche is vndecent for
 the authoritie of him, that is president, and
 chiefe of the empire, in especial, if such one
 be conetous: for to a pzece there is no grea-
 ter infamye, then to be longe in wordes,
 and thozte in rewarde hys seruantes.
 Thou wyrttest to me, of thy grieve. ❖
 in thy legge, and trulye, the payne thereof
 troubleth

troubleth me at my harte, and I am righte
 soz, that thou wantest that, whiche is ne-
 cessary for thy health. For in the ende, all
 the trauayles of the life may be endured, so
 that þy body with diseases be not troubled.
 Thou lettest me vnderstand by thy letters,
 that thou arte arriued at Rhodes, and re-
 quirest me, to wryte vnto the, how I liued
 in that place, when I was yonge, what time
 I gaue my minde to studie, and likewise,
 what the discourse of my life was, vntill the
 time, of my being Emperour of Rome. In
 this case, truly I meruel at the not a lytle,
 that thou shouldest aske me, suche a questi-
 on, and so muche the more, that thou dyd-
 dest not consider, the greate payne, that I
 had, in aunsweringe this demaunde. For
 the doinges, of youth, in a yonge man were
 neuer so byright, but it were more honesty,
 to amende them: then to declare them. An-
 nius Verus my father, shewing vnto me
 his fatherly loue (not accomplisshinge yet
 fully. 3. yeres) dyete me from the vices of
 Rome, & sente me to Rhodes, to learne sci-
 ence, better accompanied with bookes, then
 laden with money: wher I bled suche dili-
 gence, that at the age of. 26. yeres, I red o-
 penly natural philosophy, and Rhetorike,
 and ther was nothinge, gaue me suche oc-
 casion to studye, and reade bookes, as the
 default of money: for pouertie causeth good
 mens chyliden to be vertuous, so that they
 attayne to that by vertue, whiche others
 come vnto by riches. Truly frende Pulio,
 I founde greate want of the pleasures of
 Rome, specially, at my first comming into
 this Ile: but after I had redde philosophie
 10. yeres, at Rhodes, I toke my selfe as one
 borne in the countrey. And I thynke my
 conuersatio among them, caused it to seme
 no lesse. It is a rule that neuer faileth, that
 vertue, maketh a straunger grow natural,
 and vice, maketh the naturall a straunger
 in his countrey. Thou knowest well, how
 my father Annus Verus, was. 15. yeres a

captaine in the frontiers, against the War-
 barous, by the commaundement of Adrian
 my lozde, and master, and Antonius Pius
 my father in law, bothe of them, men of fa-
 mous memozye, whiche recomendyd me
 there, to their frendes, which with fatherly
 counsel exhorted me, to forget the vices of
 Rome, and to accustome me, to the vertues
 of Rhodes. Trulye, it was verye necessa-
 ry, for the naturall loue of the countrey,
 ofte times bringeth damage to him, that is
 borne therein. Thou shalte vnderstande,
 that þy Rhodians, are men of much curtesy,
 and requyting beneuolence, which chaun-
 seth in fewe Iles: because that naturally,
 they are persons deceiteful, subtile, vnthake-
 ful and full of suspicion. I speake this, be-
 cause my fathers frendes succoured me,
 with counsaile, and money: which two thin-
 ges, were so necessary, that I could not tel,
 whiche of them was best. The straunger
 maketh his profite to money, to withstande
 the disdainfull pouertie, and profiteth him-
 selfe with counsel, to forget the swete loue
 of his countrey. I would I had red philoso-
 phy, in this Ile of Rhodes, so many yeaeres,
 as my father continued there captaine. But
 that could not be; for Adrian my Lord sent
 for me, to retorne to Rome, whiche pleased
 me not a litle. Howbeit (as I haue sayd) they
 bled me, as if I had ben borne in that coun-
 trey, but notwithstanding, althoughe the
 eyes delighte to see straunge thinges, yet
 therfore the harte is not satisfied. And this
 is al, that toucheth þy Rhodians. I will now
 tel the, how I was borne and brought vp in
 mounte Celio (whiche is in Rome) with my
 father from mine infancie. In the commen
 wealth of Rome there was a law bled, and
 by custome wel obserued, that no citezens,
 which enioyed any libertie of Rome (after
 their sonnes had accomplished. 10. yeaeres)
 shuld be so bolde, or hardy to walke þy streas-
 tes like vacabondes. For it was a custome
 in Rome, that the chyliden of þy senatours,
 d. ii. should

should sucke til two yerres of age, and til .4. they should liue at their owne willes, and should reade til .6. yeares, and the .6. yeares being passe, they should studie grammer, til .10. yeares were accomplisshed, then they should take some crafte, or occupacion, or giue them selues to study, or go to the exercises of warre, so that throughtout Rome, no man was idel. In the lawe of .12. tables were writen these wordes. We ordeine and commaunde, that euery citizen, that dwel- leth within the circuite of Rome, be bound from .10. yerres bpwardes, to kepe his sonne wel ordered. And if perchaunce the chylde being idel, or that no man teacheth hym a- ny crafte or science, should thereby perad- uenture fall to vices, or commit some wic- ked offences: that then, the father, no lesse, then the sonne, should be bannisshed. For there is nothing, so muche breedeth vices a- mongest the people, as whē the fathers are to negligēt, & the childrē to bold. And fur- thermore another law saide. We ordeine & commaunde, that after .10. yeares be passe, for the first offence that the childe shal com- mit in Rome, that the father shalbe bound, to sende him forth some where els, or to be bound suretie, for the good demeanoure of his sonne. For it is not reaso, that the sonde loue of the father to the sonne, should be an occasion, why the multitude shuld be sclaū- dered: because al the wealth of the empire, consisteth in keepynge, and maineteyning quiet men, and in banisshing and expelling sedicious personnes. I will tel the one thing my Pullio, and I am sure thou wilt mer- uel thereat, whiche is, when Rome trium- phed, and by good wisdomē gouerned all the worlde, the inhabitauntes in the same, surmounted the number of two hundreth thousande parsonnes, which was a merue- lous mater. Amōgest whom (as a man may iudge) there was aboue a hundreth thou- sande children. But they whiche had the charge of them, kept them in such awe, and

doctrine, that they banisshed one of the son- nes of Cato vticensis, for breakinge an erthen pot, in a maydens handes, whiche wente to fetch water. In lyke manner they bannisshed the sonne of good Cinna, onely for entring into a gardein, to gather fraiste. And none of these two were as yet, fiftene yerres olde. For at that tyme, they chastised them moze, for the offences done in geste: then they do now, for those which are done in good earnest. Our Cicero saith, in hys booke De legibus, that the Romanes ne- uer toke in any thing moze paines, then to restraine the children, aswel olde, as yōge, from idelnes. And so longe endured hē feare of their lawe, as they suffred not their chil- dren like bacabondes, idelly to wander the streates. For that countrey maye aboue all other be counted happye, where eche one enioyeth his owne labour, and no man li- ueth, by the swette of another. I let hē know my Pullio, that I remember, when I was a childe (althoughe I am not yet very olde) none darste be so hardie, to goe commonly throughte Rome, without a tokē about him, of the crafte, and occupacion he exercised, and whereby he lyued. And if anye man had bene taken contrarpe, the children dyd not only crie oute of him in the streates, as of a foole, but also the Censour condem- ned him, to trauaile with the captiues in common workes. For in Rome, they este- med it no lesse shame, to the childe whiche was a foole, then they dyd in Grece, to the philosopher which was ignoraunte. And to thende thou maifest see this I wrighte vnto the, to be no newe thinge, thou oughtest to know, that hē emperour caused to be bozne afoze him, a brenning brand, and the coun- sel, an are of armes, hē priestes a hat, in ma- ner of a coyse. The Senatours a crusible on their armes, the Censours, a lytle bal- launce, the Tribunes, Paces: the gouer- nours a scepter, the Bishoppes, hattes of floures. The Oratours a booke: the cutlers

a swerde, the golde smithes, a pot, to melte golde: and so forth of al other offices (straungers excepted) whiche ought to go all after one sorte, marked & noted in Rome. They would not agree, that a straunger should be apparailled, marked, and noted, accordinge to the childre of Rome. And my frend Pulio, it was suche a ioye then, to beholde the discipline, and prosperitie of Rome, and it is now at this present suche a greife, to see the calamitie thereof, that by the immortall gods I sweare to the, & so the god Mars leade my hande in warres, that the man which now is best ordered, is not worthe so muche, as the moste dissolute person was then: for then amongst a thousande, they could not finde one man vicious in Rome: and now, amongstes twentie thousand, they cannot finde one vertuous in all Italye. I know not why & gods are so cruell againste me, and fortune so contrary, that this 40. yeares I haue done nothinge, but wepe, & lamente, to see the good men die, and immediately to be forgotten: and on the other side, to see the wicked liue alwayes, in their prosperitie. Uniuersallye the noble harte maye endure al the trauailes of mans life, vnlesse it be, to see a good man decaye, and the wicked to prosper: which my harte cannot abyde, nor yet my tonge dissemble. As touchinge oure matter, my frend Pulio, I wil write vnto the one thinge, whiche I founde in the booke, of the highe Capitoll, where he treateth of the time of Marius, and Sylla, whiche trulye is worthy of memoire, and that is this. There was at Rome a custome, and a lawe inuolable, sith the tyme of Sylla, that a Censour, expressly commaunded by the senate, should goe, and visite the prouinces, which were subiecte vnto it, througheoute all Italye: and the cause of those visitacions was, for three thinges. The firste, to see if any complained of iustice, the second, to see in what case the common wealthe stode. The third,

to thende that yeaerlye they shoulde render obedience to Rome. And my frend Pulio, how thinkest thou, if they visited Italie at this presente, as at that tyme they surueyed Rome, they should finde it full of errors. And what decaye shoulde they see therein thinkest thou? Trulye (as thou knowest) they should see the common wealthe destroyed, iustice not ministred, and moreouer, Rome not obeyed, and not without a iuste cause. For of righte ought that common wealthe to be destroyed, whiche ons of all other hath bene the flower, and moste beautified with vertues: and after becometh moste abhominable, and defiled with vices. The case was suche, that two yeares after the warres of Sylla, and Marius, the Censour was yeaerly at Nola (whiche is a place in the prouince of Campania) to visite the same countrey, as the custome was. And in those dayes, the tyme and season was verie hote, and the prouince, quiet, and not dystrurbed with warres. The censour sayde to the hoste, whiche lodged hym. Frende, I am a iudge, sente from the Senatours, to visite this lande. Therefore goe thy wayes, to cal the good men hither, whiche be amonge the people, and come agayne quickelye. For I haue to saye vnto them, from the sacred senate. This hoste (who peraduenture was wyser, then the Romaine iudge, althoughe not so ryche) goeth to the graues of the dead, whiche in that place were buried, and spake vnto them with a loude voyce, sayenge. O yee good men, come awaye quickelye, for the Romaine Censour calleth you. The iudge sente hym agayne to call them: and the hoste, as he dyd at the firste tyme, so dyd he now at the seconde. For when he was at the graues, with a loude voyce he sayd. O yee good men, come hither, for the censour of Rome woulde talke with you. And lyke wyse they were called the thirde tyme. And then sith they came not, the Censour

THE DIAL

seemed to be verie much displeased, and sayde: Where is this hoste: come hither. Sith these men dysdayne to come vnto me, and shewe their allegaunce, to the sacred senate of Rome (to thintente I maye punyssh this their dysobedience) I wyll goe vnto them my selfe. Come, and goe with me. The hoste without anye wordes, lede the Censour to the graues, where he had ben before, and agayne with a loude voice cried, O ye good men, I say, ye good men, arise and behold, here is the Romaine Censour, whome the Senate hath sent to visite this oure countrey, who desireth to talke with you, that be good men onelye, arylse, arylse therfore, for he is here and tarrieth by you. The Romaine Censour, lookinge aboute him, and seing no man, marvelled a lōge tyme with him selfe, to whom he shoulde talke, and at the last when he sawe no man, and that he still continued cryeng vnto them, he was in a greate rage, and sayde: Thou lewed fellow, knowest thou what thou doest: canst thou tel whom thou mockest: knowest not thou that I am sent, by the aucthority of the Romaine Senate, to whose commaundemente al the worlde is obedyent. What meanest thou therfore in suche wise to delude me: in calling and crieng here at the tombes of these that be deade: I sente the not to call those whiche (manye yeares since) are dead: but those, whiche (at this present) be alive. The hoste perceauinge the Censour to be offended, determined to answer him no more cowardly vnder coulers, but openly with demonstrations, and sayde vnto him. O thou Romaine iudge, if thou art wise (as it is to be thought thou arte) why doest thou marvelle, or why arte thou displeased with that I haue done. For if thou wilt indifferently wey together y^e whiche I haue done, with that which thou hast sayd, truly thou shalt perceiue some reason in my doinges, and litle wisdom in thy sayenges. Thy demaund was onely for good men. Thou diddest send

me forth to cal vnto the good men, I haue ben there, where they were laied, & if they be not there, trulye I know not where they shalbe found. For I let the vnderstand, that in this our citie of Nola there are no good men, but only these, whiche are deade & lye buried here in these graues. Therfore thou hast no cause to maruelle, nor yet to be displeased wth my answer: but I rather ought to be offended with thy demaunde, whiche is, to enquire for good men, and thou thy selfe, dost offend, with the euil. Wherefore I let the know, if thou arte ignorant thereof: if thou wilt speake with any good man, thou shalt not finde hym in all the hole worlde: vnles the deade be reuiued, or excepte the gods wyl make anewe creation. The Consul Silla was two monethes, in this our citie of Nola, in Campania, sowinge the fruite, whiche ye other Romaines gathered: that is to saye, he lefte chyldren withoute fathers, fathers withoute chyldren, daughters withoute mothers, and husbandes withoute wyues: wyues without husbandes, vnclis without nephewes, subiectes withoute lordes, lordes withoute tenauntes, gods without Temples, Temples without priestes, mountaines without heardes, and fyeldes without frutes. And the worst of all is, that this cursed Silla, emptyed this our citie of good and vertuous men: and replenyshed it, with wicked and vitious personnes. Ruine, and decaye, neuer destroyed the walles so muche, neyther the mootes euer marred so many garmentes, ne the wormes rotted so much frutes, nor yet the hayle beate downe so muche corne, as the disorder, and vices of of Silla (the Romaine Consul) dyd harme, whiche he broughte vnto this land of campania. And although the euils, that he did here to the men, were manyfolde greater: yet muche greater herein was that, which he dyd to their customes, and maners. For in the ende, the good men, whiche he beheaded, are buried nowe with the deade: but

The thirde Chapter.

* but the vices, whyche he leste vs, ouers-
tohealme at this presente all the lyuinge.
In this lande, there are none but proude,
and arrogante men, that delyte to com-
maunde. In this lande, there are none o-
ther, but enuious men, that know nought
els, but malice. In this lande, there are
soel men, whiche doe nothinge, but loose
their tyme. In this lande, there are none
but glottons, whiche doe nothing but eate.
In this land, there are none, but theues,
whiche entende nought els, but robberies.
In this lande, there are none, but rebelles,
that doe nothinge but stirre sedicions. And
if thou, & al the Romaines, esteeme these me
for good, tary a while, I wil go to cal them
al, for if we shuld kil & put in the shambles,
al the yll me, as we do the flesh of shepe, or
other lyke beastes: all the neighbours, & in-
habitanes of Italy, shoulde haue meate suf-
ficiente to eate. Beholde Censor, in this
lande of Campaigna, they call none good,
but those whiche are quyet, sober, wise, and
discrete men. They call none good, but
the pacient, honest, and vertuous men. Fi-
nallie I saye, that we call none good, but
those whiche wyl doe no harme, and wyl
occupy the selues, in good workes. With-
out teares I spake not that whiche I wyl
saye, that is: if we seeke for any of them, we
shall fynde none, but in these graues. For
the iuste iudgemente of the gods was, they
shoulde repose them selues in the intrayles
of the earthe, who in the publyke weale de-
serued not to haue their lyues. Thou
camesse to visite this lande, where thou
shalte immediatly be serued with the wic-
ked: and to hyde their faultes, their disso-
lute life, and their vices, thou shalte not
be a litle solicted. Beleue me, if thou wilt
not vndoe thy selfe, and be deceyued. Trust
thou rather these rotten bones, than they:
* deceiptfull hartes. For the examles of
the deade doe profite good men moze to
liue well: than the counsaile of the wicked,
prouoketh the lyuinge to lyue euill.

* Marcus Aurelius, cōcludeth the
letter, and declareth the sciences
vvhiche he learned, and all the
maisters vvhiche he had. and in
the ende, he reciteth fyue nota-
ble thinges, in the obseruaunce
of the vvhiche, the Romaines
vvere very curious.



HAVE recited these
thinges vnto the, my frende
Pulio, to the ende, that thou
shouldest knowe, that there
is but a smalle number of
those, now a dayes, whiche are good:
but of the euill, the multitude is vnnume-
rable. And this procedeth of none o-
ther thinge, but because the fathers doe
not bryng by their chyldren, as oure aun-
cestours did. It is vnpossible a yonge
childe shoulde be vicious, if with due cor-
rection, he had bene instructed in vertues.
* Annus Verus, in this case, deserved as
muche prayse, as I did reproche. For whi-
les I was yonge, he neuer suffred me to
sleepe in bed, to syt in chayre, to eate with
him at his table, neyther durste I lyfte by
myne eyes, to looke him in the face. And
oftentimes he saied vnto me. Marcus my
sonne, I had rather thou shouldest be an
honeste Romaine, than a dissolute Philo-
sopher. Thou desireste me to wyte vnto
the, howe many maisters I had, and what
sciences I learned in my yowthe. Knowe
thou, that I had diuerse maisters, though
I am become an euill scoller. I learned di-
uerse sciences, though presently I knowe
litle. And not for that I forgote them, but
because the affaires, of the empyre of Ro-
me, excluded me from them, and caused me
to forsake them.

THE D I A L L

* For it is a generall rule, that science in that place is neuer permanente, where the persone is not at libertie. I studied gramer with a maister called Euphermon, whose head was hoze for age. In speache he was very reperate, in correctio somewhat seuer, and in life excedding honeste. For ther was a law in Rome, that the childrens masters shoulde be very olde, so that, yf the disciple were .10. yeres of age, the master should be aboue fiftie. I studied a lōg time Rethorick, vnder a greeke called Alexander, bozne in Lycaony, which was so excellent an Orator, yf he had had as great a grace in writing w his pen, as he had eloquence in speaking with his tonge, truly he had bene, no lesse renowned among the Gretians: then Cicero was honored among the Romains. After the death of this my master (at Naples) I went to Rhodes, and hearde rethoricke again of Orosius, of Pharanton, and of Pulio, whiche trulye were men expert, and excellent in the facultie of an Orator, and especially, in making comedies, tragedies, and enterludes, they were very fyne, and had a goodly grace. Commodus Calcedon, was my firste master, in naturall Philosophie. He was a grane man, and in greate credite with Adrian, he translated Homere out of greke, into latin. After this man was dead, I toke Sextus Cheroneus for my master, who was nephew, to Plutarche the greate, whiche Plutarche, was Traianus master. I knewe this Sextus Cheroneus, at .35. yeres of age, at what time, I doute whether there hath bene any philosopher that euer was so well esteemed throughout the Roman empire, as he. I haue him here with me, and although he be foure score yeres old, yet continually he writeth, the histories and gesses, done of my time. I let the know, my frend Pulio, that I studied the lawe, .2. yeres, and the seeking of the lawes of many nacions, was occasion, that I knew many antiquities, and in

this science, Volucius Mecianus was my master, a man which coulde reade it well, and also dispute of it better. So that on a time he demaunded of me merisly, and saide. Tell me marke, doest thou thinke there is any lawe in the worlde that I knowe not? and I aunswered him: Tell me master, is there any lawe in the worlde that thou obseruest? The fyfthe yere that I was at Rhodes, there came a marueylous pestilence, whiche was occasion, of the dissolution of our scoole: and though I was in a narrowe, and litle place, where were certaine paynters, paintinge an excellent worke for the Realme of Palestine: yet I for a truth learned there to drawe and painte, and my master was Diogenetus, who in those daies, was a famous painter. He painted in Rome, 6. worthe Princes, in one table: and 6. other tyrannous emperours in an other. And amongst those euyl, Nero the cruell was paynted so lyuely, that by his eyes, he seemed to be alpye: and that table wherein Nero was so lyuely drawen, was by decree of the sacred senat, comanded to be burnt. For they saide, that a man of so wycked a life, deserued not to be represented, in so goodly a table. Others saide, that it was so naturall and so perfectlye painted, that he made all men asrayde that beheld him, and if he had bene lefte there a felwe daies, he would haue spoken, as if he had bene alpye. I studied the arte of Pigromancie a while, with all the kyndes of pyromancye, and chymancye. In this science, I had no particuler master, but that sometymes I went to heere Apolonius lecture. After I was married to Faustine, I learned Cosmographie, in the citie of Argeleta, which is the chiefeste towne of Illyria: and my masters were Iunius Rusticus, and Cynna Catullus, Croniclers, and counsaylers, to Adrian my master, & Antonius my father in law. And because I would not be ignorant in any of those thinges, that mans debilitie mighte

mighte attaine to, beinge at the warres of Dalia, I gaue my self to musicke, and was apte to take it, and my master was named Geminus, a man of a quicke hand to play, and of as pleasaunte a voice to singe: as euer I hearde Romayne tonge, prompte to speake. This was the order of my lyfe, and the tyme, that I spent in learnynge. And of good reason, a man so occupied, cannot chuse but be vertuous. But I sweare and confesse to the, that I did not so much giue my selfe to studie, but that euery day I lost tyme enoughe. For youthe and the tender fleshe, despyreth libertie, and althoughe a man accustome it with trauayles, yet he findeth vacant tyme also for his pleasours. Althoughe all the aunciente Romans were in dyuerse thinges very studious: yet notwithstandinge, amongst all, ouer and besides these, there were fise thinges, wherevnto they had euer a greate respecte: and to those that therein offended, neyther requestes auayled, rewardes profited, nor lawe, olde nor new dispensed. Trulye their good willes are to be commended, and their diligence to be exalted. For the prynces that gouerne great Realmes, oughte to employ their hartes to make good lawes, and to occupye their eyes, to see them duly executed, throughout the common wealth. These fise thinges were these.

* The firste, they ordeyned, that the prestes shoulde not be dyshonest. For in that Realme, where prestes are dyshonest, it is a token, that the gods agaynst the people are angrie.

* The second, it was not suffered in rome, that the Virgynnes bestalles shoulde at their pleasour straye abrode. For it is but reason, that she, whiche of her owne free wyll hath heretofore promysed openly to be good, shoulde now, if she chaunge her mynde, be compelled in secrete to be chaste.

* The third, they decreed, that the iudges

shoulde be iuste and byryghte. For there is nothynge that decayeth a common wealthe more, then a iudge, who hath not for all men, one ballaunce indifferente.

The fourth was, that the Capraynes whiche shoulde goe to the warres shoulde not be cowardes: for there is no lyke danger to the common wealthe, nor no lyke sleaunder to the Prynce, as to commytte the charge of men to hym in the field, who wyll be firste to commaunde, and laste to fighte.

The fift was, that they whiche had charge of byryngynge vp of chyldren, shoulde not be vicious. For there is nothynge more monstrous and more sleaunderous, than he that is mayster of chyldren, shoulde be subiecte, and seruaunte to byces. Howe thinkest thou my frende Pullio, whan al these thinges were obserued in Rome? Thinkest thou, that the youthe was so dissolute, as at this present: thinkest thou in deede, that it is the same Rome, wherein (in times past) were so notable good and auncient men? beleuest thou that it is that Rome, wherein (in the golden age) the old men were so honest, and the chyldren so well taught, the armies well ordered, and the iudges and Senatours so byryghte and iuste: I call God to witnes, and sweare to the, that it is not Rome, neither hath it any likenesse of Rome, nor yet any grace to be Rome, and he that woulde saye, that this Rome, was the olde Rome, knoweth litle of Rome. The matter was this, that the aunciente, and vertuous Romaynes beinge dead, it semeth to the gods, that we are not yet worthy to enioye their houses. So that either this is not Rome, or els we be not the Romaynes of Rome. For consideringe the prowesse, and vertuous deedes of the aunciente Romaynes, and wayenge also our dissolute liues, it were a very great infamy for the, to call vs their successors. I desire my frend Pullio, to write vnto the
all

THE DIALL

all these thinges, to thende thou maifest see, what we were, and what we are. For great thinges, haue neede of great power, and require a longe time befoze they can grow and come to their perfeccion, and than afterwarde, at one momente, and wyth one blow, they fal downe to the ground. I haue bene moze tedious in my letter, than I thought to haue ben, now I haue said, that wyth diligence in .3. or .4. times I haue written in mine, that which lacked in thine: and that whyche remaineth, in an other letter shalbe fulfilled: but since I pardone the for being so bryefe, pardon thou me, for beinge to longe. I saue the ones enquire for vnicoznes horne in Alerandry, wherfoze now I send the a good piece, and likewise I send the a horse, which in my iudgemēt is good. Aduertise me if thy doughter Drusilla be alyue, wyth whom I was wont to laugh, and I wyl helpe her to a mariage. The immortal gods kepe the, thy wyfe, & thy step-mother, and salute thy daughter in my behalf. And I wyth my wyfe Faustine also salute the. Marke of Mounte Celio Emperour of Rome, with his owne hand, writeth vnto the.

☛ The fourth Chapter.

☛ Of the excellencie of Christian Religion, vvhiche manifesteth the true God, and disproueth the vanite of the auncientes, hauinge so many Gods. And that in the olde time, vvhā the enemyes vvere reconfyled in theyr hovvses, they caused also, that the Gods should embrace eche other in the temples.



E that is the onely deuyn worde, begotten of the Father, for de perpetuall of the Hierarchies, moze aunciente then the heauens, Prince of all holynesse, chiefe heade, from whome all hadde theyr begynnyng, the greatestte of all gods, and creator of all creatures, in the profoundnesse of hys eternall sapience: accordeth all the harmony, and composition of Christian religion. This is suche a maner of sure matter, and so well laid, that neither the miseries, which spring of th infections of naughty Christians can trouble, nor yet the boysterous windes of the heretiques are able to moue. For it were moze likely, that heauen and earthe shoulde both perishe, then it should suspend for one daie, and that ther shoulde be no Christian religion. The auncient godds, whyche were inuentours of worldly thinges, as the foundacion of their reprobued sectes, was but a flience sande and an vnstable ground, full of dangerous, & erronious abuses: so some of those pooze wretches, lookinge perhappes lyke a shippe ranninge vppon a rocke, suspectinge nothinge, were drowned. Other, like ruyned buildinges were shaken in sonder, and fell downe dead: finally, these gods, which onely bare the name of gods, shalbe for evermoze forgotten. But he onely shalbe perpetuall, which in god, by god, and thorough god, hath his beginninge. Many and sundry were the multitude of the nations, whyche haue bene in tymes passe. That is to wytte, the Sirians, the Asirians, Persians,

Persians, Medians, Macedonians, Gre-
 cians, Cythians, Arginians, Corinthi-
 ans, Indians, Athenians, Lacedemoni-
 ans, Africans, Vandales, and Swenos,
 Allains, and Hunnes, Germaignes, Bri-
 tons, Hebrewes, Palastines, Gentiles,
 Iberthaulides, Mairians, Lucitanians,
 Gothes, and Spaniards. And truly in
 all these, loke how greate the difference a-
 mongest them in their customes and ma-
 ners was: so muche diuersitye was of the
 ceremonies, whiche they vsed, and of their
 gods, whiche they honoured. For the gen-
 tiles had this error, that they sayd one a-
 lone was not of power sufficient, to create
 suche a multitude, as were created. If I
 were before all the sages that euer were,
 they would not say the contrary, but with-
 out comparison, the gods, whom they wor-
 shipped and inuented, were greater in mul-
 titude: then the realmes, & prouinces were,
 whiche they conquered, and possessed. For
 by that folye, the auncient poetes durst as-
 firme in their wytynges, that the gods of
 one nation and countrey, were mortal en-
 mies to the gods of another prouince. So
 that, the gods of Troye, enuied the gods of
 Grece moze, the princes of Grece, en-
 uied the prynces of Troye. What a thinge
 was it to see the Assirians, in what reue-
 rence they worshipped the god Belus. The
 Egyptians, the god Apis. The Caldeans,
 the god Asas. The Babilonians, the god
 dragon. The pharaones, the statue of gold.
 The Palestines, the god Belezbuthe. The
 Romaines honoured the god Jupiter. The
 Penians the god Mars. The Corinthians
 the god Apollo. The Arabians the god As-
 taroth. The Argintians the Sonne. Those
 of Acaia the Moone. The Ciddonians, Bel-
 phegon. The Amonites Balhalin. The
 Indians Baccus. The lacedemonians Osi-
 ges. The Macedonians did sacrifice to Mar-
 cury. The Ephesians to their goddesse Vi-
 ana. The Grekes to Juno. The Armeni-
 ans to Liber. The Troians to Vesta. The

Latins to Februa. The Carthines to Cee-
 res. The Rhodians (according to the sayenge
 of Apolonius) worshipped, and beloued in
 the god Janus, and aboue all thinges, we
 oughte to mervaille at this. That they striz-
 ued oftentimes amongst them selues; not
 so muche vppon the possessions, and signori-
 ries of Realmes: as vppon a certaine obsti-
 nacie they had, to maintaine the gods of the
 one, to be of greater power, then the others. *
 For they thoughte, yf their gods were not
 esteemed, that the people should be impoue-
 rished, vnforsunate, and persecuted. Pullio
 in his second booke, De dissolutione regio-
 num orientarum, declareth, that the first
 prouince that rebelled againste the Empe-
 rour Helius Adrianus (whiche was the
 fiftenth Emperour of Rome) was the land
 of Palestine, against the whiche, was sent
 a captaine, named, Iulius Severus, a man
 of great courage, and in feates of armes
 aduenturous, and fortunate. This
 captaine did not onely synthe the warres,
 but he wroughte suche an outragious de-
 struction in that lande, that he besieged, 52.
 cities, and rased them to the grounde, and
 burned, 980. villages, and slewe so many in
 battaile by Justice, that amounted to the
 nombze of, 5000. persons. For vnto the *
 proude and cruell captaines, victorie can
 neuer be glorious, vnlesse they water the
 grounde with the bludde of their enemies.
 And furthermore, in the cities and towne
 besieged, the chyldren, olde men, and wo-
 men, whiche died throughe hunger, and pe-
 stilence, were moze in nombze, than those
 whiche were slain in the warres. For in war- *
 res, the sworde of the enemies lighteth not
 vpon all, but pestilence, and famine, hath
 no respecte to any. After this warre of the
 Palestines was ended, immediately after
 arose a moze crueller, betwixte the Allay-
 nes, and Armenians. For there are many *
 that se the beginninge, of the troubles and
 mysries, whiche aryse in Realmes: but
 there are fewe, that consider the ende, and
 seke

De Hys
 De Hys
 De Hys
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 De Hys

seke to remedye the same. The occasion of this warre was, as they came to the feast of the mount Olympus, they fel in disputacions, whether of their gods were better, and whiche of them ought to be preferred, befoze other. Whereof there sprang suche contradictions, and suche mortal hatred, that on enerye parte, they were furth onflye moued to warres, and so, vnder a colour to mainteine the gods, which they honoured, both the common wealthes, were brought into great pouertie, and the people also into muche miserie. The Emperoure **H**eliuſ Adrianus, seinge such cruel warres to arise vpon so lighte occasion, sente thither the captayne aboue named, Iulius Seuerus, to pacifie the Allaines, and Armenians, and commaunded hym, that he should persecute those with warres, whiche would not be ruled, by his arbitrement and sentence. For those iustly deserue ſwozdes which with no reasonable condicions, wil condescende vnto peace. But Iulius Seuerus vsed suche pollicye, that he made them good frendes, and neuer touched them nor came nere them. Which thing, was no lesse acceptable to the Emperour, then profitable to the realmes. For the captaine, which subdueth the countrey by entreatye, deserueth moze honoure, then he, whiche ouercometh it by batayle. The agremente of the peace was made, vpon such condicion, that the Allains shuld take for their gods, the Armenians gods, and the Armenians on the contrary, the gods of the Allains: and further, whē the people shuld inbrace, and recōcile them selues to the senate, that then the gods shuld kisse the one, the other, and to be reconciled to the temple. The vanities of the auncientes was suche, and the blindnes of mortall men so greate, and so subiect were they, to deuillish deuises, that as easely as the eternal wisdomē createth a liuely man now a dayes: so easely then a baينه man might haue inuēted a false god. For the Esparſians had this opinion, that

men had no lesse power to inuent goddes, then god had to create men.

The fyfte Chapter.

Howve the Philosopher Bruxellus vvas greatly esteemed amongest the auncientes, for his lyfe, and the vwoordes vvhiche he spake vnto the Romaines, at the houre of his death.



Harasmaco in his 20. booke *De libertate deorum*, (whereof Cicero maketh mencion, in his booke, *De natura deorum*) saith: whē

the Gothes toke Rome, & besyged the high capitoll, there came amongest them a philosopher called Bruxellus, the whiche after the Gothes were repulſed out of Italie remained with Camil at Rome. And because at that tyme Rome wanted Philosophers, this Bruxelles was had in great veneration amongest all the Romaines, so that, he was the firste straunger, of whom beyngē alpye, a statue was euer made in the Senate. The Romaines vsed to make a statue of the Romaines, beingē alie: but not to straungers, till after their death. The age of this Bruxellus was. 113. whereof, 65. he had ben an inhabitaunte of Rome. And amonge other thinges, they recite. 7. notable thinges of his life. The firste is, that in. 60. yeares, no man euer sawe him issue out of the wales of Rome. For in the olde tyme, the Sages were litle esteemed, if in their behauiours, they were not vprighte. The seconde is, that in. 60. yeares, no man heard him speake an idel word: for the wordes that are superfluous, do greatly deface the authozitie of the persons.

The

The thirde is, that in all his tyme, they neuer sawe hym lose one hower of tyme.

* For in a wyse man, ther is no greater follye, then to see him spende a moment of an houre idellye,

The fourthe is, that in all his tyme, he was neuer detected of any vice. And let no man thinke this, to be a small matter. For fewe are they of so longe life, which are not noted of some infamy after their death.

* The fift is, that in al the .60. yeaeres, he neuer made quarel, nor strived with anye man: and this thynge oughte to be no lesse esteemed then the other. For trulye, he that lyueth a longe tyme withoute offeringe wronge to another, maye be called a monster in nature.

* The sixt is, that in thre or foure yeaeres, he neuer issued oute of the temple, and in this case, this philosopher shewed him selfe to be a good man. For the vertuous man oughte not, to contente him selfe onely to be boyde of vices: but also he oughte, to withdraue him selfe from the vicious.

The seuenth is, that he spake more often vnto god, then vnto men. This philosopher now drawinge neere to the houre of death, all the Senate came to visite hym, and to thanke him, for that he had lyued so longe amongst them, in so good conuersacion, and that so willingly, he cared and watched for the wealthe of Rome. And likewise, all the people of Rome were righte sorre for his disease, and that they should lose the companye, of suche an excellent, and vertuous man. The good philosopher in the presence of them all, spake these wordes.

¶ The sixte chapter.

¶ Of that the sage Philosopher spake, to the Senate of Rome.



Ynce you are wyse (o worthy senators) me thinketh you should not lament my death, cithers I my selfe so ioyfully do receiue it. For we ought not to lament the death we take, but the wicked life, whiche we leade. That man is verie simple, that dreadeth death, for feare to lose the pleasures of lyfe. For death, ought not to be feared, for losse of lyfe: but because it is a sharpe scourge, of the wicked lyfe. I dye (noble Senators) in ioye and pleasoure. First, because I doe not remember, that euer I dyd any euil in all my life, or displeasour to anye of the common wealthe. And I am certayne, that the gods wil do him no harme, at the houre of his death. Secondarily, I dye ioyfully, to see all Rome lament the losse of my lyfe. For that man is verie wicked, whose lyfe the people lament, and at whose death, they do reioyse. Thirdly, I dye ioyfully, onely to remember, that this .60. yeaeres, whiche I haue ben in Rome, alwaies I haue trauailed for the common wealthe. For the iuste gods tolde me, that there is no death with payne, but where lyfe is withoute profite. Fourthly, I dye ioyfully, not so muche for the profite I haue done to men, as for y service I haue done to y gods. For regarding to how manye unprofitable thinges we employe our lyfe, we maye saye, we lyue onely the tyme, whiche is employed to the seruice of god. Ceasinge to speake further of my person, I wyl (worthy Senators) disclose vnto you, a highe secrete, whiche toucheth your common wealthe, and it is. That our father Romulus founded Rome, Numa Pompilius erected the highe Capitoll, Anc^{us} Marci^{us} enclosed it with walles, Brutus deliuered it from Trauntes, the good Camillus, drove oute the frenchemen. Quintus Scicinnatus, augmented her power: but I leaue it peopled

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pled

* pled with gods, whiche shal defende Rome better, then walles of men. For in the ende, the feare of one god is more worthe, then the strengthe of al men. When I came to Rome, it was a confusion, to se how it was peopled with men, and vnsurnysshed of gods. For there were but .v. gods, that is to wete, Iupiter, Mars, Ianus, Berecinthia and the goddesse Vesta. But now it is not so. For there remaineth but one onely god for all. He thinketh it an vniuste thing, the treasours shoulde be full of golde, and the temples boyde of goddes. As there is .200. neighbours, so ye haue great desire, that I would tel you of .200. gods: by the vertue of the which, I confute you Romaines, y eche of you be contented, with y god of his house, and haue no care to applye to him selfe, the gods of the comon wealth. For he that em-
 * propereth to him selfe that, whiche oughte to be common to al, is to be blamed of god, and hated of men. This shalbe therefore the order, that you shal keape and haue towar- des the gods, if you wyll not erre in their seruice. That is to vnderstande, yee shall keape y mother Berecinthia, to pacifie the ire of the gods. yee shal keape the goddesse Vesta, to turne from you the wicked desse- nises. ye shal keape the god Iupiter and shal commit vnto him y gouernement of your common wealthe. And also ye shall keape him, for the god aboue all the gods in hea- uen and earthe. For if Iupiter dyd not temper the ire, whiche the gods aboue haue againste you, there shoulde be no memory of men here beneth in earthe. Of other particuler gods whiche I leaue you, vse your particuler profite. But yet notwithstanding in the meane season (Romaines) take you hede to your selues, and if at any tyme fortune should be contrarie, let no man be so hardy to speake euil of the god, which he hath in his house. For the gods tel me, that it was sufficient inough, to dissemble with them which serue them not, and not to par- don those, that offende them in sapenge,

that they are priuate gods, and not able to helpe themselues. For I let you know, that there is not so lytle a god, but is of power sufficiēt, to reuenge an iniurye. And Roma- nes, it is reason that al, from hensforth, liue ioyfullye, and in peace, and furthermore, thinke your selues assured, not to be ouer- come by your enemies: because now, your neighbours of you, and not you of them, shal desire to borow gods. For ye shal se me no more. ye thinke I must die, and I thinke because I dye, I shal beginne to liue. For I go with the gods, and leaue among you the gods, because I departe.

The seuenth Chapter.

* Hovve the Gentiles thoughte, that one God, vvas not able to defende them from their ene- mies, and hovv they sent throu- ghout al the countrey to borow gods, vwhen the Romaines foughte against the Gothes.



IN the year of the foundacio of Rome, 1694. whiche according to the counte of the Latins, is 412. from the incarnaci- on (as Paulus Orosius, in the sixte booke, De machina mundi, sayeth, and Paulus Diaconus, in the 12. boke of the Romaine histories) The gothes (whiche as Spartian sayeth, were called o- therwise Gethules, or Messagethes) were driven out of their countrey by the Huns, and came into Italy, to seke new habitaci- ons, and became natural, and built houses. At this time there was an Emperoure of Rome, named Valentine, a man of smal re- putacion, and courage in warres, and ens- lued with few good condicions. for that he was

was of Ariā his secte. The kinges of these Gothes, were two renowned men, whose names were, Randagagismus, and Alaricus. Of the which two, Randagagismus was the chiefest, and most puissant. For he led wth him at the least, 2000000. Gothes, the which, al wth him and he wth them, made an othe, to shed as much bloud of the Romaynes, as they coude, & to offer it to their gods. For the barbarous people had a custome, to noynte the god (which was at that time in the temple of Venus) wth h^{is} bloud of their enemies, whiche they had slayne. The newes of the comminge of this cruell straunte, was published throughout all Italie. Whose determinacion was not onely to race the walles of Rome downe to the earth, batter towers, dungions, houses, walles, and buildinges; but also, he purposed to abolyshe, and utterly to bynge to nought, the name of Rome, and likewise of the Romaynes. Of this thing all the Italiens were in great and merueilous feare. And the moste puissant and couragious knightes, nobles, and gentlemen, agreed together, to retire within the walles of Rome, and determined to die in that place, to defend the liberty thereof. For amonges the Romaynes there was an aunciente custome, that where they created a knyghte, they made him sweare thre thynges.

Firste, he sware to spende all the dayes of his lyfe in the warres.

Secondarely, he sware that neither for pouerty nor ryches, nor for any other thynges, he shoulde euer take wages, but of Rome onely.

Thirde, he sware that he would rather chuse to die in libertie, then to liue in captiuitie.

After all the Romaynes (scattered a brode in Italie) were together assembled in Rome, they agreed to sende letters by their pursuantes, not onely to their subiectes, but also, to all their confederate. The effecte whereof was this.

The eight Chapter.

Of a Letter, that the senate sent vnto all those, vvhich vvere subiecte to the empire.



THE sacred Senate, and al h^{is} people of Rome, to all their faithfull and louing subiectes, and to their deare frendes, and confederates, wyshe the health and victorie, agaynst your enemyes. The varietie of time, the negligēce of you all, and the vnhappye successe of oure aduentures, haue broughte vs in perilles of tyme, that where as Rome conquered her almes, and governed so manye straunge signoryes, now at this daye, commethe straungers to conquere, and destroye it, in suche sorte, that the Barbarous people (whom we were wont to kepe for slaues) sweare to become our lordes and masters. We know now, how al the Barbarous nation hath conspired againste Rome, oure mother, & they, with their king, haue made a bove, to offer all the Romaynes bloude, to their gods in the temples. And peraduenture, their pryde and sycophanyes being seen, and our innocēcy knowen, fortune wyl dyspose another thinge. For it is a generall rule, that it is vnpossible for a prince to haue the victorie of that warre, whiche by malice is begonne, and by pryde and sycophanyes pursued. It hath seemed good vnto vs (synce their cause is vniuste, and oure ryghteous) to endeouore oure selues by all meanes, howe to resyste this Barbarous people. For ofte tymes, that whiche by iustice was gotten, by negligēce is losse. For the remedy of this mischiefe to come, h^{is} sacred senate hath provided.

THE DIALL

ded these thinges solowynge: and for the accomplishinge thereof, your fauour and ayde is necessarie.

Firste of al, we haue determined to repaire with all dyligence, our ditches, walles, gates, and bulwarkes: and in these places, to arme all our frendes. But to accomplishe that, and dyuers other for the necessitie of warfare, we lacke monye: for ye know wel inoughe, that the warre cannot be prosperous, where enemyes abounde, and monye is scarce.

Secondarily, we haue commaunded that all those (whiche be swozne knyghtes of Rome) repaire immediatlye to Rome: and therefore, ye shal sende all those, which are vnder thage of 50. and aboue thage of 20.

For in greate warres, aunciente men for counsaile, and yonge men and lustye to execute the same, are required.

Thirdely, we haue agreed and concluded, that the cite be prouided of victualles, munitions, and defences, at the leasse for 2. yeres. Wherefore we desire yee, that yee sende vs from you the thirde parte of wine, the one halfe of fleshe, and the thirde parte of your breade. For we haue all swozne to dye: yet we meane not to dye for famine, assaged as fearefull men: but fightinge in playne felde, lyke valyaunte Romaynes.

Fourthly, we haue prouided (since the vnknewen barbarous come to fighte with vs) that you bringe vs to Rome, straunge goddes, to healpe, and defende vs. For you know well inoughe, that since the greate Constantyne, we haue ben so poze of gods, that we haue not but one god, whome the Christians doe honour. Therefore we desire you, that you wil also succoure vs with your gods, in this our extreame necessitie. For amongst the gods, we know no one alone sufficient, to defende all the Romaine people, from their enemyes. The walles therefore being well repayred, and all the yonge and warrelke men in garrison, in the cite, the batteries well furnished, and

the treasour house well replenished with monye, & aboue all, the temples wel adourned with goddes: we hope in oure gods, to haue the victorie of oure enemyes. For in fightinge with men, and not agaynst gods, a man ought alwayes to haue hope of victorie. For there are no men of suche mighte, but by god, and other men, maye be bainequished. This epytyle was sente, through all the dominion of the Romaynes, and not tarynge for aunswere of the same, they forthewith openlye blasphemed the name of Christ, and set vp idoles in the temples, bled the ceremonies of the gentyles, and that whyche was worse then that, they said openlye, that Rome was neuer so oppressed with tyrauntes, as it hath ben sence they were Christians. And further they sayde, if they called not againe the gods to Rome, the cite should neuer be in safegarde, for that they had dishonoured and offended their gods, and caste them oute of Rome, and that those Barbarous were sente, to reuenge their iniurie. The deuine prouidence, whiche getteth no place to humayne malice, to execute his forces, befoze h walles were repaired, and befoze the messangers brought aunswere, and befoze the straunge gods coulde enter into Rome, Randagas gismus, king of the gothes, with 200000 of the barbarous (withoute the effusion of Christian blood) sodaynelye in the mountaynes of Vesulanes, with famyne, thirst, and stones, whyche fell from heauen, losse all hys armye, not one leste alyue, but him selfe, whose had hys heade strycken of in Rome. And this thinge the eternall wysedome broughte to passe, to thende the Romaynes shoulde see, that Ihesus Christ, the true god of the Christians, had no nede of straunge gods, to defend hys seruantes.

The

The ninthe Chapter.

Of the luyunge god and of the
maruailes he yvrote in the olde
lavve, to manifest his divine po-
wver, and of the superstition of
the false gods.



Grosse yгно-
raunce, and vnsp-
keable obstinacye.

Judgement
res of G D D, in-
scrutable.

What thynke
these gentyles by the true god: They fear-
ched the false gods to heape them, and had
a luyunge god of their owne: they soughte
gods full of gyle, and dyscreyte, and worse
then that, they thoughte it necessarye, that
that god, whiche created all thinges, should
be accompanied with other gods, to de-
fende them, whyche coulde make nothinge.
Let now all their goddes come forth into
the fyeldes one the one syde, and I will goe
forthe alone in godlye compaignye, that is to
saye, with the hygge god one thother parte.
And we will compare the deades, and
proue the aydes of the false God, agaynste,
and with the leasse worke of our true god.
And they shall clearely perceiue their falshe-
hode, and oure trueth. For the tonge that
speaketh of God, can neuer beare with any
lye: and that whyche speaketh of Idolles,
can neuer dysclose anye trueth. If they es-
teeme hym muche, for creatinge the worlde
with hys myghte, is it anye lesse, to pre-
serue and gouerne it by hys wysedome.
For many thinges are done in a moment,
for the preseruacion whereof, longe tyme
is requysyte, and muche paynesful transaile

necessarye. I demaunde further, what
God of the gentyles, coulde doe that, which
oure God hath done: that is to knowe,
with in one Arcke, to make quyet the Lion
with the leoperd, the wolfe with the lambe,
the Beare with the Colwe, the Tigar with
the Cocodrill, the stoned horse with the
Mare, the Dogge with the Catte, the fore
with the Hennes, the houndes with the ha-
res, and so of other beastes: whose enmyrte
is greater agaynst other beastes, then that
of man is, agaynst men. For thenmyrte
amonges men, proceedeth of malycie: but
that of beastes, proceedeth of nature. Also
I demaunde, what God, if it were not the
true God so myghtye, coulde sleie & browne,
in one holwer and momente, so many men,
women, and beastes: so that all those, which
were in the worlde (eighte onely excepted)
perished in the deluge of Noe. The iud-
gemente of god by ordynance, and their
offences, deserued this so meruelous a do-
mage. For god neuer executed anye nota-
ble punysshment, but firste it came through
their wycked offences. And if this be coun-
ted for a greate thinge, I wyl that ano-
ther thinge be had in greate estymacyon.
Whiche is, that if god shewed hys ryg-
orous iustyce in this punysshment, incon-
tinentlye he shewed hys myghte and cle-
mencye in remedyng it, in that of these
eyght persons (whiche were but fewe) the
generacion dyd multiplye in so greate a
number, that they dyd replenysh manye
and greate Realmes. Whereon a man
oughte to maruell, for accordyng as A-
ristotle sayeth, the great thynges are easi-
lye put to destruccyon, and broughte to
noughte: but with greate dyscultye, they
are remedyed, and repayred agayne.
And further I demaunde: what God of the
gentyles was so poussaunte to doe this,
whyche the G D D of the Hebrues dyd,
in that aunycpente, and opulente realme of
the Egypcians: That is to witte, when
he woulde, and when it pleased hym, he
e. lxx. made

made the ryuers runne blonde, infected the flesh, darkened the ayer, dyed the seas, and steepe the firrste begotten, obscured the sonne, and dyd wonders in Chanaan, and other wonderfull thynges in the reade sea. Fynallye, he comaunded the sea, to drowne the prynce alyue, with all hys Egyptians, and that it shoulde let the Hebrues passe dyde. If one of these false goddess had done these thynges, it had ben to be meruayled at: but the trewe god doing it, we shoulde not meruayle at all. For accordynge to oure lytle vnderstandyng, it semeth a great thinge: but in respecte of that the deuyne power can doe, it is nothyng. For where God putteth hys hande, there are no men so myghtye, no beastes so proude, nor heauen so highe, nor sea so deape, that can resist hys power. For as he gaue them power, so can he take it from them, at hys pleasure. Further, what God of the gentyles (althoughe they were all assembled together) coulde haue had the power to haue destroyed one man onelye, as the true god dyd: the whyche (in the tyme of kynge zedechias) made an hundred and .8. score thousande of the campe of the Assirians dye, the Hebrues being a sleepe, whiche were their mortall enemyes. And trulye in this case, god shewed to the Prynces, and great lordes, how lytle their greate armies, their monye, and their subtylle wyttes, preuaile them in feates of warre, when god hath determined another thyng for their destruction. For the firrste inuencion of warre, proceedeth of mans ambition, and worldelye malysie: but the victorie of them, proceedeth of the deuyne pleasured. What god of the gentyles coulde haue done that, whiche oure true God dyd: when he broughte vnder the feete of the renowned Captayne Iosue, two and thirty kinges, & Realmes, whome he depryued not onelye from their landes, but also berefte them their liues, in tearynge them in peeces, and deuydng the myserable realmes, into .12. Tribes. Those

Those realmes (whiche in olde tyme belonged vnto the hebrues) were moze the .2000. yeares, kepte of them by tyrany. Wherfore god woulde, that by the handes of Iosue, they shuld be restored. And though god deferred it a longe tyme, it was to giue them greuous tormentes, and not for that god had forgotten them. And althoughe princes do forget many wyages, and tyrannies: yet notwithstanding, riuers of blood, cease not to runne before the face of the vytyne Justice. If all the auncient goddess had had power, would not they also haue holpen their princes: since the goddess lost no lesse, in losing their temples, then men lost in losing their realmes. For it touched more the case of the auncientes, to lose on lytle temple: then for me, to lose a noble realme. We see that the goddess of the troians could not resiste the greekes, but that bothe men and gods, gods & me, came into carthage, and fro carthage into Linacry, and from Linacry, into Italie, and from Italie, into Laurentum, and from Laurentum, into Rome. So they went aboute slieng, declaring that the gods of Troie were no lesse conquered, of the gods of Grece: then the Dukes, and captaynes of grece, were vanquished of the captaynes of Troie: the which thinge is harde to them that presume to be gods. For the true god, dothe not onelye make hym selfe feared: but also to be beloved, and feared. That we say of the one, the same we maye wel saye of the others. That is to know, that all the gods had realmes, and temples, wherein they were honored, and serued: but we see thone dystroyed the other, as it is declared by the Hebrues, which were in bondage of the Assirians: the Assirians of the Persies: the persies, of the Macedonians: the Macedonians of the Medes: the Medes of the Grekes: the Grekes of the Ronians: the Ronians of the Gothes: the Gothes of the Moores: So that there was no realme or nation but was conquered. Neither the wy

ters can deny, but they would haue exalted their gods and ceremonies; that the gods and their worshippers shuld not haue ende. But in the ende, bothe gods and men had all ende, excepte the christian religio, which shal neuer haue ende. For it is founded of that, which hath neither beginninge, no ending. One of the thinges, which comforteth my harte most in the christian religion is, to see, that since the tyme the churches were founded, the kinges and princes most puissant, haue ben alwayes their enemies; and haue counted them, for their greatest aduersaries: and the most feble, and poore, were alwayes counted of them, greatest healpers and defenders. O glorious militant church, which now is no other, then golde amongst the rust, a rose amongst the thornes, corne amongst the chaffe, marpe amongst the bones, Margarites amongst the peble stones, a hole soule amongst the rotten fleshe, a phoenix in one cage, a shippe rockinge in the raging seas, which; the more she is beaten, the faster she saileth.

And there is no Realme so lytle, no; no man of so litle fauour, but whan other doe persecute him, he is by his frendes, parentes, and defendours, fauoured and succoured. So that those, which thinke to destroye, are destroyed: and those, which seme to take their parte, were their chiefest enemies: dothe not that procede of the greatesse crete of god: For though God suffered the wicked to be wicked a while, god wyl not therfore suffer, that one euill man procure an other to do euil. The Palestynes, and those of Hierusalem, had not for their principall enemies, but the Chaldeans: and the Chaldeans had for their enemies, the Idumeans: the Idumeans, the Assirians: the Assirians, the Persians: the Persians, the Argines: the Argines had the Athenians: the Athenians had for their principall enemies, the Lacedemonians: and the Lacedemonians, the Sydonians: the

Sydonians, the Rhodians: and the Rhodians, the Scythians: the Scythians, the Hunes: the Hunes, had the Alaines: the Alaines, the Swycherdes: the Swycherdes, the Vuandales: the Vuandales, the Valerians: the Valerians, the Sardes: the Sardes, the Penians: the Penians, the Romaines: the Romaines, the Daces: the Daces, the Gothes: the Gothes, the Frenchemen: the Frenchemen, the Spaniards: the Spaniards, the Mores.

And of all these realmes, the one hath persecuted the other. And not al of one, oppressing our mother the holy church, which alwaies hath bene persecuted with those realmes, and hath bene socoured of none, but of Iesu Christe onely. And that was wel socoured, & he hath deserved it wel. For the thinges that God taketh charge of, all though all the worlde were againste it, in the end, it is impossible for them to perishe.

The .x. Chapter.

Hovve that there is but one true GOD, and hovve fortunate that those Realmes are, vvhiche hath a kinge that is a good Christian. VVhiche thyng, the Austoure proneth, by sondrye auncient examples.



ALTHOUGH the common opinion of the simple people was, that there were many gods, yet notwithstandinge all the Philosophers affirmed, that

that there was but one *G D D*, (who of some was named *Iupiter*) the whiche was chiefe aboue all other gods. Others called him the firste intelligence, for that he had created all the worlde. Others called hym, the firste cause, because he was the beginner of all thinges. It semeth that *Aristotle* vnderstoode this thing, forasmuche as he saith, in his .12. booke of his metaphisicks, All superiour, and inferiour thinges wold be well ordered, and many thinges muche better by charbitrement of one, then by the aduice of many. *Marcus Varro*, in his booke *De theologia mistica*, & *Tullius*, in his booke *De natura Deorum*, although these were gentyles, and curious enough of the Temples, yet they doe mock the gētils, which beloued there were many gods, & that *Mars* & *Mercurie*, & likewise *Iupiter*, & the flocke of gods, (which the gētyles set vp) were al mortall mē as we are. And how they knew not the good aungelles, nor y had, nor knew not, that ther was any paradise to reward the good, nor hel to tormente the euyl. They held this opinion, that the good men after their deathe were gods, and the euyl men deuils. And not contented with these folishe abuses, the deuyl broughte them into suche an error, that they thoughte it consisted in the Senates power, to make some, gods, and other, deuils. For when there dyed at Rome any Emperour, if he had bene well wyllled of the Senate, immediatly he was honoured for a god. And if he died in displeasour of the Senate, he was condemned for a deuil: and to the end we do not speake by fauour, but by wytinge: *Herodian* saith, y *Faustine*, was the daughter of *Antonius Pius*, and wife of *Marcus Aurelius*, whiche were emperours, the one after the other. And trulye there were fewe either of their predecessours, or of their successors, whiche were so good as they were, and in mine opinion moze better. An Emperour

which wyl haue perpetuall memory, must note .5. thinges, whiche he should haue in his lyfe. That is to saye, pure in lyfe, by righte in iustice, aduenturous in feates of armes, excellent in knoweledge, and welbeloued in his prouinces, whiche vertues, were in these .2. excellent Princes. This Emperesse *Faustine*, was passinge fayre. And the wyters praysed her beautye in suche sorte, that they saie it is impossible for her to be so beautifull, but that the gods doe put therein some deuine thing. Yet notwithstandinge, this added thereunto, it is dowtefull, whether the beautye of her face was moze praysed: than the dishonestie of her lyfe discommended. For her beautye, amazed them that sawe her: and her dishonestie, offendid them that knewe her. Yet after the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* had triumphed ouer the *Parthians*, as he wente vsitinge the prouinces of Asia, the goodlye *Faustine* dyed, (by occasion of a continuall feuer,) in the mounte *Corion*, and so annealed, within .4. daies after, was caried to Rome. And since she was the daughter of so good a father, and wyfe of so dearly beloued an Emperour, amonges the Gods she was canonized: but consideringe her vnconstantnes, it was neuer thoughte, that the *Romaynes* woulde haue done her so much honor. Wherefore the Emperour reioysed so muche, that he neuer ceased to render thanks vnto the Senate. For trulye, the benefyte oughte to be acceptable to him that recepueth it, especiallye whan it cometh vnlooked for. The contrarie came to the death of *Tiberius*, thirde Emperoure of the *Romaynes*, whiche was not onelye kylled, and drawen throughe the streets: but also, the prestes of all the Temples assembled together, and openly prayed vnto the gods, that they woulde not recepuen hym to them, and prayed to the infernall furges, that greauously they woulde tormente hym, sayenge it is iustly required

required, that the Tyrant which dispraiseth the life of the good, in his life, shoulde haue no place amongst the good, after his death. Leauinge the common opinion of the rude people, which in the old time had no knowledge of the true god, & declaringe the opinion of Aristotle, whiche calleth god, the firste cause: the opinion of the Stoickes, which called him the first intelligence: and the opinion of Cicero, which vnder the colour of Iupiter, putteth none other god but him: I saye and confesse (accordinge to the religion of christian faith) there is but one onely God, whiche is the creatour of heauen, and earth, whose excellency, and puissance maiestie is litle, to that our tong can speake. For our vnderstanding can not vnderstand, nor our iudgement can determine, neyther our memozy can comprehend, and much lesse our tonge can declare it. That which princes, and other faithfull ought to beleue of god is, that they ought to knowe, god to be almighty, and incomparable, a god immortall, incorruptible, immouable, great, omnipotent, a perfite, and sempiternall god: for all mans power is nothinge, in respecte of his diuine maiesty. I say, that our lord god, is the onely hygge god, that if the creature hath any good, it is but a meane good. For a man comparinge well the good whiche he possesseth, to the misery and calamitie, whiche persecute him: with oute doute, the euill whiche foloweth him, is greater, then the good whiche accompanieth him. Also our god is immortall, and eternall, whiche like as he had no beginninge, so shall he neuer haue endinge. And the contrary is to the miserable mā, which if some see him bozne, others see him dye. For the byrth of the childe, is but a memozy of the graue, to the age. Also God onely is vncorruptible, the whiche in hys beinge, hath nother corruption, nor diminution. But all mortall men, suffer corruption in their soules, throughe vyce, and in their bodies, throughe woymes: for in the

ende, no man is prussleged, but that hys bodye, is subiecte to corruption: and hys soule, to be sauēd or condemned. Also God is no chaungelinge, & in this case, though he chaungeth his worke, yet he chaungeth not hys eternall counsaile. But in men it is all contrary, for they oftentimes, beginne their busynes by grauitye: and afterward chaunge their counsell, and leaue it lightly. I haue nowe shewed you that God onely is incomprehensible, the maiestie of whom can not be attayned, nor hys wysedome vnderstanded, whiche thinges is aboue mans intelligence. For there is no man so sage nor profound, but that an other is as sage and profounde. Also God onely is omnipotent, for that he hath the power, not onely ouer the lyvinge, but also ouer the deade: not onely ouer the good, but also ouer the euill: For the man, whiche dothe not feele hys mercy to gyue hym gloze, he wyll make hym feele hys wrathe in giuinge him payne. O ye Princes of this worlde, trulie it is bothe iuste, and necessarye, that you acknowledge subiection vnto the Prince of heauen, and earth, whiche in the end, althoughe ye be greate, and thinke your selues to be much worth, although that you haue much, and can do much: yet in respecte of the supreme prince, you are nothing worth, neither can ye doe any thing. For there is no Prince in the worlde this day, but can doe lesse than he would: and would more, than he hath. Since al that we haue spoke of before is true, let Princes and great Lordes see, how consonaunte it is to reason, that al the creatures were not created but by one. Why then doe they not honour one aboue all: For as a Prince wyll not suffer, that an other be called kinge in his realme: so likewise god wyll not suffer, that any other be honoured in this worlde but he onely. The father did a greate benefyte to vs, for to create vs wythoute the desyre of any man: and also the sonne to redeme and by

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by vs, without the healpe of any man, and aboue all, the holy ghosse to make vs christians, without the desert of any man. For, all the good deedes and seruices, which we are able to do, are not sufficient to requite the leaste benefyte, that he shewed vnto vs. Princes ought greatly to esteeme, that god hath created them men, & not beastes: and muche more they shoulde esteeme, that they are Lordes, and not seruauntes: but mooste of al they ought to reioyce, & god hath made them christians, and not gentils, nor Moores. For it profiteth the litle, to haue scepters, and realmes to condempne, if they shall not acknowledge the holy churche, without the which, no man can be saued. Howe many paynims had bene better peraduenture than I, if thou haddeste chosen the for the churche: and if thou hadst made me a Paynime, I had bene worse than they. Thou leauest them, which haue serued the, and hast chosen me a sinner, which offende the. Lorde God, thou knowest what thou doest, and where thou art: but I know not what I do, nor what I speake. For we are bound to praise the workes of god, & haue not the lycence to call them backe. The emperours and paimé kinges, whiche haue bene good & vertuous, (as there hath bene many) so much lesse they haue to aunswer, for that in tyme of charge they were not called. And likewise the contrary to the wicked christian princes. The more goodnesse they haue receyued without measure: so much the more tormétes shalbe giue them, in eternall fyre. For accoordinge to the ingratitude, which they haue shewed, for the benefites by them receiued in this worlde: so shall the bitternesse of their paines be, which they shal receiue in hell. Princes are much bound to do well, because they were created of god reasonable men: but they are bound much more, because they be christians, & others more bound, because they were made mighty, and placed in so high estate: for the greatest power is not, for a prince to

haue, & possesse much: but to profite much. They do not require of a litle & weake tree much, but y he beare his fruyte in dew tyme. For a great & high tree, is bound to giue wood to heate the that be a cold, shadow to refreshe the wery trauailours, & frute to confort the neady, & also it ought to defend it selfe fro al importunate windes. For y vertuous prince, ought to be as a shadow & resting place, wher the good maye couer themselves. The church doth moue vs to do many thinges, & our conscience willet vs to obserue more. But if the princes will promise me they will do, 2. thinges onely, that is to say, y they wil be faithfull in the lawe of god, whom they honour, & that they wyl not vse tyranny againste their people, whos they gouerne: fro hensforth, I promise the the glory & felicitie, which they desire. For the prince dieth in safegarde, which dieth in the loue of our sauour Iesus Christ: and hath lyued in the loue of hys neyghbour. Princes and great lordes, whiche presume to be good Christians, shoulde wathe greatly, for asmuch as al thinges are done to the seruice of god, & in the beginninge are folowed in god, and ended in god. And if they will wathe in this, I let them knowe, that as touching y exaltaciō of faith, they shoulde wathe so much, that all shoulde know, that for the defence of the same, they are readye to dye. For if the prince beleue, that ther is paine for the euill, & reward for the good in an other life: it is impossible, but y he amēd his life, & gouerne wel his common wealth. Thinke this for a surety, y wher y princes feare not god, ther their realmes ca not prosper. For y felicitie, or miserye of realmes, proceedeth not of the paynes & trauailes, y the kinges & people do take: but of y merite which y kinges deserue. In great peryll lyueth y realme, whose prince is an euyl christian. Happy & sure is that common wealth, wherof y prince hath a good conscience. For y man that is of a good conscience, wyl not doe any euill thing to the common wealth.

The

The .xi. Chapter.

Of sondry gods, vvhiche the auncientes vvorshipped and of their temples.



Hough to men of clere iudgemente, the woorkes of GOD are greate of them selues, without any compar-

son to others: yet, (that the whyte maye be better knowne from the blacke) I wyl satisfie somewhat the curious reader, in rekeninge vp a flocke of false gods, that by them, and their power, men shall see, howe muche the princes are bound to the true God. The auncient Panyms had gods of diuerse sortes, howe be it the chiefe of al, were these, which they called, Dii electi. They would haue said gods of heauen: whiche gods (as they thoughte) sometime descended from heauen to earth. These gods were, 20. in nombꝛ: as Ianus, Saturnus. Iupiter. Genius. Mercurius. Apollo. Mars. Vulcanus. Neptun⁹. Sol. Orcus. Vibar. Tellus. Ceres. Iuno. Minerva. Luna. Diana. Ven⁹. vesta. These 8. last reherſed, were goddesses, and, 12. of þ first, were gods. No man mighte take any of those as his owne god, but as common, & indifferent to al. Their office was to profit al, I meane, al of any one Realme, one prouince singuler, or one noble citie. And first note, they had one god whom they called Cātius, whom they honored much & offered vnto him manye sacrifices, to thende, that god might giue thē wise children. And this if they had demaunded of the true god, they should haue had reason. For the impostumaciō of humait malice is swelled in such wise, that the mā is in great ieopardy, who hath not his recourse to þ wyl of god. They had also an other goddess, whom they named Lucina, to whom they did commend women, quicke & great with child, to sende,

them safe deliuerie. And without the walles of Rome, in a streete called Salaria, was a great church, wherein all þ Romaine women conceined with childe, did sacrifice to the goddesse Lucina: and ther they vſed to make their vow, as Frenton declareth in the veneration of the temples. Numa Pompilius bylte the church of this goddess, which was plucked downe by the collesse of Rutuli⁹: because a daughter of his (great w childe) made her vow, & vpo more deuotion, was desirous to be deliuered in the saide temple. Suche was her mishape, that her deliuey was not onely euyl, but her death was much worse. And Rutilius in his rage, caused the temple secretly to be burned. For we reade, that when the gentyles saue them selues in great necessitie, they did commend thē selues to their gods, and if they did not succout them in their necessitie, immediately they tooke from thē their sacrifice, bette downe their temples, or chaunged their gods. And further, the gentiles had an other god called Opis, which was called the god of the babe newe borne, euen as Lucina was goddess of the mother, which bare it. The custome was, that during al the 9. monethes, that the woman was quick with child, she caried the image of the god Opis, hanginge vpon her bely, tyed to her girdell, or sowed to her garmentes, and at the houre of deliuerie, the midwife toke in her handes the saide image, & immediately after the chyld was borne, she touched it firste w the Idol before she layd any hād vpo it. If the child were wel born, the parentes that day made great oblatiōs to þ Idol, & if he were euil born or straggled, streight way, either they did beate þ image of their god Opis to powder, or els burned it, or drowned it in þ riuer. Also þ gentiles worshipped an other god called Vagian⁹ & vnto hi they vſed great deuotiō, & because childꝛe should not wepe much, they caried the image of thys god Vagiantus hanginge about their neckes, because the gentils thoughte

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thought it an euill signe and token, when the Babe wepte muche in his fancie: sayenge, he should haue very euill fortune in his age. They had also an other god called god Cinius, him they honored with sacrifice, to thende that he shoulde be their Patron, for the safetie of theyr chyldren in their cradels. And those, which were poore, had the god Cinius, and hanged him vpon the cradell: but the riche had very sumptuous cradelles, wherein were painted many gods. Herodian and Pellio declareth in the lyfe of Seuerus, that when the emperour Seuerus was in the warre against the Gawles, hys wyfe (whose name was Iulia) was deliuered of a gyfle, whiche was her firste. And it happened, that a syster of this Iulia named Mela, sente vnto her beinge at Rome, a cradell, which was of an vnicornes horne, and fyne golde, and about the same was painted many images, of the god Cinius. The cradell was of so great value, that many yeares after it was kepte in the Treasury of Rome: Though in deed the Romaines kept those thinges, more for the desire of memory, than for the loue of riches. The Romaines had likewise an other god, whom they called god Ruminus, which was as much to saie: as god of suckinge babes: & to him the matrones, of Rome offered diuerse sacrifices, to thend he would kepe their dugges from corruption. For the maner and custome at that time was, that all widowes (which would bring vp their chyldren in good discipline) should immediatly leue them selues farre from the dangerous pleasures of Rome. The auncientes had also an other god, called Mantallis, whiche was in effecte, god of wyte. That is to wyte, he had auctorite, and power to giue chyldren good or euill sence. And to this god, the auncientes did great sacrifices, especiallly the Greekes, muche more, than the Romaines. Forasmuch as Seneca saith, that he doth meruaile nothinge at all of that the Greekes

knewe: but that whiche made him most to merueyle, was of that they knew not, since they had the god Mantallis, within their scooles. All the chyldren, whom they sente to learne Philosophie, were (by the lawes of Athens) bound to serue. 3. yeres. And to omitt that, which Seneca spake of the Greekes, I dare boldly say, and affirme (to many, whiche at these daies are lyuinge) that if it be true, he gaue sence, and vnderstandinge to men, that they would to daye, rather than to morowe, withdraue them selues to goe into those temples, and there offer their bowes. For nothinge in the world happeneth to men more, then the wante of wyte and vnderstanding, howe to gouerne them selues, and lyue in quyetie. They hadde also an other god Volumus, and a goddesse called Voluma, these. 2. had the charge of affiaunce in wedlocke: and they were. 2. because the one shoulde healpe the man, and the other shoulde healpe the woman. The maner was suche, that duringe the time of their marriage, eche of them had the Image of the god Volumus, and he gaue her the image of Voluma the goddesse. At suche times as the consules were created at Rome, and the kinges banished, and befoze the comminge of the Emperours, a litle befoze the Corneliens moued cruell commocions in Rome, ther was one Consull amongeste all these, whose name was Balno. It is saide he was the firste, that builded the temple of Volumus, and Voluma. It did stand in the ninth warde of the Citty, neere vnto the gate Cornelia, and was called, Scripta Balli. And nyghe vnto it, was an other building called, Theaticum Balli. All the Consuls, senatours, noble, and renoumed barons, were married in the Temple whiche Balno built. There were some that said, that Pompeius the great, refused to marie the daughter, of Iulius Cesar, in the temple of the gods Volumus, and Voluma. Of this, Publius Victor writeth, in his booke of the marriage

rtage vsed in olde tyme. The aunclence Pagans honoured a god called Agrestes, as muche to say, as the god of fyeldes and frutes: to him thei offered no sacrifice, but twise in the yeare, that is to wete, in seed tyme, and in haruest. The Phrygians greatly obserued this god Agrestes, because he founded manye temples, and inuented manye more ceremonies. This god Agrestes, was honoured of the Sicillyans, and it was, for that in those countreyes there was gathered suche plentye of coyne to make breade, that Phrygia, was the greate garner of Asia, and Trinacria was y^e coyne house of Europe. They had another god called Belus, whiche was patrone of men of warre. For euen as the Chyistians (when they come to the poynte to geue the battayle) make their prayers vnto god, so likewise the aunclentes in the same poynte, dyd knele downe, and recomende them selues to Belus. Liue declareth, that in all other thinges whiche were done, and whereof the Romayne knyghtes were accused, in the battaille of Cannas, agaynst Hannibal, was, for that they did not recomende them selues at al to the god Belus, whē they shoulde giue battayle, sayeng, the Carthaginenses remayned conquerours, because they a lytle before, honoured the god Mars: and the Romaynes were vanquished, for that they offered no sacryfye to God Belus. When Pirrus, kyng of the Epirotes, came into Italye, and that the Romaynes were aduertysed he brought with hym many engins, and subtile inuencions for the warre, they agreed to builde a tēple for the god Belus, within the walles of Rome, in the 2. warde nere the gate Carmentalle, and it was named, Edes Beloe, in the fronte whereof, was a meruaylous sumptuous and stately pylle, wherein was grauen the order of battayle. The Gentiles had another god, called the god of victoꝛye, to whom the Romaynes (more then any other nation) dyd sacrifices, to thend they myghte obayne victoꝛye of

their enemyes. Of this God Victoria, there was manye magnificall temples in Rome, but the chefest and the greatest, was adioynnge to the gate Venia, in the 12. warde, in the place called, Della victoria. It was builde in the yeare of the foundacion of Rome, foure hundzeth, thye scoze, and seuentene. And it was, for the occasion of the victoꝛye that Appius Claudius, & Quintus Fabius had in Scicill, the first time the Romayne people foughte agaynst the Assyrians. Of this warre and victoꝛye, rose the cruel, long, and perillous warres, betwene Rome and Affrike. There was another god amonges the gods, whome the aunclentes called, Honorius, whiche had the charge that the Inkeapers shoulde honour and gentlye intertayne pylgrimes, and straungers: so that, they shoulde be well handled, through the prouinces and realmes, where by they passed. And there was a custome in Rome, that etier when any Romayne shuld goe anye vyage, hys wyfe immediatlye shoulde go to the temple of god Honorius, to doe her sacryfices. In the fiftene yeare, after that Hanniball passed into Italye, the Romaynes knew by a prophete, that as sone as they broughte the image of the goddesse Berecinthia (mother of al y^e gods) into Rome: so sone Hannibal shoulde retire oute of Italye. And for to bynge this to passe, the Romaynes sente their Embassadors into Phrygie, whiche is one parte of Asya, to the ende, they shoulde bynge the goddes Berecinthia, and that their embassadors shoulde goe well and retorne safe, and that in comynge and going through the Realmes, they shoulde entertayne them well, and doe them honoure. And therefore they bilte a Temple for the god Honorius within the walles of Rome, in the fourthe warde, in a place, whiche they called Forum Transitorium.

THE DIALL

The.xii.Chapiter.

Of the diuersitee of gods, vvhi-
che the Romaines and other
auncient people had. Thentent
of the auctoure vvas to vvryte
these thinges because the chri-
stian prynce myght se, vvhat a
syngular benefyte vve haue,
vvhiche knowe the true God.



AND because it shoulde
be to tedious a thig, to name
al the gods whiche the genti-
les worshypped and sembla-
bly, in whose time and reigne
they honored them moste, and what real-
mes were more replenyshed then others,
and furthermore for what causes so manye
temples, & buildinges, were ordeyned and
erected for them: I wyl make mencion, on-
lye of those gods, whiche were called natu-
ral gods, and particuler gods, and declare
why the Gentyles honoured them. And
that y causeth me to do so, is, because those,
which shal see this my wryting, may know,
what especial grace god hath giue to them,
whiche are bozne in y time of the Christian
law. The god Esculanus was the god of
mines, and the auncientes prayed vnto him
to the ende he would discover vnto them, al
the mines of golde & siluer. Pecunia, was
the goddess of metalles: & they prayed vnto
her, to thende to giue them treasours & ry-
ches. Fessoria, was the goddess of tranay-
lours and Pilgrimes: and they prayed her,
that she would not suffer them to be weyre
that traualled on fote. Pelonia, was a god-
des, which had the charge to dylue the ene-
mies out of the land Esculapius, was the
god and patrone of sicke men, and if y ma-
lady were great, they called vppon the god
Apollo, whiche was father to Esculapius

Spinensis, was a god whome the auncien-
tes prayed to keape the corne, from thistels
and thornes. Rubigo, was a god, whiche
kepte the corne & the vines. Fortuna, was
the goddess of good fortune: and to her, the
auncient wiues of Rome made a temple in
the time of Silla. and Marius. Muta was
the goddess, to whome y auncientes prayed,
that she would not suffer their enemyes to
speake, when they would speake euill of
them. Genoria was a goddess, that had the
charge to chase slouthfulness from them,
that recommended them selues to her: and
the Greekes honoured her, especiallye the
Philosophers, when they entered into study
and vniuersities. Stimula was a goddess,
which hastened them of their busines, to
thed they shuld forget anything y they had
to doe. And her image was at Rome, at the
gate of the Senate, and was aduocate for
pleaders. Murcia was a goddess, & an ad-
uocate for men and women, which desired
not to be leane, nor weake of their bodyes,
and to this goddess, the women of Rome
offred many gistes, to the ende they mighte
be fatte. For in Rome, maidens and women
are forsaken, because they be leane & scien-
der, and not for that they be foule and fatte
Bulina properly was a goddess of the fiel-
des, & to her, y auncientes offred sacrifice,
because she shoulde loke to the grasse, that
grewe in the fieldes, & the Scythians were
great worshippers of that goddess: the cause
why they beare her more honour then o-
thers, was, for that if they shoulde wante
grasse for their flocke, they shuld be vndone
immediatlye. Iugatinus was he, that was
called the god of the highe mounte, and to
him the auncientes made a lodge, and aul-
ters in the mountaynes, whereunto they
wente oftentimes to doe sacrifice, especially
when it thundered and lyghtened. Vallo-
nia was the goddess of the balles, and she
had the charge to bydel the waters that dis-
cended from the highe mountaynes, to the
end they shuld not endamage the medowes
and

and milles wherby they passed. Ceres was a goddess of all nacions honored, and reuerenced, for that she was goddess of corne, & of other soueraigne sedes, and the auncientes had a custome to offer her a loafe, made of al the sedes and corne, that they sowed. Their lodges and aulters to doe sacrifice, were in the fieldes, but besides those lodges and aulters, there was in Rome a temple, in the ninthe warde, in the fieldes of Mars, harde by the gardeins of Luculla, & out of this temple, came firste the fountayne of Scipio. Segecia was a goddess, & had the charge to make the seedes to growe, after they were sowed. I doe not remember I haue read, that she had any temple in Rome. Tutillina was a goddess, whose office was to entreate Iupiter, not to beate downe the corne with haylestones, when it was redde to be repte. And the auncientes paynted her in suche sorte, that it semed, Iupiter dyd cause it to raine stones, & that this goddess Tutillina should gather them al. She had a temple in Rome, in the tenth warde in the market place of Apollo, nere vnto the house of Romulus. And at euery tyme whe it thundered, immediately the Romaynes lighted lytle candelles in the temple, to appease the same, that it should not hurte the corne, nor sedes. Flora was the mercifull goddess of the bignes, that preserved them from froste. Those of Capua were greare worshippers of this goddess: wherfore they say, that they were the first that plated bignes in Italy. Matura was a goddess, that had the charge to ripe grapes, and the auncientes vsed a custome, to offer the first grapes whiche were ripe, in the place where the goddess was. And for the more parte, euery man that had bignes, made in the felde a lodge, and an aulter, to sacrifice vnto her. Ruana was a goddess, and aduocate for them, that gathered the corne and other graynes, to thende they shoulde doe no hurte, in cuttinge awaye the eare, nor shoulde marre the strawe, and that in cut-

tynge, the corne should not shake from the eare. The auncientes paynted her, holding in her righte hand a handeful of strawe, so that the eares were hole. Forculum was the god of locksmithes, and the auncientes sacrificed him, because he should locke faste the doores, and should not suffer them to be broken open, nor picked, nor false keyes to be made: & auncientes painted this god, holding a chaine in his hand: his Image was ouer the gate of Trigemine. Limentum was god of the hammers of the gates. I could not finde what the entencion was to inuēt this god, but as I thinke (not for that I haue founde it wyrtten) they prayed this god, that when there shoulde come anye enemy of theirs to the house, that he shoulde cause them stumble, and fal before the doze, if perhappes by negligēce it were leste open. Forculus was the god of the gates, & the auncientes did paynte him, with two gates in his handes, and sacrificed him, because no man should open the gates to the enemies, when they slepte: and to hym the Romaynes did sacrifice, in al the gates of Rome, and those whiche had enemyes, woulde paynte hym in the gate of their house. Cordea was a God of the barre, and hingies of the gate, and the cause why the auncientes did sacrifice to him, was & no man shoulde breake the gates, nor lyfte by the hingies, and that if they wente aboute to put to their handes, immediately the hingies shoulde make a noyse, so that the master of the house myght heare it, and know that his enemyes were at the gate. There was another God, who was called Siluanus, and he was the most honoured among al the auncientes, especyally amongst all the Romaynes. This god had the charge, to keape those that wente for their pleasure, and recreacyon, to the gardeines, as Thales Milesius sayeth, in an epytyle he wrote to Rotullius. The firste that buylt a temple for the god Siluanus, was Mecenas, which was in the tyme of Augustus. And

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he desyred aboue all other men, to make feastes and bankettes. This temple was in the eleuenthe warde, in the place of the goddesse, Venus, neere vnto the house of Muchea, which was destroyed in the time of the Emperour Antonius Pius, through an earthquake, whereby manye buldynghes, and houses fell, in Rome.

Iugatibus was y God of maryages, who hadde charge, to make the loue, whiche began in youthe, to endure till the olde age. It was wonderfull to see, how the women helwelye maryed, wente one pylgremage for deuotyon vnto this God, and what gyses and presentes they offered in his temple. Suetonius Tranquillus sayeth, that there was a Temple of this GOD, but I fynde not in wyrtynge, by whome, nor of whome, it was builde. But that Helius Spartianus sayeth, that the Emperoure Helio ogabalus founde muche ryches in the Temple of Iugatibus, the whiche he toke awaye to mayneteyne hys warres.

Bacchus was the God of drunkardes, and the custome in Rome was, that the dull and blockheheades celebrated the feaste of this GOD, and if there were founde anye, haupnge witte and vnderstandynge, they thrust hym forthewith out of the Temple, and soughte in hys steade another drunkarde. The Temple of Bacchus, was in the tenth warde in the medowes, whiche they call Bacchanales, withoute the ctyte, in the waye of Salaria, by the Aulters of the Goddesse Februa.

The Gaules bylte this Temple, when they besyged Rome, in the tyme of Camillus. Februa was a goddesse for the feuers, and they vsed in Rome (when anye was taken with the seauer, immediatellye) to sende some sacryfyce vnto her.

This Goddesse hadde no temple at all, but her Image was in Pantheon, whiche was a temple, wherein al the goddes were, and in this place, they sacryficed vnto her. Pauror was the GOD of feare, who had

the charge to take feare from the Romaynes hartes, and to gyue them stout courage agaynst their enemyes. This Temple was in Rome in the first warde, in the place of Mamuria, nere the olde Capitoll, and ener when they had anye enemyes, the Romaynes forthewith offred in this place sacrifices, where there was a statue of Scipio the Affricane all of syluer, whiche they offred, when he triumphed ouer the Carthaginians.

Meretrix was the goddesse of dysshonest women, as Publius Victor saith, there was in Rome, foure and forty streates of common women, in the myddest whereof, the temple of this Meretrix was. It chaused in the tyme of Ancus Martius (the fourth kynge of the seven Romayne Kynghes) that there was in Rome a courtizan, natyue of Laureto, whiche was so fayre, that with her bodye she gayned greater ryches, whereof she made all the Romayne people partakers. Wherefore, in the memorye of her, the Romaynes made a temple, and made her Goddesse of all the common women in Rome. Collatina was the Goddesse of the Iakes, and to this goddesse all those commended them selues, which were troubled with the Collycke, to thend she woulde healpe them to purge their bealies. Quies was the GOD of rest, and to hym the Romaynes dyd greate sacryfices, because he shoulde gyue them pleasurable, and rest, especyallye one that daye, when there was anye tryumphe in Rome, they gaue in this Temple many gyses, because he shoulde preserue the glory and ioye of the tryumphes. Numa Pompilius (second kynge of the Romaynes) builde the temple of this GOD, and it was withoute the ctyte, for to note, that durynge the lyfe of man in this worlde, he coulde nether haue pleasurable, nor partye reste. Theatrica was a goddesse, that had the charge to kepe the Theatres and Stages, when the Romaynes celebrated their playes: and thocasion

* calyon of inventynge of this Goddesse was, because when the Romaynes woulde set forthe their tragedyes, they made so solempne theatres, that there myghte well stande 20. thousande men aboue, and as manye vnderneath, for to beholde the spectacle. And sometime it happened, that for the greate wayghte of them aboue, the wood of the theatres and stages brake, and kyled all those whiche were vnderneath: and so after this sorte, all their pastime turned into sorrowe. The Romaynes (whiche were prouided in all thinges) agreed to doe sacrifice vnto the Goddesse Theatrica, to theend they shoulde preserue them from the daungers of the Theaters, & builde a Temple in the nynthe warde, in the market place of Cornelia, neare the house of Fabius. Domitian (of Rome the .12. Emperoure) destroyed this Temple, because in hys presence, one of the Theaters brake, and killed manye men. And for that the Goddesse Theatrica dyd not preserue them, he made the Temple to be beaten downe. Peraduenture those that haue redde lytle, shall fynde these thynges newe inoughe: but let them reade Cicero, in hys booke De natura Deorum: John Bocchas, of the genealogie of gods: and Pulio, of the auuncient Goddes: and Sainte Augustine in hys booke, in the .ii. and the .18. of the crite of God.

The .xiii. Chapter.

* Howe Tyberius the knyghte was chosen Emperoure, onely for beinge a good Christyan. And howe God depriued Iustinian the yonger, bothe of hys empire, and senses, for beinge an heretike.



HE fyfthe Emperour of Rome, was Tyberius Constantinus who succeeded Iustinian the yonger, whiche was a cruell Emperoure. And Paulus Diacon⁹ sayeth, that he was an enemye to the poore, a thefe to the ryche, a greate louer of ryches, and an enemye to hym selfe, in spendynge them. For the propertye of a couetous man is, to lyue lyke a begger all the dayes of hys lyfe, and to be founde ryche at the houre of hys deathe. This Iustinian was so couetous, that he commaunded cofers, and chestes of iron to be made, and broughte into hys palace, to keape the treasures whiche he had robbed. And of this you oughte not to merueyl, for Seneca sayeth, that couetous Prynces, doe not onely suspecte their subiectes, but also them selues. In those dayes, the church was greately defyled, by the heresye of the Pelagians, & the maineteyner of that sect, was this wycked Prynce Iustinian: so that for hym selfe, he procured riches, and for the deuyl, he cheapened soules. For those that are once forsaken of the hande of God, doe not onely become seruantes of the deuyl, but also labour to allure others to hel. Therefore sith the synnes of men are dyuerse, & the iudgements of god kepte secreete, and that manye tymes hys mercye woulde saue the soules, and hys iustyce chastyse the bodye, seinge the furder it goeth, the more damnacion it augmenteth, sodaynely withoute anye grudge or token of sickenes, this Emperoure Iustinian became a foole: and because the matter was so sodayne, it caused in Rome greate feare, and admyracion, for that the Prynce was a foole, and all the Empire chaunged. This Emperoure was so stryken, that hys lyfe and folye ended bothe in one daye. For the dysseases, whiche GOD sendeth to Prynces, cometh not throughe faulte of humours, but

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throughe the corruption of maners. Also there is no medicine that can resist it, nor yet any other thinge that can remedye it. The people perceiuyng how the Emperoure throughe his synnes was (accoording to his diuine pleasour) become a foole, agreed (sythe there was no remedye for his dyssease) to chuse some good parson, to whom the charge of the publyke weale myghte be gyuen. For trulye, a man needeth greater patience, and wysedome, to gouerne another mans, then for that which is his owne proper. The lotte fell to a knyghte Tiberius so called, a man, for a truthe, bothe chaste, iuste, profitable, sage, vertuous, hardye, mercifull, charytable, in feates of armes aduenturous, and aboue all, a good Christian. Let not this thyng be lytle regarded. For there is no wealth so happy as that, whiche is gouerned by a pryncce and Lorde, of a good and faythefull conscience, and because he wanted no vertues to adorne a pryncce, he was bothe feared of manye, and beloued of all. Which thinge oughte not lyghtely to be esteemed, for it is the chiefest thyng that belongeth to Prynces, that is to wete, for their gentle conuersacion to be beloued, and for their bryght iustice to be feared. This emperoure Iustinian had a wyfe, whose name was Sophia Augusta, whiche was beautifull, and sage, and as touchyng her person, of good renoume suffycient. For women muste take respecte, leaste they geue occasyon to speake of them: but notwithstandinge all these thynges, this dame was noted of couetousenes. For she toyled alwayes to hurde by monye, and delygged to see, and tell it, but to spende or geue it, was alwayes her greatest greife. For couetous parsones, lytle regarde to shorten their lyfe, so that they maye augment their ryches. Tiberius Constantine, as gouernour of the Empire (seinge the Emperesse Sophia Augusta ryche, and desyringe

more the profyte of the common wealth, then the enrychement of hym selfe, or of any other) dyd nothyng els but bulde monasteryes, repayre hospytalles, marie Orphanes, and redeme captiues. For speakinge accoordinge to the Christian lawes, that whiche a man hath taken more then necessarye, oughte to be employed to the vse of the poore, and to woorkes of mercy. Finallye this vertuous pryncce did that, which Christian Prynces shoulde doe, and not as tirauntes doe. For the propertye of a tyrante is, to heape greatesse treasours of other mens goodes, and afterwarde to spende and consume them viciousslye. Sophia Augusta, seing Iustinian become a foole, & not knowyng how to get more monye of the people, nor how to robbe the riche, and that Tiberius spent her ryches withoute compassion, partely to satisfye her sorowfull harte, and partely to see if in tyme to come she coulde remedye it, called one daye Tiberius, and spake vnto hym these wordes in secrete.

The.xiiii.Chapter.

Of the vwoordes, vvhiche the Emperesse Sophia spake, vnto Tiberius, then beyng gouernour of the Empyre, and the ende of those vwoordes, founded to the reprove of Tiberius, for that he consumed the treasures of the Empire, vvhiche she had gathered.

Thou



TH O V remem-
breſt wel Tiberius, that
though thou arte now
after Iuſtinian gotter,
nour of the empyre: yet
whan thou waſte in A-
lexandrye, thou thoughteſt litle to deſerue
it, and if thou diſdeſt, thou thoughteſt thou
coudeſte not attayne vnto it. For thou art
a wiſe man, and the ſage man (accordinge
to the litle or muche which fortune giueth
him) doth rayne, or ſlacke alwayes the by-
dell of his thoughtes. Thoſe whiche haue
a vaine hope, and thorowhe power onelye
wyl enforce fortune to be fauourable vn-
to them, ſhall lyue alwaies a troubleſome
liſe.

* For there is nothinge that ſhorteneth
more the lyfe of man, then vaine hope, and
pyle thoughtes. Thou beinge ſuch a man
as thou arte, and ſo well wylled, and belo-
ued of Iuſtinian my husband, art deman-
ded of the Romaine people, and choſen by
the Senate, receiued by the ſouldiours, and
all the empire reioyce at thy election.

And thou oughteſt not a litle to regar-
de it. For the wylles of all, doe not alwaies
faour one. I let the to vnderſtande Tibe-
rius, that it did not diſpleaſe me thou ſhou-
deſt be emperor of Rome, ſith Iuſtinian
was depoeſed: and if I had perceyued that,
whiche I doe perceyue, or had knowen
that, whiche I doe knowe, I am certayne,
that I had neyther ſaid with it, nor againſt
it. For we women are of ſo litle credite,
that it preuaileth vs more to approue the
leaſte of that, which other ſay, than it doth
to ſpeake very well our ſelues. Sith fortune
hath brought the to ſo high eſtate, I be-
ſeeche the, admoniſhe the, and aduyle the,
that thou knowe how to keape, and gover-
ne thy ſelfe therein. For to ariſe to honour,
it ſufficeth the bodye to ſweate water: but
to mainteine it, it is neceſſary that the hart

weepe bloude. Thou knoweſt righte wel, &
to commaunde more, to doe more, and to
haue more, (as touchinge the affayres of
Princes) oftentimes is giuen more than
roughe worldlye care, then for the deſerte
of the perſonne. And thus, GOD ſuffereth
very ofte, to the ende, we may ſee thoſe diſ-
cende, and fall through infamy: whom we
ſawe mounte, and proſper by pryde. Thou
art a man, and I am a woman, Thou haſt
wiſedome, & knowledge, but I haue large,
and longe experience, and if thou knoweſte
muche, I haue ſcene in the worlde enough,
but in faith for that I haue ſaide, I tell the,
that men of thy ſorte are vndone in the pa-
laice of Princes by, 2. waies. The one, yf
they thinke they deſerue muche, and they
can doe litle. For haury mindes, bringe al-
wayes alteration in the harte. The other
is, that one alone will commaund the Em-
perour, and the empyre: wherunto yf any
man come, it is by greate trauayle, and he
ſhall ſuſtayne it with daunger, and ſhall
poſſeſſe it but a ſhorthe tyme. For it is im-
poſſible that fortune ſhoulde be ſo longe
faithful, to a man of much arrogancye.

Though thou be wiſe, and ſage, I coun-
ſell the alwayes, to proſpyte wth an other
mans counſayle, chyeſely in thynges con-
cerninge the gouernemente. For to knowe
to obeye; and to knowe to commaunde, diſ-
fer much.

For to knowe to obey, commeth by natu-
re: but to knowe to commaund, commeth
by longe experience. Take this for a gene-
rall rule, that wheras thou ſeeſt thy prai-
er to be acceptable, neuer take vpon the com-
maundement: for by commaundement thou
ſhalte be feared, and by praiſe thou ſhalte
be beloued. The thinges that content them
worſte, whiche are in the court of princes,
are to doe litle, to haue litle, and to be litle
worth.

For the man that is withoute fauour,
in his harte is halfe deade. For the con-
trary

trary, the thinge whiche maketh Princes loose their frendshippes, is to be of small power, & worth litle, and more ouer thā this, to profite more of wyl, then of knowledge, of auctoritie, than of reason. For a man cā not lyue longe in frendshippes, whiche doth what he wyl in the cōmon wealth. I haue spoken all this, to thende thou shouldest knowe, that I greatly meruaile at thy prudence, and haue no lesse wonder of my patience. They see, that the treasours whiche Iustiniā heaped together by greate trauaile, kept and preserued with great care, thou wastest without respecte what thou doeste. And doe not maruaile at this: for ther is no paciēce can suffer, to see the goodes prosper wasted and spent, by the handes of another. I let the to knowe Tiberius, that we haue, neyther to keape, nor to gyue, which thinge is very peryllous for the palace of of Princes. For the same to haue greates treasours, causeth Princes to keape theyr enemies in feare. It is necessarye for princes to be skoute, and also riche, for by their skoutenes they maye gouerne theyr owne, and by their ryches they maie repress their enemies. It is not onely necessarye that the Prince be not poore, but also it is requisite that his common wealth be ryche. For where the people are poore, of their enemies they are nothinge regarded: and where the common wealth is ryche, the Prince can not greatly be poore. I wyl not deny but that it is wel done, to healepe the poore, and succour the needye. But yet I say, that no man ought to gyue the treasure to any on particularly, which is kepte for the preseruation of all. For oftentimes the prince, whiche is to lyberall in geuynge hys owne, is afterwarde throughe necessitye compelled to be a Tyranne, and take from others. I let the wete Tiberius, that thou shalte fynde fewe Princes but are proude, magnifiaunt, or vicious. For of a trouthe, wantonnesse, libertie, youth, and ryches,

are cruell enemies to honestie. I wyl not saye that al Princes haue bene euyl, but I will saye there hath bene but fewe good, and those whiche are, or wyl be good, ought to be greatly honoured. For no time ought to be called happie, but that wherein vertuous Princes doe reygne.

And I saye to the further Tiberius, if Princes become Tyrantes for wante of ryches, so do they become vicious throughe aboundaunce of treasurs, and in this case, vicious Princes are chastened in the same wyse. For their to great pleasour, suffereth them not to taste their owne delighte.

And I let the wete Tiberius, that there are many Princes, whiche are of good nature, and yet become Tyrannies, for nothinge els, but because they be oppressed with pouertie. For truly the noble harte refuseth no daunger, seynge him selfe assaulted with pouertie.

Therefore I demaunde of the, which is better, or otherwise, whiche of these. 2. euylles is leaste: that the Prince be poore, and with that a Tyranne: or that he be ryche, and there with vicious.

In myne opinion, it were muche better, to be ryche and vicious: then a tyranne and poore, for in the ende, if he doe euyl by wyse, he shoulde be euyl to no man, but to him selfe: but by ryches, he shoulde profite all the people. And if he be poore and a tyranne, he shoulde doe greates euyl to manye, and by pouertie he could profite no mā. For the poore prince can not mainteyne the ryche, and much lesse succour the poore. Without comparison, it is more profitable to the common wealth, and more tollerable to men, that the Prince be an euyl man, and therewithall a good prince: then an euyl Prince, and therewithall a good man. For as Plato saith, the Athenians would alwaies rather seeke a profitable, then a skoute prince: and the Lacedaemonians did erre, in willing rather a skoute

* Route Prince, the profitable. See Tiberius, what thinge is mosse sure for the common wealth, either that princes haue treasures to giue liberallye amonge their seruantes: or pouertie whereby they are enforced to robbe, and oppresse their people. For princes oftentimes throughe pouertie, take occasion to leaue greate subsidies in their realmes and seignories.

The.xv.Chapter.

* The aunsvvere of Tiberius vnto the Empresse Sophia Augusta: VVherin he declareth that noble princes neede not to houre vp great treasures. And hove this good Emperour beyng a good christian by reuolacion founde a treasure, vvhiche vvas hid in the Palace, vvherein he vvas.



TIBERIVS heard verie patiently the admonition of the Emperesse, wherefore with great reuerence he answered, and with sweete and gentle words, he spake in this sort. I haue hearde and vnderstoode, what you haue tolde me (mosse noble Princeesse Sophia, alwaies Augusta:) and doe receyue your gentle admonitions, mosse humblye thankinge you, for your louing counsaile, whiche principallye you giue me in so hyghe a stile. For oftentimes, sickmen abhorre meates, not for y^e meates are not

good, but because they are not well dressed. If it were gods pleasour, I would I knew aswell howe to doe these thinges, as you know how to speake the. And doe not maruaile though I make hereof a doute, for we greatly desyre, to praise vertuous woorkes: but to put them in vze, we are very slowe. Speaking therfore wth such reuerence (as is due vnto so hyghe a dame) to euerye one of these thinges, whiche your excellency hath tolde me, I wyll aunswere in one word. For it is reason, sith you haue spoken that, whiche you perceiue of my deedes: that I speake that, whiche I gather of your wordes. You tell me, y^e when I was in Alexandria, I thought not to be gouernour of the empire after Iustinian, and that I thought not my self woorthy to deserue it, nor yet looked to come vnto it. To this I aunswere, y^e thoughte by reason I gouerned my selfe at that time: yet I oughte not to thinke to deserue such a dignitie, nor to come to so high an estate. For those, which by vertues deserue great dignities are but fewe: and fewer are those, which attayne vnto them though they deserue the. But if this matter be iudged accordinge to sensualitie, I tell you truly (dame Augusta,) that I thought not my selfe to deserue it: but also I thoughte to come vnto it. And hereof marueyle not, for it is an infallible rule, wher lesse deserte is, ther is most presumption. You saye, you esteemed me for a wyse man, & that by wisdom I coulde ouercome any disordinate appetite. To this I aunswere, that you knewe my wisdom, either in myne owne busynes, or els in other mens affaires, y^e in other mens affaires: where it did coaste me noughte, I was alwayes a louer of iustice.

For there is no man in the worlde so euill, that dothe not desyre (if it be withoute his owne coaste) to be counted lyberall. But if you iudge me (Dame Augusta) on mine owne busines, giue not to lighte credite

site. For I wyl that you knowe there is no man so iuste, nor of so cleere a iudgement, that dothe not shewe him selfe frayle in matters whiche touche his owne interest. You saye, that men whiche haue their thoughtes hyghe, and their fortune base, lyue alwaies a pensife lyfe. Trulye it is as you say. But in mine opinton, as the members of the bodies are but instrumentes of the soule: so is it necessary for men to haue quicke wittes, if they wyl not be negligent. For if Alexander, Pyrrus, Iulius Cesar, Scipio, and Hanniball, had not bene hyghe mynded, they had not bene (as they were) so noble and stout Princes.

I let you vnderstand, mosse noble Prince, that men are not losse for hauinge their thoughtes hyghe, nor for haupnge their hartes couragious, neyther for beinge hardie and stout: but they are vndone, because they begynne thinges throughe follye, pursue them without wisdom, and atchieue them withoute discreffion.

For noble men, enterprysinge greate thinges, ought not to employ their force as their noble harte wylleth, but as wisdom and reason teacheth. You saye, you meruaile why I waste the treasours withoute care, whiche Iustinian and you gathered together with greate payne. To this I aunswere, you ought not to meruaile, if all the treasours you heaped together of so longe tyme, were spent, and consumed in one daye. For there is an aunciente malediction on ryches hydde, and treasours buried, whiche Epimenides casteth out, sayenge these wordes. All the treasours hurded by by the couetous, shalbe wasted by the prodigall. You saye, thoughe that I waste in fewe dayes, you shal haue neither to giue, to waste, nor yet to eate at the yeares end. To this I aunswere, that if you (danie Augusta) had bene as ready to releue the poore, as you & Iustinian were diligente to robbe the ryche: then you shoulde

hastly haue complayned, and I wozthely might haue repented. Wyl now we haue not seene, but that of the ryche you haue made poore, and not withstanding this, yet you haue not gotten enoughe to buylde an Hospitall for the poore. You say that Princes, to resist their enemies, haue neede of great treasours. To this I aunswer, if princes be proude, greedy, and of straunge realmes ambitious, it is mosse certayne, that they neede great treasours to accomplysh their disordinate appetites. For the ende of a tyrannous prince is, by hooke or by crooke, to make him selfe riche in his lyfe. But if a Prince be, or wyl be a man reposed, quyet, vertuous, patient, peaceable, and not couetous of the good of an other mā, what neede hath he of great treasours? For truly in the houses of Princes, there is more offence in that, that auunceth, then there is in that, which wanteth. I wyl not wast many wordes in aunswering, sith I am much more liberall of deedes, then of wordes: but I conclude, that there is no prince, which in vertuous deedes wasteth so much, but yf he wyl, he may spende much more. For in the ende, Princes become not poore for spendinge their goodes vpon necessaries: but for wasting it vpon thinges superfluous. And take this word for al, y for thys he shal not be the poorer; but rather y rycher. For it is a generall rule in Christian religion, y god wil geue more to his seruautes in one honore, the they wyl wast in, .xx. yeres. Iustinian was emperour, .ii. yeres, who (beig a foole, & obstinate in the heresy of Pellagien) died to the great offence of the Romaine people, whose death was as much desired, as his life abhorred. For y tyrannous prince, that maketh many weping eyes in his life, shal cause many relop sing hartes at his death. Iustinian being dead, Tiberius was elected emperour, who gouerned h empire throughe so great wisdom, & iustice, y no mā was able to reprove him, if h histories in his time bid

did not deceiue vs. For it selbom happeneth to a Prince to be as he was, by righte in iustice, pure in lyfe, & cleane in conscience. For few are those Princes which of some vices are not noted. Paulus Dracon: in his, 18. booke of y^e Romain gesles, declareth a thig merueilous, which befell to this emperour at that time, and very worthy to knowe at this present. And it is, that in the cytie of Constantinople, the Romaine emperours had a palace very sumptuous, & beseming the auctorite of the imperial maiesty, which was begonne in the time of Constantine the great, and afterwarde, as the succession of good, or euill Emperours was: so were the buildinges decayed, or repayred. For it is the deed of a vertuous Prince, to abolyse vices of the common wealthe, and to make great and sumptuous buildinges in his countrey. This Emperour Tiberius had spente greate treasours to redeme poore captiues, to builde hospitalles, to erect monasteries, to marie and prouide, for the Orphanes, and widowes, and in this he was so prodigall, that it came almost to passe y^e he had nothinge to eate in his palaice. And truly this was a blessed necessitie. For catholyke Princes ought to thinke that well employed, whiche in the seruice of Christe is bestowed. And hereof the Emperoure was not ashamed, but thought it a greate glozpe, and that whiche onely greued him was, to see the Empresse reioyce so muche at his misery. For the highe, and noble hartes, whiche feeles them selues wounded, doe not so muche esteeme their owne paine, as they doe to see their enemies reioice at their grieve. God neuer forsake them that for his sake became poore, as it appeareth by this. It chaunced one day, that euen as the emperour Tiberius walked in the myddest of his palace, he sawe at his feete a marble stone, whiche was in fourme of the crosse, of the redeamer of the worlde. And because it had beneto vniust a thing (as he thought) to haue spurned that with his feete, where-

with we truste from our enemies to be defended: he caused the stone to be taken vp, (not thinking any thing to be thereunder) and immediatly after, they found another, wherin likewise was the forme of the crosse and this beyng taken vp, they founde another in like maner, and when that was plucked by fro the bottome, there was found a treasor, whiche conteyned the some, of 2. millions of duckettes, for the whiche the good Emperour Tiberius gaue vnto almightie god most hygh thanks, and where as before he was liberall: yet afterwarde he was muche more bountifull. For all those treasours, he distrybuted amongest the poore, and needy people. Let therefore mighty princes, and great lordes see, reade, and profyte by this example, and let them thinke them selues assured, that for geuing almes to the poore, they neede not feare to become poore: for in the ende the vicious man can not call him selfe riche, nor the vertuous man can count him selfe poore. ❀

The.xvi.Chapter.

❀ Hovve the Chefeteyne Narses ouercame many batailles, onely for that his vvhole confidence was in God. Of the reprochefull vvordes, vvwhich Sophia the Empresse spake vnto Narses: vvherin may be noted the vnthankfulnes of Princes to vvardes their seruantes.

IN the yere of the incarnation of Christ. 528 (Iustinian the greate beinge Emperour, who was the sonne of Iustines sister his predecessor in the empyre,) the hystorica saye, in especially Paul⁹ Diacon⁹, in the. 18. booke
De

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De gestis romanorum: that there was a knight of Greece in Rome, who from his tender yeres had bene brought up in Italye. He was a man of a meane stature, of a colerycke complexion, and in the lawe of Christ very deuoute, whiche was no small thinge. For at that time, not onely manye knightes, but almosse all the Bishoppes of Italy were Arrians. This knightes name was Narses, and because he was so vertuous, and in feates of warre so aduēturous: he was chosen Chefeteyne generall of the army, of the Romaine empire. For the Romaines had this excellency, that when they had a vertuous captaine (alchoughe they might haue his weight of gold giuen them) they would neuer depart from his persone. He enterprysed so great thinges, he ouercame suche mighty realmes, and had suche notable victories ouer his enemies, that the Romaines said, he had in him the strength of Hercules, the hardnesse of Hector, the noblenes of Alexander, his policy of Pirrus, and the fortune of Scipio. For many of the badde gētils held opinio, that as the bodies dyd distribute their goods in the lyfe: so did the soules part their giftes after the death. This Narses was a pitifull captaine, and very constant in the faith of christ, liberall to giue almes, affectuous to build new monasteries, and in repairinge churches, a man very carefull. And truly it was a rare thinge. For in greate warres (vpon small occasions) captaynes vse to beate downe Churches, and that whiche greatest of all was, that he harde masses, visited the hospitall, saide his deuotions with greate teares, and aboue al, resorted verie ofte to the Church in the nighte. And this excellency was no lesse then the other. For that

✱ captaynes in suche an houre, are readier to kyll men in their campe: than to bewaile their sinnes in the church. Finally he was so good a christian, and so deuoute, that god gaue him the victories more thorowlye the prayers, whiche he vsed, than throughe the

weapons wherewith he fought. For there was neuer any man that sawe him shedde the blond of his enemies in battayle, before he had shedde the teares of his eyes in the temple. And to the ende Christian princes, and captaynes may see, how muche better it is, to pacifye god by teares, and prayers, then to haue their campe full of souldiours, and riches: of manye of his doinges I wyll declare parte, as here foloweth.

Iustinian the Emperour being in Alexandria, Totila, kinge of the gothes, did manye mischeues and greate damages throughe out all Italye, so that the Romaines durste not goe by the waye, nor could be in safe garde in their houses. For the Gothes kept the waies, and in the night robbed & spoiled all the people, wherefore Iustinian the Emperour not knowing the matter, sente the noble Narses, as captaine generall againste the Gothes, who (being arryued in Italye) immediately confedered with the Lumbardes, the whiche at that tyme had their mansion in Hungarye, and sente his messengers to kinge Albonius, (at that tyme their kinge) for ayde againste the Gothes, and in so doinge, he saide, he shoulde see howe faithfull a freynd he woulde be to his frendes: and how cruel an enemy to his enemies. Albonius hearinge the message of Narses was very glad, and without delaye, immediatly armed a greate and puissant armye, whiche by the Adriaticale sea came into Italye: so that the sunnshere and the offer, came both at one time with effect, and so together arryued in one daye (for the succour of Narses) the 2. armyes: that is to say, that of the Romaines and of the Lumbardes, the whiche assembled al in one, and marched vnder the banner of their captaine Narses. Whereof Totila kinge of the Gothes being aduertysed, that (as one had not proued the fortune of Narses, nor the force of the Lumbardes) sente to offer them the battayle, whiche was giuen in the fieldes of Aquileia: and it was of both partes so

so fierce and cruel, that infinite were they that dyed, but in the ende, Totilla kyng of the Gothes was overcome, and neither he, nor anye of hys hoste, escaped alyue. The good captayne Narles, after the battayle, gaue many, and noble gistes, to the Lumbardes, and so with ryches and victorie, they returned into Hungarye, towardes their king Alboinus. And truly this Narles dyd, as he was bounde to doe. For the frende cannot be recompenced by ryches, when for hys frende he putteth hys life in leoparde. When the lumbardes were gone, Narles caused all the spoyle of hys campe, to be deuyled amongst his souldyers, and that whiche belonged vnto hym, he gaue it wholly to the poore monasteries: so that by this victorie, Narles gotte triple renowne. That is to wete, verie bountifull in that he gaue to the Lumbardes, charitable in that he gaue to the poore, & valyaunt in that he banquished so puissant enemies. Theodebert kyng of Fraunce, being a courageous yonge Prince, and verie desirous of honoz (for no other cause, but to leaue of hym some memoire) determyned him selfe in person to passe into Italye, althoughe he had no iuste title thereunto. For the hartes full of pryde, thinke it litle, though the quarrel be vniuste in the warre. His mishap was suche, that the same daye he passed the riuer of Rubico (where the Romaynes in olde tyme limyted the marches of Italye) newes came to him that his owne countrey was bp, and those whiche were there, & one rebelled againste the other, the which was not withoute the greate suffraunce of God. For it is but reason, that that kinge should loose his owne realmes by deuine iustice, whiche wil take other mens, onely through mans folpe. The kyng Theodebert, assemblinge all the chiefest of hys realme to counsaile, it was agreed, and concluded by all, that he alone in person should returne into fraunce, and for his reputacion, should leaue all the armye in Italye. Whereof re-

mained captaynes, Buccelinus, and Amingus. For it is better for a Prince to defende his countrey by iustice, then to conquere another by treanny. As this armye of Buccelinus was greate, so was he contragious, and wroughte many and greate damages in Italy, especially in the lād of Campagnia, and worse then that, all the riches that he had sacked, and al the captiues he had taken, he woulde neither restore, nor yet suffer them to be raunsommed: but so sone as he toke them, he sente them vnto the kinge, as one that shewed him selfe more desirous to robbe and spoile, then to fight and wage battaile. This captayne Buccelinus, then being in Campagnia, retired into a place called tarentū with al his army, because of winter, Narles sodainely came vppō him. The battaile that was betwene them, was very cruel, wherein Buccelinus was banquished, and leste deade in the filde, amongst the other captaynes of the Calles. After hys companyon was deade, he confedered with Auidinus, captayne of the Gothes, & they together came against the Romaynes, (whiche thinge was not vnknewen vnto Narles) to giue the battaile, nere to Gaietto, whereas those captaynes were conquered, and taken alyue. Of whom, Amingus was beheaded, by the commatindemente of Narles: and Auidinus was sente by hym, prisoner to the emperour, to Constantinople. The captayne Narles wanne another battaile against Syndal, king of Byrons, which came into Italy with a huge multitude of people, to recouer the Realme of Partinopolis, whiche now we caule Paphlagonia, for he sayde it apperteyned vnto hym of ryght, as to one of the lynage of Hercules, who in auntyente tyme was kyng of that Realme. This kyng Syndall with in a whyle, became frende vnto Narles, and behaued hym selfe outewardelye, as a frend and confederate: but in secreete, conspired againste the Romaynes, and woulde haue bene kinge of the Romaynes, and cal-

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ned alone in Italy: through the which, there sprang betwene hym, and Narses, cruell warres, wherein, fortune was of long time variable. For there is not so aduenturous a captaine, to whom in long warres fortune is alwayes prosperous. Finally the kynge Syndal, & Narses, agreed to hasard their men, and also their lyues in one day, vnto the discrecion of fortune, so that, bothe the armies ioyned together, & fought betwene Verone, and Trente, where kynge Syndal was conquered, and take, and the same night without anye delay, was hanged openly. And because that Narses was not accustomed to vse such cruelty against those, that were ouercome, and especially against kinges and knightes, he commaunded this title to be set on the gibbet, whereon the kynge hanged, which said this.

*A Symple corde, here slept kynge Syndals breath
By fautes doome, of hys Narses best
Not that he fought, by warlike deedes his death
But that in peace, he dyed a Traitor rest.*

Such, and many other battailes and victories, had this aduenturous and good captaine, not onely in the borders of Italy, but also in Asia, where for many yeares, he had the gouernement of the countrey. And as he was a good christian, so almighty god in all his affaires did prosper him. After all these warres past, Iustinian the yonger sent him to the kingdome of Constantinople, to be chiefe gouernour of all those prouinces, and although he did wel in warlike affaires: yet he did much better in the administration of the common wealth. For men that are accustomed to trauaile in warres, haue a good learning how to gouerne y people in peace. For this occasion (amongest all mortal men) Narses was praised and esteemed, that is, for his valiauntnes in the batailes whiche he ouercame, for his riches through y spoiles that he toke, & for the iustice to all men, which he ministred wher he ruled. Narses, because he was a Gretian bozne, was en-

uied of many of y Romaines, and chiesely, because he daily encreased, both his honour and riches. For truly vertue, honoure, and riches in a mā, are but a brod to light enuy to all the world. The mater was this: y one daye there came many noble Romaines, to the emperour Iustinian, & to the Emperesse Sophia Augusta, to complaine of Narses, and of his behauiour & gouerning, and said these wordes vnto hym. We let you to wete, most noble prince, that we had rather (of the two) to serue the Gothes, then to obeye the Greekes: & we speake this, because that the Eunuch commaundeth vs more to his owne seruice, then he doth to that of thine, and the worst is, that thou knowest it not, & if thou knowest it, at the least thou doest not remedie it. Chose therfore one of these two thinges, whether thou wilt deliuer vs from the gouernement of y greeke, or suffer that we put Rome & our selues, into the hādes of the Gothes. For it is lesse grieve for y Romaines, to be subiecte to a puissant king: then to an effeminate Eunuch, & a tiraunt. Narses hearinge these quarells (as they saye) said thus. If I haue committed any euil, it is vnpossible for me to finde one, y wil do me good: but if I haue done wel, no man shalbe able to do me wrong. The emperesse Sophia of long time before had hated Narses, some said it was, because he was an Eunuch, or ther thinke it was, because he was riche, & some other iudge, because he was in greater authority in y empire then she. Wherefore perceiuing she had good occasiō & opportunity for y same, she spake a word muche to his reproch, which was this. Sith thou art an eunuch Narses, & not a mā fitte to haue an office, I commaund the to worke with my handmaidēs, & there y shalt serue, to spinne and weaue clothes. Narses toke this worde heauily, & truly it was wō great spighte spoken. Wherefore he stoutly, & couragiously, spake vnto the emperesse Sophia these wordes, & said: I had rather (most excellēt Princesse) thou haddest chastised me as a dame, then

then to haue reprov'd me with a worde as
 a woman: but since it is so that thou haste
 such an authority, know thou, that I am as
 wel willinge to obeye, as thou arte hastye
 to commaund. I go to weave my webbe, which
 thou in thy lyfe shalt neuer untwine. Nar-
 ses immediately wente his way, and came
 into Italy, into the cite of Naples (chiefe
 and head of Campagnia) and from thence,
 he sente his imbassadours immediatly to
 the king of Hungary (where the Lumbard-
 es at that tyme, had their mansiō place) cou-
 saylynge them to forsake that lande, so evil
 rilled, so barren, colde, and litle, & that they
 shoulde come and inhabite Italye, whiche
 was a plaine countrey, fertile, & ample, tem-
 perate, & very riche, and that now, or never
 they shoulde haue occasion to conquere it.
 And Narses therew not contented (but to
 prouoke his frēdes the more, & make the
 more couetous) sente them parte of euery
 good thing y was in Italy, that is to wete,
 light horses, riche armour, swete, pleasūt,
 and deinty frutes, fine mettayles, & manye
 kindes of oymementes very odiferous, sil-
 kes and marchādises, of many, and diuerse
 sortes. The embassadours arriued in Pano-
 ny (which now is called Hungary) were
 honorably receyued, and the Lumbardes
 seing that there were suche, and so manye
 goodlye thinges in Italye, determyned to
 leaue Pannonia, and goe spoyle and con-
 quere Italy, although it belonged to Rome,
 and were at that season frendes with the
 Romaynes, yet notwithstanding they had
 litle respecte to this. And hereat no man
 oughte to meruayle, for in that place there
 is neuer perfite frendshyppe, where he that
 commaundeth, is constrained to demaund
 helpe of others. The Lumbardes deter-
 myned to passe into Italye, at that tyme
 there was seene of the Italyans visyble
 in the ayer, sondrye armyes of fire, the
 one, cruelly kyllynge the other. Whiche
 thinges greately feared the hartes of the
 people. For by this they knewe, that with

in a thorte space, muche of their bloude, and
 of their enemyes also shoulde be shed. For
 it is an olde auntyent custome, that when
 anye greate matter dothe chaunce to anye
 Realme, first the planettes & elementes doe
 declare the same, by secreete tokens. The in-
 gratitude of the Emperoure Justinian, a-
 gainste Narses his captayne, and the evil
 wordes, whiche Sophia spake vnto hym,
 were thocasiō that the Lumbardes inuas-
 ded, and destroyed all Italy, which thing ba-
 liaunt Princes ought wel to note: to keape
 them selues fro ingratitude towarde their
 seruantes, who hath done them great ser-
 uice, For it is a generall rule, that the in-
 gratitude of a greate benefite, maketh the
 seruant eyther to be come a foole: or of a
 faithfull seruante, to become a cruell, and
 mortal enemye. And let not Princes truste
 men, because they be natyfe of their Real-
 mes, brought vp, and nourished in their pa-
 laces, and alwayes haue ben faithfull in
 their seruices, that therefore they wyll not
 of good subiectes, be turned to euil, nor yet
 of faithfull, become disloyal. For suche ima-
 ginacion is bayne. For the Prince that in
 his doinges is vnthankfull, cannot keape
 nor preserve any man longe in his seruice.
 One thinge the noble Justinian dyd with
 Narses, whereof all noble, and sage princes
 ought to beware, that is to know, he did not
 onely glue eare vnto his enemyes, and be-
 leued them: but also before them, he did dys-
 honour him, and shame him to his power,
 which thinge made hym vterly to dispatre.
 For there is nothing that tormēteth a man
 more, then to haue before his enemyes, any
 iniury or dishonoure to be done vnto him,
 of his superiour. The emperesse Sophia de-
 serued great reproche, for speakinge suche
 dishonest wordes to Narses, y is to wete,
 to send hym to tread the nedels in that oc-
 cupacion, where the damfells wrought. For
 it is the duty of a noble princeesse, to mitigate
 the ire of princes, when they are angry. Nar-
 ses the alwayes dowtinge the emperesse So-
 phia

phla, neuer after returned into Naples, where she was, but rather coming from Naples to Rome, a yeare before the Lumbardes came into Italy: & noble Narses received all the sacramentes, & lyke a deuout Christian dyed at Rome. His body was caried to Alexandria, within a coffine of silver, al set with precious stones, and there was buried. And a man cannot tell, whether the displeasour were greater that Asia had to see Narses alme, or the pleasour that Sophia had to see him dead. For the vnpatient harte (especiallve of a woman) hath no rest, vntill she see her enemy dead.

The.xvii. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, sente to the kynge of Trinacrye, in the vvhich he recordeth the trauailes, vvhiche they endured together in their youth, and repro- ueth him of his smal reuerence towarde the temples.



MACV S Aurelius sole Emperour of Rome, borne in mount Cellio, caused the old tribune, witheth health & long life to & gozbin, lord and king of Trinacry. As it is the custome of the Ro- maine Emperoure, the firste yeare of my reigne I wrote generally to al that Ile: the seconde yeare I wrote generally vnto thy court and palace: & at this present I write more particularlve to thy parson. And although & princes haue great Realmes, yet they ought not therfore to cease, to communicate w their olde frendes. Since I toke my penne to write vnto &, I staied my hâde a great while fro writing, & it was not for that I was shouthful: but because I was a

shamed, and this is, because through the, al Rome is staüdered. I let the to were (moste excellent prince) that in this I say, I am thy true frend, for in my harte I fele thy trouble: so Euripides said: that, which with the harte is loued, w the harte is lameted. Before I shew the cause of my writing, I wyl reduce into thy memory, some thinges past of our youth, and thereby we shal see, what we were then, and what we are now: for no man dothe so muche reioyce of his prosperitie present, as he whiche calleth to minde his myseries past. Thou shalt call to minde (moste excellent Prince) that we two together did learne to reade in Capua, and after we studyed a little in Tharentu: & from thence we went to Rhodes, where I redde Rhetorike, and thou hardest philosophie. And afterwarde in the ende of .10. yeares, we went to the warres of Panonia, where I gaue my selfe to musyke: for the affection of yong men, is so variable, that dayly they would know realmes, and chaunge offices. And in al those iourneis, with the forse of youthe, the swete company, with the pleasant communication of sciēces, and with a baine hope, we dyd dyssemble our extreme pouerty, which was so great, that many times & ofte, we desired not &, whiche man had, but &, whiche to few abounded. Thou shalt remember, that when we sailed by the goulfe Arpin, to goe into Helesponte, a long & tempestuous toymēt came vppō vs, wherin we were takē of a pirate, & for our raunsome, he made vs rowe about 9. monethes in a gally, wheras I cannot tel, whiche was greater, either & wante of bread, or the abundaunce of stripes, whiche we alwayes endured. Thou shalt remember, that in the cite of Rhodes, when we were beseged of Bruerdus, puissaunte kynge of Epirotes, for the space of fourtene monethes, we were tenne withoute eatynge fleshe, save onely .2. cartes, the one which we stole, & the other which we bought. Thou shalt remember that thou, and I (being in Tarent) were desired

desired of our hoste, to go to the feast of the great goddess Diana: into the which temple none coulde enter that daye, but those which were new apparelled. And to say the trouthe, we determynd not to go thither: thou because thy garmentes were torne, and I because my shoes were broken. Thou shalt remember, that bothe the tymes we were sicke in Capua, they neuer cured vs by dyete: for oure dysleases neuer proceeded but through hunger, debility, and feblenes. And oftentimes Retropus the phisician, for his pleasour, spake to vs in the vniuersitye and sayd. Alas chyldren, you dye not through surfeting, and much eatinge. And truly he sayd the truth, for the contrey was so dere, and our mony so scarce, that we did neuer eate; vntyl the time we could endure no lenger for famine. Thou shalt remeber the greate famine that was in Capua, for the whiche cause we were in the warre of Alexandria, wherein my fleshe dyd tremble, remembryng the great perilles, whiche we passed, in the goulfe of Thebertynthe. What snowes all wynter, what extreme heate al sommer, what generall famine in the fieldes, what outrageous pestilence amongest the people, & worst of al, what persecution of straungers, & what euill wyl we had of ours. Thou shalt remeber that in the citie of Naples, when we made our prayer to the profetesse, she told vs what should become of vs, after we leste our studies. She tolde me that I should be an emperour, and said that thou shouldest be a kynge. To the which aunswere, we gaue such credite, that we toke it not onely for a mocke: but also for a manifest iniurye. And now I doe not merueile, in that then we bothe marvelled wonderfull muche. For enuyous fortune practysed her power more in pluckinge downe the ryche, then in settinge vp the poore. Beholde (excellente Prince) the greate power of the goddess, the whele of fortune, and the variety of tymes: who should haue thought, when I had my hand

des all rough, and scurvy with rowing in the galley, that betwene those handes, the scepter of the Romayne Empire shoulde haue ben put: who woulde haue thought, when I was so sicke for lacke of meat, that I should euer haue surfited by to much eatinge: who wold haue thought at that time, when I lest going into the temple because my shoes were broken, that another tyme should come, when I shoulde ryde triumphing in chariotes, and vppon the shoulders of other men: who woulde haue thought, that that which in my eares I heard of the prophetesse in Capagnia, I should se here with my eyes in rome: O how manye dyd hope (at the time we were in Asia) to be gouernours of Rome, & lordes of Trinacrie, whiche not onely sayled of the honoure that they desyred, but also obtained y death whiche they neuer feared: for oftentimes it chaunceth to ambitious me, that in their greatest russe, and when they thinke their honour sponne and wouen, then their estate, with y webbe of their life, in one momente is broken. If at that tyme one had demaunded the Graunte Laodicius aspyrynge to the kyngdome of Trinacrie, and Ruphus Calius, who looked to be Emperour of Rome, what they thought of them selues: assuredly they would haue swozne, their hope to haue ben as certayne, as ours was doutefull. For it is naturall to proude men, to delyghte them selues, and to set their hole mynde vppon vayne deuises. It is a wonder to see, and worthy meimorye: that they hauing the honoure in their eyes, and we not thinkyng of it in oure harte, that fortune woulde shewe her selfe in this case so puissaunte, that she prouyded hope for those whiche looked for leaste: and dyspayre for others, that hoped for most: which thinge greaued them at the very harte. For no pacience can endure, to see a man obtayne that withoute trauaile, whiche he coulde neuer compasse by muche labour: I cannot tell, if I shoulde saye lyke a simple

THE DIAL

ple Romaine, that those thinges consist in fortune: or if I should saye lyke a good philosopher, that al the gods do ordeine them. For in the ende, no fortune nor chaunce can doe any thinge, without the gods assente. Let the proude & enuious trauaile as much as they wyl, and the ambitious take as much care as they can, I saye and affirme, that litle auaieth humaine diligence to attaine to greate estates, if the gods be their enemies. Suppose that euil fortune doe ordeine it, or that the god and gods doe suffer it, I say, those whiche haue their thoughtes highe, oftentimes are but of base estate: and those that haue their thoughtes lowe, oftentimes greate fortune foloweth them. For many oftentimes aryse to be Lordes, the whiche being once repulsed, throw them selues moste like slaues. The condicion of hono^r is suche, as I neuer reade the like: and therfore such as haue to do with her, ought to take good hede. For her condicions are such, she enquireth for him whom she neuer knew, she speaketh to him that heareth her not, she contracteth wth him whom she neuer sawe, and she renneth after him that flieth from her: she hono^reth him that esteemeth her not, & she demaundeth him, which willeth her not, she geueth to hym, & requirerth her not, & she trusteth him, whome she knoweth not. Finally hono^r hath this custome, to forsake him, that esteemeth her: and to remaine with him, which litle regardeth her. Those which are desirous to go, aske not, which is h^{er} place, but do demaund what way they must take, to lead them to their desire. I meane that princes & noble men, oughte not directlye to caste their eyes vpon hono^r: but in the waye of vertue, which endeth in hono^r. For otherwise, we see manye remaine defamed, onely for sekynge hono^r. O myserable worlde, thou knowest I know the well, and that whiche I know of the, is: that thou arte a sepulcher of the deade, a pryson of the lypynge, a shoppe of vices, a hangeman of vertues, an

oblyuion of antiquite, an enemy of thinges presente, a pitfall to the riche, and a burden to the poore, a house of pilgrames, and a denne of theues. Finally O worlde, thou arte a sclauderer of the good, a raueⁿour of the wicked, and a deceuer and abuser of all, and in the O worlde, to speake the truthe, it is almoste impossible to liue contented, and muche lesse to lyue in hono^r. For if thou wilt geue hono^r to the good, they thinke them selues dyshonoured, and esteeme thy hono^r as a thinge of mockery. And if perchaunce they be euil and lyghte, thou sufferest them to come to hono^r by way of mockery, meaning infamy and dishonour vnto the. O immortall gods, I am oftentimes troubled in my thought whose case I should moze lament, either the euil man auanced without deserte, or the good man ouerthrowen without cause. And truly in this case, the pytfull man will haue compassion on them bothe. For if the euyl lyue, he is sure to fall: and if the good dye not, we doute whether euer he shal come to hono^r. If all falles were a lyke, all would be healed & cured with one salve: but some fall on their fete, some on their sides, others stumble and fall not, and other fall downe ryght, but some doe glue them a hande. I meane, some there are whiche falle from their estate, and lose no moze but their substance: others fall, and for verie sorrowe lose not onely their goods, but their lyfe with all. Other there are that fall, whoneyther lose their life nor goods, but their hono^r onely. So accordynge to the dyscrecyon of fortune, the moze they haue, the moze fylle she taketh from them. I greatlye muse of one thyng, whiche the gods neuer remedye, that is, because fortune, when she begynneth to ouerthrowe a poore man, dothe not onely take all he hath from hym, but all those which may, and wyl succoure hym.

So that the poore man, is bounde moze to lamente for another mans euyl: then

for

for his owne proper. There is a great difference between the mishappes of the good, and adventures of the euill. For he can not saye that he amounteth, but that he descendeth. For in the ende, the true frendshippe, and honour dothe not consist, in the perfection and dignity that a man hath, but in the good lyfe that he leadeth. It is a dolefull thinge to see wayne men of this world, when they goe aboute to compasse, any greate matter of importaunce, and to marke they carelesly rising in the morning, their late goyng to bed at night, and the looke whiche they caste vpon other men, to note how importunate they are to some, and howe troublesome they are to others, and afterwarde (notwithstandinge they longe lute, and greate paine) another man whiche litle thought thereof, cometh to that honour reioysinge, and without trauayle: whiche he befoze, by so greate paynes, and w so great expeses of money, hath sought: so that in seekinge honour by trauayle, he cometh to infamy with shame. For I my selfe haue sene sondry thinges losse by negligence, and many moe, by to muche diligence.

The.xviii.Chapter.

¶ The Emperour procedeth in his letter, to admonish princes to be fearefull of their Gods, and of the sentence vvhich the Senate gaue vpo this kinge.



AL these thynges (moste excellent pynce) I haue told the for none other cause, but to aggrauate this case, and to shewe the peryll thereof. For the good phisitian (to take away the bytternes of h pylle) ministrereth some swete suger, to delight the pacient withal. The 24 day of the moneth of Ianuary (here befoze h Senate) was presented a long & large information of the, & it was sent by the Consul, whiche wente to visite the Ile of Cicillia, which (as thou knowest) is an olde order of Rome, from 3. monethes to 3. monethes, to visite all the lande and countrey, subiecte to the same. For those princes are vnusue, which haue moze care to take by their rentes, then diligence to knowe if their people be well ordered by iustice. Of the information taken of the, & thy personne (yf my memory deceyue me not) this was the effect: that thou arte temperate in eatynge, moderate in expenses, pitiful to widowes, father to orphans, gentle to those that serue the, pacient with those that offende the, diligente to kepe and mainteyne peace, and faithfull to obserue league, and thou arte accused onely, to be negligent in the seruice of God.

By one lytle gate left open, oftentimes a greate Citie besieged is losse: by one onely treason, the infinite seruices passe, are not esteemed. I meane (moste excellent pynce) that it litle ppeneth to thinke muche of worldly matters, and to forget all deuine seruices. For the good Prince ought first to shutte the gates against vices, that they enter not into his subiectes: befoze he doth fortifye the wall against his enemies. Let euery man be as he wyll, and say what he lyffe, I for my parte thinke it sure, that the man whiche is not a studious seruer of the gods, all his vertues shalbe turned into vices, and esteemed as sclauanders.

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For it is a generall rule in hye Philosophy, that a worke is not called vertuous, because I worke it only, but it is vertuous, because it is acceptable to the gods.

Excellent prince, doste not thou knowe, that ther is no mā so wise, neither so sage, but erreth moze through ignoraunce, than he doth good by wisdom: And doste not thou knowe, that there is no man so iuste, but wanteth muche to execute true iustice? And finally I saye, that there is no vertue so vertuous, but it wanteth moze than it hath, to be perfyte. Wherefore al our iustice ought to be made perfyte, to the deuine iustice: and the vertue, which we lack, ought to be supplied vnder the greate perfection, wherwith the gods abounde. Amonges hye Romaines we haue thys lawe, (whiche is the chiefe of all the Philosophers) that here amongeste mortall men, noz of mortall men, noz wyth mortall men, any thing is perfyte, vnlesse it be by the Gods confirmed. Synce men are feeble, and frayle, it can not be chosen, but they shoulde commit many frapleties. And in suche case, the sage Princes ought, and shoulde beare with all the frapleties that men committe, those excepted, whiche are not insuriously to the gods, whom (if it were possible) vnwares, oughte to be punished.

For the Prince shoulde not be called a Prince, but a Tyrante: that is despyous to reuenge hys proper inturpe, and in chastening those, whiche are againste the gods, sheweth hym selfe negligent.

Let them thinke what they lyffe, and complayne what they wyll, that Prince, whiche wyll enlarge hys dominions, and giue occasion that the seruice of God be diminished, suche a man we wyll not call a kynge that gouerneth, but a Tyrante. If we call hym a Tyrante, that spoyleth the people, sleeth the men, persecuteth the innocente, dishonoureth virginnes, and robbeth realmes: Tell me excellent Prince, what lacketh he of a Tyrant, that places

heth downe Churches, and lytle esteemeth the gods? There is no token moze manifeste that the Prince is a Tyrante, then when he taketh vpon hym anye thyng, whiche is contrary to the wyll of the gods. For he hath small regarde towarde men, that so lytle feareth the gods. Licurgus, the famous kynge of the Lacedemonians sayeth, in one of hys aunceint lawes, these wordes. We ordeyne and commaunde, that no Lacedemonian presume, to receyue mercede or sauour of the Prince, whiche wyll not enforce hym selfe, to serue the gods. For he is not onelys euill, but of all other, moste wicked.

Excellent kynge, O glorious world, O fortunate realme, wherein those aunceintes woulde their Princes shoulde be so iuste, that the gyftes were not esteemed, vnlesse their lyues were honeste: for they thoughte that of no value, whiche by the handes of euill men was geuen.

Thou hast done one thinge very dishoneste (moste noble Prince) the whiche to wyte vnto the, I am ashamed, whiche is: for to enlarge thy newe palace, thou hast plucked downe an old Temple, the whiche thinge thou shouldest neyther haue done, noz yet haue thoughte.

For in the ende, though the stones of the Temple be of small importaunce, yet the gods, to whom they were dedicated, were of muche value. Pardon me (excellent Prince) though I let the vnderstand, that thys acte hath bene done in suche sort, that thereby I was amazed, and all Rome also offended, the sacred Senate thou hast greatly bered, and farder, all iudge the a dissolute man, & all men procure, that thou mayste be extremely punished, and hereof meruayle not. For in Rome they beleue, that the Prince whiche dare plucke downe Temples, doth lytle feare the gods. For that thou arte a noble Prince, and an olde frend of mine, I haue traualled to bring y in fauour with the senate, and because thou

hast

haſte no meanes to excuſe thy error committed: they doe not determine to forgiue the this faulte, beſore they ſee in the a toke of amendement. And of truth me thinketh they haue reaſon. For there is nothinge that troubleth poore men more: than to ſee that they, and not the riche, for their offences, are chaſtiſed and puniſhed. That which the ſacred Senate hath ordeyned is, that forthwith thou beginne to builde the Temple anew, and that it ſhoulde be more large, hye, beautifull, and rycher, then euer it was. So y thou take as much of thy pallace to enlarge the Temple, as thou tokeſt of the Temple, to beautifie thy pallace. After thou haſte perſourmed thys, though now thou thinke thy ſelfe halfe diſhonoured, thou wylte than thynke thy ſelfe very happie. For not thou of the gods, but the gods of the, ſhall haue taken thy houſe to make their Temple. I beleue well it wil be greate coaſte, and charges vnto the, beſore thou haſte finiſhed the Temple. wherefore I ſend the .40. thouſande ſexterces to healepe thy buyldinge, and to the ende it ſhoulde be more ſecrete, I ſende the thet by my Secretary Panuntius, to whom, in all, and for all, thou ſhalte giue credyte. I ſende the lyke wyſe a collar of golde, whiche one brought me from the ryuer of Nyle, and becauſe it was to narrowe for me, I ſuppoſe it wyl be ſpyte for the. One hath brought me moyles out of Spayne, whereof I ſende the. 2. Panuntius my ſecretary bringeth with him a verpe good moyle, the whypche he eſteemeth muche. So that ther is no man that can ether bye her, or borowe her. I delighte in her ſo muche, that I deſyre thou cauſe her eyther to be bought, or ſtole, and ſent vnto me here in Rome. My wyſe Fauſtine ſaluteth the, and to the excellent queene thy wyſe, of her part and myno, as muche as is poſſible, doe our commendacions, and theſe Popingeys, Fauſtine preſenteth vnto her Marcus the Romaine Emperour, wyrteth to

the wyth his owne hande,

The.xix.Chapter.

Howe the Gentils honoured
thoſe vvhich vvere deuout,
in the ſeruice of the gods.



THE auncient Romaine hyſtographers agree, that at the beginninge there were ſeuene kynges, whypche gouerned Rome, for the ſpace of .60. yeres. The ſeconde whereof, was named Pompilius, who amongest all the other, was moſte hyghly eſteemed, for none other cauſe, but for that he was a greate worſhypper of the gods, and a ſumptuous builder of the Temples.

For the Romaine princes, were aſmucheloued for ſeruing the gods, as they were honoured, for vanquyſhing their enemies. This man was of ſuch ſorte, that he allotted Rome wholly for the gods, and made a houſe for hym ſelfe, without the cytie. For it was an auncient law in Rome, that no man ſhoulde be ſo bolde to dwell in any houſe conſecrated for the gods. The fyrſte kinge of the Romaines was Torquinius Priſcus. And as Torquinius Superbus was vicious, and abhorred of the people: ſo was this vertuouſe, and welbeloued of the gods: and was greatly praiſed in all hye doyngeſ, becauſe he feared God, and continually viſited the Temples, and not contented wyth thoſe whypche were ſyniſhed, but buylte alſo in the hygh Capitoll, the ſacred Temple of Iupiter.

For that no Prince coulde buylde any houſe in Rome for hym ſelfe, vnleſſe firſt he made a **TEMPLE** for the Gods,

of the comon wealth. This temple was had in so greate reuerence, that as the Romaynes honoured Iupiter for the god aboue all other gods, so was that temple esteemed aboue all other temples. In the warres betwene the Talisques, and the Carpenates. 2. Romaine captaynes were vanquished, of the which, the one (named Gemetius) dyed: wherupon rose such a great feare amonge them, that many (flyenge from the warres) came backe againe to Rome. For the victorious hath alwaies this priuiledge, y though they be few, yet they are alwaies feared of the that be ouercome. This occasion moued the Romaines, to chose newe captaynes, and truly they did lyke wisse men. For oftentimes it happeneth, by altering y captaynes of the warres, fortune likewise chaungeth her doinges. And the captaine y was elected for the warres, was Marcus Camillus, who though he were skoute and hardy, yet befoze he went to the warres, he offered great sacrifices to the gods, & made a vow, y if he returned to Rome victorious, he would build a solempne Temple. For it was the custome of Rome, y immediately, whē the Romaine captayne would enterpryse to doe any notable thinge, he shoulde make a vow to build temples. Now whē Camillus returned afterwarde victorious, he did not onely build a Temple, but also furnished it w al maner of implemētes therunto belonging, which he gotte by spoyle, & vanquishing his enemies. And sith he was for this reprehendis of some, sayeng y the Romaine captaynes shuld offer their hartes to y gods, & deuide the treasours amōg y soulidours, he answered these words. I like a mā, did aske y gods but. i. triumphe: & they like gods, gaue me many. Therfoze cōsidering this, it is but iust, sith I was brieft in promising, y I should be large in persourming. For euē as I did thake the for y they gaue me double, in respect of that I was demaūded: so likewise shal they esteeme y, which I do giue, in respect of y, which I promi-

sed. At y time, when y cruel warre was betwixt Rome, & the citie of Neye, y Romaynes kept it besieged. s. yeres togethers, & in the end by pollicy take it. For it chaūseth sondry times in warre, y that citie in short time by pollicy is wonne, which by great strength a long time hath bene defended. Marcus Furius dictatour of Rome, & at that time captaine, commaunded a proclamacion to be had throug his hosse, that incontinently after the Citie was taken, none shoulde be so hardy, as to kyl any of the Citizens, but those, which were found armed. Which thinge the enemies vnderstandinge, vnamed them selues all, and so escaped. And truly this example was woorthy of notinge. For as the captaynes ought to shewe them selues sƿerce, and cruel at the beginninge: so after the victoꝝe had of their enemies, they shoulde shew them selues meke, and pitiful. This dictatour Camillus, for another thing he did, was muche commended aboue the residue. That is to wete, he did not onely not consent to robbe the Temples, nor dishonoure the gods: but he hym selfe, with greate reuerence, toke the sacred vessels of the Temples, and the gods which were therein, (especiallye the goddesse Iuno,) and broughte them all to Rome. For amongest the auncientes there was a law, that the gods of them, which were vanquished, shoulde not come by lotte, to the Captaynes beinge conquerours. Therfoze he made in the mounte Auentino a sumptuous temple, wherein he placed all the gods togethers, with all the other holy reliques which he wanne. For the greater triumphe the Romaines had ouer their enemies, so muche the better they handeled the Gods, of the people vanquished. Also you oughte to knowe, that the Romaines, after manye victoꝝes, determined to make a crowne of golde, very great and riche, and to offer it to the God Apollo. But sith the common treasour was pooze (because there was but litle siluer, & lesse gold, to make that crow-

me: the Romayne Matrones defaced theyr Jewelles, and their bagges of gold and silver, to make that crowne withall. For in Rome ther neuer wanted money (if it were demaunded) for the seruice of gods, to repaire Temples, or to redeme captiues. The Senate esteemed the well wyllinge hartes of these womē, in such sort, that they graunted them .3. thinges: that is to wete, to weare on their heades garlandes of flowers, to goe in chariottes to the commō places, and to goe openly to the feastes of the gods. For the auncient Romaines were so honest, that they neuer ware gold on their heades, neyther went they at any time to y^e feastes vncouerid. A man ought not to maruaile, that the Romaines graunted suche priuiledges vnto the auncient matrones of Rome. For they vsed neuer to be obliuious of any benefyte receyued, but rather gentyll, wyth thanks and rewarde, to recompense the same. An other notable thinge chaunsed in Rome, which was, that the Romaines sent 2. tribunes, the which were called Caelius and Sergius, into the Ile of Delphos with great presentes, to offre vnto y^e god Apollo. For as Titus Liuius saith, Rome verely sent a presente vnto the god Apollo, and Apollo gaue vnto the Romaines counsaile. And as the Tribunes went out of the way, they fell into the handes of pirats, and rowers on the sea, which toke the with their treasours, & brought them to the city of Liparye. But the Citizens vnderstanding, y^e those presentes were consecrated, to the god Apollo: did not onely deliuer the all their treasour againe: but also gaue them much more, and guydes therewith, to conducte the safely (both goynge, and comynge) from all peryll and daunger. The Romaines being aduertised of their gentlenes, by the messengers (whiche were come safe & aliue) did so much reioyse, y^e they ordeined in Rome, that y^e nobles of Liparie, should be made Senators of Rome, & al y^e others, should be cōfederate, & of aliaūce vnto the. And they can-

sed furder, y^e 2. priettes of Lipary, shold alwayes remain in y^e tēple of Iupiter, whiche priuiledge was neuer graunted to any other straungers, but to them onely. For the Romaines had so great zeale, and loue to their gods, that in the seruices of the tēples they trusted none, but those, which were native, and auncient of Rome, and also were both wise and vertuous. When Quintus Fabius, and Publitus Decius, were in the warres against y^e Samites, & Erruscanes, and likewise against the Vmbres, manye marueylous and terrible signes, were sene in Rome: which thinges did not onely feare those that saue the, but also those which hearde of them. Upon the whiche occasion, the Romaines, and the Romayne matrones (both night and day) offred great sacrifices to the gods. For they saide, if we can once pacify the wrath of the gods in Rome, we shall neuer heade to feare oure enemies in the felde. The thinge was this, that as the Romayne matrones went visiting the Temples, to appease the ire of the gods, manye senators wyues came to the Temple of chastite, to offer sacrifice. For in the time of the puissant power of the Romaines, the women did sacrifice in the Temples of the gods. At that time came Virginea, the daughter of Aureus Virgineus, the Consul Plebeian, the whiche was forbidden to doe sacrifice, for that she was none of the senators wyues. For the noble women were had in so great veneration, & so highly esteemed, that all the other scted (in respect of them) but handmaidens, & sclauens. The noble Romaine Virginea, seinge her to be so disdained of y^e other matrons, made of her owne proper house a Temple, to the goddess of chastite, and with much deuotion and reuerence honoured her. The whiche thinge, beinge publyshed abroad, throughte oute Rome, many other women came thither, to doe sacrifice likewise. For fortune is so variable, that oftentimes those, whiche of pryde haue forbydden vs theyr houses

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houses, come after by humilitie, to serue vs at ours. For this cause, this Virginea the foundresse was so greatly praised, that the Romaines in her lyfe, made her patrice: & after her death, caused her image and statue to be made, and set vp in the high Capitoll: and aboue this image, were grauen certayne greeke letters, the effecte wherof was this:

*Patrice the great, this Image doth present
That in her lyfe, dyd giue with mynde deuout
The Gods her house, and therefore to them went
When lyuely breth, by death was chased out.*

Of all these hystories aboue named, Titus Liuius maketh mencio in his first decade, the seconde booke, and though he declareth them moze at large: yet this shal suffice for my purpose. I haue sought among the gentils these fewe examles, to reprehend chrestian Princes, to the end they might see, how studious and seruente our fathers were, in the seruice of their Idoles: and contrarie wise, how cold and negligent we are, to honour and serue our true, and liuing god. It is a shame to tell, how the auncient Romaines with all their hartes did serue the gods without any vnderstanding, and how those which are christians (for the most part) serue the true God, not in truth, but with hypocrasie, and dissimulation. For the childe of this world will take no paynes, but for to prouoke the pleasours of the body. Many wondred, for what occasio god did so much for them, and they did nothinge for god. To this may be answered, yf if they had knowe one true god, al the sacrifices they had done to their other gods, they woulde haue done to him onely: and as god is iuste, so he rewarded them in their tēporall prosperities, not for that they did well, but for that they desired to doe well. For in our deuine law, god doth not regard what we are, but what we desire to be. Christian princes maruaile much, what the occasio should be, that they are not so fortunate as the Gentils were.

To this may be answered, yf either they be good or euill. If they be good, trulye God should doe them wrong, if (for the payment of their faithfull seruices) he should recompence them with those worldly vanities.

For withoute doute, one onely louinge countenance of god in the world to come, is moze worth: then al the temporal goods, of this world present. But if these such great Lordes be euill in their personnes, ambitious in gouerning their dominions, not pitiful to wydowes, and fatherlesse, not fearful of god, nor of his threateninges, and moreover, neuer to haue mynde to serue him, but onely when they see them selued in some great separdy, in suche case, God will not heare them, and much lesse fauour them. For withoute doute, yf seruice is moze acceptable, whiche of free will procedeth: than that, whiche of necessitie is offered.

The.xx.Chapter.

For fyu e causes, princes ought to be better Christians, then their subiectes.



IN myne opinion, Princes ought, and are bounde to be vertuous, for .v. causes. I say vertuous, in that they shuld loue, and feare god. For he onely may be called vertuous, whiche in the catholyke faith of the church, and in the feare of god harhe allwates remained constant. First, Princes should feare, loue, serue, and honour one onely god, whom they worshippe, for that they acknowledge hym onely, and none other to be the heade, both of heauen and earth. For in the end, ther is nothing so puissant, but is subiecte to the diuine power. And trulye, the Prince is in great peryll of damnacion of his soule, if in
hps

his gouernement, he hath not alwayes be-
 fore his eyes, the feare & loue of the supreme
 prince, to whom we must reder of all oure
 doings an accopt. For y prince hath great
 occasion to be vicious, thincking y for the
 vice he shal not be chastised. I haue redde
 in diuerse and sondry wrytinges, and I ne-
 uer founde one auncient Prynce to be con-
 tented with one only god, but that they had
 & serued many gods. Iulius Cesar caried
 fīue gods painted in a table, & Scipio the
 great caried seuen portered in mettall. And
 furthermore, they were not contented to
 haue many: but yet in sacrifices and serui-
 ces they offred vnto them al. The christian
 Prynces, whiche keape and haue but one
 very true and omnipotent god, are so vn-
 thankfull, that they thinke it much to serue
 and giue acceptable seruice vnto him. And
 thoughe peraduenture some saye, that it is
 more payneful to serue one true god, then
 all these false gods, to this I aunswere.
 That to serue them, it is both traualle, and
 payne: but to serue our god, it is both ioye,
 and felicity. For in seruing those, it is cost-
 ly, and withoute profyte: and in seruing
 god, greate profite ensueth. For those god-
 des require great and riche sacrifices: and
 our god demaundeth nothinge but pure &
 cleane hartes. Secundarily prynces shoulde
 be better Christians then others, because
 they haue more to lose then all. And he that
 hath more to lose then anye other, oughte
 aboute al other to serue god. For euē as he
 alone can gyue hym, so lykewyse he alone
 and none other can take from him. And if
 a subiecte take any thinge from his neigh-
 bour, the Prynce whom he serueth, maketh
 him render it agayne: but if the Prynce be
 iniured with anye other ttraunce, he hath
 none to complayne vnto, nor to demaunde
 healpe of, but onely of hys mercifull god.
 For in the ende, one that is of power can-
 not be hurt, but by another that is likewise
 myghty. Let prynces behold, how the man
 that wyl make anye greate assaulte, firste

cometh reninge as farre of as fast as he can.
 I meane, that the Prynce which wyl haue
 god mercifull vnto hym, ought to be con-
 tent with his only god. For he in vaine de-
 maundeth healpe of hym, to whome before
 he neuer dyd seruice. Thirde Prynces
 ought to be better Christians then others,
 and this shalbe seen, by that they succoure
 the poore, prouyde for those that are vn-
 prouided, and visite the temples, hospital-
 les, and Churches, and endeuour them sel-
 ues to heare the dyutye seruice, and for all
 these thinges, they shal not onely receiue
 rewardes, but also they shal receyue ho-
 nour. For through their good example, o-
 thers wyl doe the same. Prynces, not fea-
 ryng god nor his commaundementes, cause
 their Realmes and subiectes, to fall into
 greate miserie. For if the fountayne be in-
 fected, it is vnpōssible for the streames (that
 issue thereof) to be pure. We see by experi-
 ence, that a byrdel mastereth a horse, and a
 sterne ruleth a thyppe. I meane, y a prince
 (good or bad) wyl leade after him al the hole
 realme. And if he honour god, al the people
 do likewyse, if he serue god, the people also
 serue him, if he praise god, the subiectes al-
 so prayse him: and if he blasphemie god, they
 likewyse wyl do the same. For it is vnpōs-
 syble, that a tree shoulde bringe forth the other
 leaues or frutes, then those, whiche are a-
 greable to the humour that are in the roo-
 tes. Prynces, aboute all other creatures,
 haue this preeminence, that if they be good
 Christians, they shal not onely receiue me-
 rite for their owne workes, but also for all
 those whiche others shal doe, because they
 are occasion, that the people worke well.
 And for the contrary, they shal not onely
 be punysshed for the euyl whiche they shal
 doe: but also for the euyl, which by occasion
 of their euil examples, others shal commit.
 O ye Prynces that now be alpye, how
 greatly doe I wyshe, that ye shoulde speake
 with some one of those prynces, which now
 are deade, especiallye, with those that are

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addened, to the eternal fyre flames: then ye
 should se, that the greatest tormentes which
 they suffer, are not for the euilles that they
 did commit, but for y^e euils, which through
 ✱ their occasion were done. For oftentimes,
 Princes and prelates sinne more, because
 they dissemble with others, then for that they
 do commit them selues. How circumspecte
 ought Princes, and greate lordes, to be, in
 that they speake, and how diligently ought
 they to examine that whiche they doe. For
 they serue not god onely for them selues,
 but they serue hym also ingenerallye for
 their subiectes. And contrariwise, princes
 are not onely punished for their owen of-
 fences: but also for the sinnes of their peo-
 ✱ ple. For y^e sheperd ought greuoulslye to be
 punished, when by negligence y^e rauening
 wolfe, deuoureth the innocent labe. Forth-
 ly, princes ought to be better christians then
 others, because that to god onely they must
 render accompt of their estates, forasmuch
 as we are sure, that god, to whom we must
 render accompte, is iust, so muche the more
 we should trauaile to be in his fauoure: be-
 cause, whether he finde, or not finde in oure
 life anye faulte, yet for loue and pitie sake,
 he may correcte vs. Men one with another
 make their accomptes in this life, because
 they are men, & in the end, counte they wel
 or euyl, all passeth amonges men, because
 they are men: but what shal the unhappy
 Princes do, which shal render no accompte
 but to god onely, who wyl not be deceiued
 with wordes, corrupted wth giftes, feared wth
 threathinges, nor answered with excuses.
 Princes haue their realmes ful of cruel iud-
 ges, to punish the frailty of man: they haue
 their courtes full of aduocates, to pleade a-
 gaynst them that haue offended, they haue
 their pallaces full of loyterers, and promo-
 ters, that note the effences of other men:
 they haue through all their prouinces au-
 ditours, that ouerse the accomptes of their
 rentes: and besides al this, they haue no re-
 membzaunce of the day so streight, where-

in they must render accompte of their wisce-
 ked lyfe. He thinkes (since all that whiche
 princes receiue, commeth fro the handes of
 god) that the greatest parte of y^e time, w^{ch} h^e
 they spend, should be in the seruice of god, &
 al their trade in god, and they ought to ren-
 der no accopt of their life, but vnto god: the
 siche they are gods in thauthorite, whiche
 they haue ouer temporal thinges, they ought
 to shew them selues, to resemble god more
 then others, by vertues. For that Prince is
 more to be magnified, whiche refozmeth
 ✱ two vices among his people: then he which
 conquereth, 10. realmes of his enemies. But
 we wil desire them from henceforth they
 presume not anye more, to be gods on the
 earth: but that they endeouour them selues,
 to be good christians in the comon wealth.
 For al the wealth of a Prince is, that he be
 stoure with straungers, and louinge to his
 owne subiectes. Firstely Princes ought to
 be better Christians then others. For the
 prosperytie or aduersitye, that chaunceth
 vnto them, commeth directlye fro the han-
 des of god onely, and none other. I haue
 ✱ seen sondry times, Princes, whiche haue
 put their whole hope and confidence in o-
 ther Princes, to be on a sodaine discomfate-
 ted: and for the contrary, those whiche haue
 litle hope in men, and greate confidence in
 god, haue alwayes prospered. When man
 is in his cheefest brauery, and trusteth most
 to mens wisdom: then the secreat iudges-
 mente of god sonest discomforteth hym. I
 meane, that the confederates, and frendes of
 princes might helpe and succour them, but
 god wil not suffer them to be holpen, nor
 socoured, to thend they should se, that their
 remedye procedeth not by mans diligence,
 but by deuine prouidence. A prince that hath
 a realme, dothe not suffer any thinge to be
 done therein wout his aduise: therfore, siche
 god is of no lesse power in heaue, the prin-
 ces are on the earth: it is reaso, that nothing
 be done wout his consent, sine he taketh ac-
 count of al mens deades, & as he is y^e end of

all thinges: so in him, & by him, all thinges haue their begynnyng. O princes, if you knewe how final a thinge it is, to be hated of men, and how great a comforte, to be beloued of god, I sweare, that you would not speake on worde (although it were in ieste) vnto men, neither would you cease nyghte nor day, to commend your selues vnto god: for god is more merciful to succour vs, then we are diligente to cal vpon him. For in conclusion, the fauour which men can giue you, other men can take from you: but the fauoure that god will giue you, no man can resiste it. Al those that possesse much, should vse the companye of them whiche can doe muche, and if it be so, I let you Princes wete, that all men cannot thinke so muche togethers, as god him selfe is able to doe alone. For the crye of a Lion is more feareful, then the howlyng of a woulfe. I confesse, that Princes, and greate lordes maye sometimes gayne, and wyne of them selues: but I aske them whose fauoure they haue neade of, to preserve and kepe them? We se oftentimes, that in a shorte space manye come to greate authorite, the whiche neither mans wisdom sufficeth to gouerne, nor yet mans force to kepe. For the authorite, whiche the Romaynes in .v. hundred yeares gayned, fightinge agaynst the Gothes: in the space of .3. yeares they losse. We se dayly by experience, that a man for his gouernement of his owne house onely, nederth the counsaile of his frendes, & neighbours: and doe Princes and greate lordes thinke, by their owne heades onely, to rule, & gouerne many realmes and dominions?

The .xxi. Chapter.

Of the philosopher Bias; and of the ten lawes vvhiche he gaue, vvorthy to be had in minde.



MONGE al nations and sortes of men, which auant them selues to haue had with the sage men, the Gretians were the chiefest, which had, & thought it necessary, to haue not onely wyse men, to reade in their scholes: but also, they chose them to be princes, in their dominions. For as Plato saith, those which gouerned i those daies were philosophers, or els they saide and dyd like philosophers. And Laertius writeth, in his second booke de antiquitatibus Grecoru, that the Gretians auanted them selues much in this, that they haue had of all estates, persons most notable, that is to wete: seuen women very sage, seuen Quenes very honest, seuen kinges very vertuous, seuen Captaynes very hardy, seuen cities very notable, seuen buildinges very sumptuous, and seuen philosophers wel learned: which philosophers were these that folow.

The first was Thales Milesius, that inuented the carde to sayle by.

The secode was Soloninus, who gaue the first lawes to the Athenians.

The thirde was Chilo, who was in the orient for inbassadour of the Athenians.

The fourth was Pittacus Quintilius, who was not onely a philosopher, but also captaine of the Mitelenes.

The fift was Cleobolus, that descended from the auncient lineage of Hercules.

The sixte was Periander, that longe time gouerned the realme of Corinth.

The seuenth was Bias Pireneus, that was Prince of the Perinenses.

Therefore as touching Bias, you muste vnderstand, when Romulus reigned at Rome, and Ezechias in Iudea, there was greate warres in Grecia betwene the Metinenses, and the Perinenses: and of these Perinenses, Bias the Philosopher, was prince and Captayne, who because he was sage, reade in the vniuersitye, and for that he

b. ii.

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was hardye, was cheasteyne in the warre, and because he was wyse, he was made a Prince, and gouerned the common wealth. And of this no man ought to meruaile: for in those dayes, the philosopher y had know ledge but in one thinge, was lytle esteemed in the common wealth. After manye contentions had betwene the Metinēses, and the Perinēses, a cruel battaile was fought, whereof y philosopher Bias was captayne, and had the victoꝛye: and it was the firste battayle, that euer anye Philosopher gaue in Greece. For the whiche victoꝛye Greece was proude, to see that their Philosophers were so aduenturous in warres, and hardy of their handes: as they were profounde in their doctrine, and eloquent in their tonges. And by chaunce one broughte hym a nomber of women, and maidens to sel, or if he liked, to vse them otherwylse at hys pleasure: but this good philosopher dyd not defile them, nor sel them: but caused the to be appayrailed, and safely to be conducted, to their owne natie cōtries. And let not this liberality that he dyd, be had in little estimation, to deliuer the captiues, and not to defloure the virgins. For many tymes it chaunceth, that those whiche are ouercome with the weapons of the conquerours, are cōquered with y delightes of them, that are ouercome. This dede amongest the Grekes was so highly commended, and likewylse of their enemies so praised, that immediatlye the Metinēses sente imbassadors, to demand peace of the Perinēses. And they concluded perpetual peace, vpon condicion, that they shuld make for Bias an immortal statue, sith by hys handes, and also by hys vertues, he was thortasyn of the peace and endynge of the warres betwene them.

And trulye they had reason, for he deseruethe moze prayse, whyche wynneth the hartes of the enemies in hys tentes by good example: then he whiche getteth the victoꝛye in the fielde by sheddynge of bloude. The hartes of men are noble,

and we se daylye, that oftentimes one shall soner ouercome many by good, then many ouercome one by euil: and also they saye, that y emperour & everus spake these wordes. By goodnes, the leaste slaue in Rome shal leade me tyed with a heere whither he wylk: but by euil, the most puissant men in the worlde cannot moue me out of Italy. For my harte had rather be seruaunte to the good, then lord to the euil. Valerius Maximus declareth, that when the city of Perinensis was taken by enemies, and put to sacke, the wyfe of Bias was slayne, his children taken prysoners, hys goods robbed, the citie beatē downe, and his house set on fier, but Bias escaped safe and went to Athens. In this pytiffull case, the good philosopher Bias was not onely not sadde, but also sang as he went by the way, & whē he perceued y men maruelled at his mirth, he spake vnto them these wordes. Those which speake of me for wanting my citie, my wife, and my children, & losinge all that I had, truly suche know not what fortune meaneth, nor vnderstand what philosophie is. The losse of children & tempoꝛall goods cannot be called losse, if the life be safe, and the renowne remaine vndefiled. Whether this sentence be true or no let vs profoundly consider, if the iust god suffer, that this citie should come into the hādes of the cruel Tirantes, then this promisiō is iust: for there is nothing moze conforable vnto iustice, then that those, whiche receiue not the doctrine of the sages, shold suffer the cruelties of the Tirantes. Also though my enemies haue kyled my wyfe, yet I am sure it was not withoute the determinacyon of the gods, who after they created her bodye, immediatlye appoynted the ende of her lyfe. Therefore why shoulde I bewaile her deathe, sence the gods haue lente her lyfe, but vntyl this daye? The greates estimation that we haue of this lyfe, causetho that deathe semethe vnto vs sodayne, and that the lyfe vniuares with deathe is ouertaken

taken: but this is a practise of the chyldren
of vanitie, for that by the wyll of the gods,
* deathe visitereth vs. & agaynst the wylls of
men, life forsaketh vs. Also my chyldre were
vertuous philosophers, howbeit now they
be in the handes of strauntes, therefore let
vs not cal them captiues, for a man maye
not cal him a captiue, whiche is laden with
* frowns: but hym whiche is ouerwhelmed
with vices. And although y fire haue burnt
my house, yet I know not why I ought to
be sad, for of truth it was now old, and the
wynde dyd blow downe the tyles, the wor-
mes did waste the woode, & the waters that
ranne downe, per rysshed the walles. And
it was olde and lyke to fall, and perchaunce
would haue done greater displeasure. For
most commonly, enuy, malice, & old houses,
sodainely without any warning, assauleth
men: finally there came the fire which qui-
ted me of many troubles, firste of the trou-
ble that I should haue had in repairing it,
secodarely it saued me money in plucking
it downe, thirdey it preserued me and mine
heyes from much cost, & many daungers.
* For oftentimes that which a man cosumeth
in repairing an old house, would in aduan-
tage by him a new: also those which say, y
for the taking away of my goodes, I lacke
the goodes of fortune, such haue no reaso, so
to thinke or say. For fortune neuer giueth
tempozal goodes for a proper thinge, but to
those who she list, & whē she wil dispose the:
therefore when fortune seeth y those men,
whom she hathe appointed as her distribu-
ters, do honour by the same, to the, & to their
heyes: then she taketh it from them, to
giue it to another. For by reason I should
not complayne, that I haue lost any thing:
for fortune recommendeth vnto another
the tempozall goodes: but I carpe paci-
ence, and Philosophye with me, so that
they haue dyscharged me from all other,
and haue no more charge but for my selfe
alone. Laertius declareth in hys fiftie
booke of the sayenges of the Gretians,

That this Bias determynd to goe to the
playes of Mounte Olympus, whereunto
resorted people of al natiōs: and he shewed
him selfe in this place of so highe an vnder-
standinge, that he was counted chiefe, and
wonne the name of a true philosopher. O-
ther philosophers, then beinge in the same
playes Olimpicalles, asked hym manye
questions of sondrye matters, whercof I
wyl make mencion.

* The questions demaunded of
the philosopher Bias.

The first question was this, Tel me,
who is y unhappiest man in y worlde:
Bias answered. He is most unhapp,
that is not pacient in aduersities. For men
are not killed in the aduersities they haue:
but with the impacience which they suffer.
The 2 was, what is most hardest & trouble-
som to iudge: he answered. There is nothig
more noisom, the to iudge a cōtētiō betwixt
li. frēdes. For to iudge betwene li. enemies,
thone remayneth a frēd: but to be iudge be-
twene 2. frēdes, thone is made an enemy.

* The thirde was, what is moste hardest to
measure: wherunto Bias answered. There
is nothing y needeth more circūspectiō, the
the measuring of time: for y time should be
measured so iustly, y by reaso no time shuld
want to do wel: nor any time shuld abound
to do euil. The fourth was, what thinge is
that, y nederh no excuse in y accomplisment
therof: Bias answered. The thing y is pmi-
sed: for wher ther are noble hartes & shame-
fast cōtēnaūces, al y which is promised, must
of necessity be perfozmed. For other wise, he
that doth lose y creadite of his word, should
lose more the he y shuld lose y pmiſe to him
made. The 5. was, what thinge y is, wherin
the mē aswel good as euil shuld take care:
Bias answered. mē ought not in any thing
to take so great care, as in seking cōsaile,
* and counsaillours: for the prosperous times
cannot be mainteined, nor the multitude of
enemies resisted, if it be not by wise men, &
h.iii. graue

graue countayles. The sixte was, what thing that is, wherin men are praised to be negligent: he answered: in one thing onely men haue licence to be negligente, and that is in chosing of frendes. Slowly ought thy frendes to be chosen, and they neuer after for any thing ought to be forsaken. The seuenth, what is that whiche the afflicted man doth most desire: Bias answered. It is the chaunge of fortune: and the thing which the prosperous man doth mosse abhorre, is to thinke that fortune is mutable. For the vnfortunate man hopeth for every change of fortune to be made better, & the wealthy mā feareth through every change to be depriued of his house. These were the questios which the philosophers demaunded of Bias, in the plates of y moūt Olympus, in the 60. Olimpiad. The philosopher Bias liued 95. yerres, & as he dzeu nere his death: the Perinenes (shewing them selues to be maruelous soroful for the losse of such a famous mā) desired him earnestly to ordeine some lawes, wherby they might know how to chose captalnes or some pynce, which after him might gouerne y realme. The philosopher Bias vnderstanding their honest requestes, gaue the certayne lawes in few wordes which follow. Of y which, y deuine Plato maketh mētton in his booke de legibus, and likewise Aristotle in the boke of Oeconomices,

The lawes vvhich Bias gaue to the Perinenes.

WE ordeine & cōmaūd, that no man be exalted to be pynce amōg y people, vnles he be (at least) 40. yereas of age. For gouernours ought to be of such age, y nether youth nor smal experēce shuld cause the to erre in their affayres: nor weakenes through ouermuch age shuld hinder the frō taking paines. We ordeine & cōmaūd, y none be chosen amōgest the Perinēses gouernour, if he be not wel learned in y greke letters. For ther is no greates plague in the

publik weale, the for him to lack wisedom, which gouerneth y same. We ordeine & cōmaūd, y ther be none amōgest the Perinēses chosen gouernoure, vnles he haue been brought vp in y warres. 10. yerres at y least. For he alone dothe know how pceious a thing peace is, which by experēce hath felt the extreme miseries of warre. We ordeine & cōmaūd, y if ani haue be noted to be cruel that he be not chose for gouernour of y people. For y mā that is cruel, is likely to be a tiraūt. We ordeine & cōmaūd, y if the gouernour of y Perinēses be so hardy or dare pcesume to breake y aunciente lawes of the people, y in such case, he be depriued from thoffice of y gouernour, & lykwise exiled frō the people. For ther is nothing y distroteth soner a publike weale, the to ordeine new & sond lawes, & to breake y good, & auncient customes. We ordeine & cōmaūd, y the gouernour of y Perinēses do worshop & honoz the gods, & that he be a louer of y sacred tēples. For otherwile, he y honozeth not god, wil neuer minister equal iustice vnto men. We ordeine & cōmaūd, that y pynce of Perinēses be cotēted w the warres, which his auncetours left him, & that he do not forge new matters, to inuade any other straunge cōtreis: & if perchaunce he wuld, that he mā in this case be bound, nether w money nor in persō, to follow, or serue him. For y god Apollo told me, y that mā, which wyl take another mā's goods frō him by force: shall lose his owne by iustice. We ordeine & cōmaūd, y the gouernour of the Perinēses goe to praye & worshop y gods twisse in y weke, & likewise to visite the in the tēples, & if he do y cōtrary, he shal not only frō the gouernēt be depriued: but also after his death, he shal not be buried. For the pynce, who honozeth not god in time of his life: deserueth not to be had in mīnd after his death.

The xxii. Chapier.

How god from the beginning punished euil men by his iustice.



When the eternall creator (who measureth the thynges by his omnipotēcy, & waileth them by his effectual wisdom) created al thynges, as wel celestial, as terrestial, visible, as invisible, coꝛporate, as incoꝛporate, not only promysed reward to the good, which served him: but also threatened the euyl wth plagues, which offēded him. For y^e iustice & mercy of god go alwayes together, to thinke the one should encourage the good, & the other threatē the euyl. This thyng seemeth to be true, for y^e we haue but one god, whiche hath created but on woꝛld, wherein he made but one gardeine, in the which garde there was but on fountaine, by y^e which he appointed but on mā, who had wth him only on woꝛld, wth whom there was on serpēt, & by that serpēt, there was on tre only forbidden, whiche is a thyg meruelous to speake, & no lesse feareful to se: how god did put into y^e terrestial paradise (the same day y^e the creacio of the woꝛld was finished) both a sword, & gibet. The gibet was y^e tree forbidden, whereof they did eate: wherefoꝛe our fathers were cōdemned. And y^e sword was the punysshment: where wth we al (as miserable chyldꝛē) at this day are beheaded. For trulye they did eate the bytternes of their fault: & we do fele the greife of y^e paine. I meane not to shew how our god by his power doth raise by y^e which is beate downe, how wth his wisdom he guideth those which are blind, how by his wil he dissembleth wth the euil doers, neither wil I tel, how he through his clemēcy pardoneth the offēces, & through his light lightneth y^e darknes, noꝛ how through his righteousness he amēdeth y^e which is broke, & through his liberality payeth moꝛe thē we deserue: but I wil here declare at large, how our omnipotent god through his iustice chastiseth those which walke not in his pathes. O lord god, how sure may thy faithful seruautes be, for their smal seruices, to receiue great rewardes: & cōtrary, the euil ought alwaies to liue in as great feare, lest foꝛ their heynous offē-

ces y^e shuldest giue the cruel punysshmentes. For though god of his bounty wil not leaue any seruice unrewarded, noꝛ of his iustice wil omitte any euil unpunished: yet foꝛ al y^e we ought to know, y^e aboue al, & moꝛe then al, he will rigorously chastise those, whiche maliciously dispise the holy catholike faith. For chꝛist thinketh him selfe asmuch insulted of those, which persecute his church: as of those y^e layde hādes on his person, to put him to death. We rede y^e in times past god shewed soday greuous & cruel punysshmentes, to diuerse high lordes & pꝛinces, besides other famous & renowned men. But rigour had neuer such power in his hād, as it had against those, which honoured the infamed idols, & violated y^e sacred tēples. For to God this is the most heynous offēce, to forsake y^e holy catholike faith in his life: & to dispaire in his mercy, at the houre of his death. Wolde to god we had so much grace, to acknowledge our offēces: as god hath reaso to punish the our sines. For if it were so, thē we wuld amēd in time to come, & god wuld graunt vs a general pardō, foꝛ al y^e is past. I see one thing, wherein (as I thik) I am not deceiued, which is this: that the frailenes & miseries which we cōmyt, we think thē natural, & in y^e satisfactio & amēdement of y^e same, we say they are straunge: so y^e we admyt the fault, & cōdempe y^e paine, whiche thereby we do deserue. The secret iudgemētes of god do suffer it, & our offēces do deserue it: I do not deny, but that the euyl may hold & possesse this life at their pleasour: but I sweare vnto thē, when they shal lest think of it, they shal lose their life, to thet great displeasour: foꝛ y^e pleasures of this life are so vnconstant, y^e we scarce begin to tast thē, when they bade out of our sight. It is a rule ifallible, which both of y^e good & euyl hath bene pꝛoꝛied: y^e al naturally desire rather to abound, than to want: & all that which greatly is desired, wth great diligence is serched, & through great trauayle is obtained: and that thing whiche by trauayle is attained, with lone is posses-

fed, & that which by loue is possessed, wryth much sorow is lost, bewailed, and lamed. For in the end, we can not deny, but that the watry eyes do manifestly shewe, the sorrowful hartes. To y^e fine wittes, & stout hartes, this is a continual torment, an endlesse paine, & a worme that alwaye gnaweth: to call to mind, y^e he must loose the toyfull life, which so entirely he loued, & tast the fearefull death, which so greatly he abhorred. Therfore to proue this matter, which I haue spoken of before, it is but reason: y^e princes know, if they doe not know, that euen as the deuyne prouidence exalteth them to high estates, they not deseruing the: so likewise his rigorous iustice will bringe them to nought, if they be vnthankful for his benefittes. For y^e ingratitude of benefittes receiued, maketh y^e mā not worthy to receyue any more. The more a mā through benefittes is bound, y^e more greauous punishment (if he be vnthankfull) he deserueth. All wyse men shuld finde if they apply their mindes therunto y^e in chastising, god calleth those offences first to his mind, which are furthest fro y^e thoughtes of mē. For before the tribunal of god, our secret faults are alwaies castig out bloud, to the end he shuld execute of our parsons open iustice. And further I saye, y^e in this case, I doe not see, y^e the prince is exempted more, though he liue in great felicitie: thā the poore labourer, who liueth in extreme misery. And also we see it eschones by experience, y^e the sodaine lightning, tēpestes, & the terrible thonder, forsaketh the small & low cotages, & battereth forthwith y^e greater & sumptuous buildings. Gods wil & determinaciō is, y^e for asmuch as he hath exalted the aboue al others, somuch the more they shuld acknowledge him, for lord aboue al others: For god did neuer create high estates because they shuld worke wickednes: but he placed them in y^e degre, to thed they shuld thereby haue more occasiō to doe him service. Euery prince y^e is not a good Christian, a seuerer lover of the catholike faith,

nor wyl haue any respect to y^e deuine seruice: let him be assured, that in this worlde he shall lose his renoume, & in the other he shall hazarde his soule. For that aleuill Christians, are the parishioners of hell.

The .xxiii. Chapter.

The auctour proueth by .12. examples that princes are sharply punished, vwhen they vsurpe boldly vpon the churches, and violate the Temples.

VWhy the children of Aaron were punished,

IT is now time, that we leane to perswade wth wordes and reasons: & to begin to proue y^e which we haue saide, by some excellent histories, and notable exāples. For in the end, y^e hartes of men are stirred more, through som litle exāples: then wth a great multitude of wordes. In the first booke of y^e Leviticus, y^e .10. chapter, is declared, how in y^e time of the sone in lawe of Iethro prest, ther was a p^{ri}nce who was of Madian, chiefe of all the linage of Seph, wth whom y^e brother of Marye the lepre had charge of y^e high Priesthode. For amōg al plawes wher god at any time put his hādes vnto, he prouided alwaies y^e some had y^e gouernement of ciuile affaires: & others thad ministratiō of y^e diuine misteries. This high priest had the .2. childre, whose names were Nadab, & Abiu, which .2. were yonge and beautiful, stout, & sage, & during their infācy, serued their father, & healded him to doe sacrifice. For in y^e old lawe they suffred, that priestes shuld not onely haue wiues & childre: but also y^e their childzen shuld succede them in their Temples, and inherite their benefices. Ther came a great mischaunce, for the .2. childzen beinge apparayled in whighte, their bodies bound wth stoles, their handes naked, in one hād holdyng a torche

and in the other the sencer, being negligent to light the new fyre, & contrary to that the law had ordeined, and taking coles whiche were prohibited, a merueilous thinge was seene in the sight of the people, which was, that sodainely these .2. childzen fell flat on y^e earth deade, and all their sacrifice burned. Truly the sentence was marueilous, but it was iuste inoughe. For they well deserued to loose their lyues, sithen they durst sacrifice the coles of an other. This thinge seemed to be true, for those yong childzē saved their soules, and made satisfaction of the faulte wth their liues: but other wicked men god permitteth to liue a short time, because they shall loose their soules for euer.

The cause vwhy the Azotes were punished.

THE Kealme of Palestyne, being destitute of a kyng, at that time an honourable old man governed the Kealme, which was father to .2. knyghtes, named Albino, and Phinides, for at that tyme, the children of Israell were not gouerned by kinges, that did moleste them by inturies: but by sage men, whiche dyd mainteine the by iustice. It chaunced y^e the Azotes made warre against the Palestines, & were a kind of the Arabians, stout, & warrellike: the which fought so couragiously, that the Palestines, & Hebrewes were constrained, to bringe their Arke into the myds of the bataille: which was a relycke, (as a man should haue put the holy sacramēt) to deuide a great multitude of people. But fortune shewed her countenance vnto the so frowningly, y^e they were not onely overcome: but also were spoyled of y^e Arke, whiche was their chiefe relicke, & besides y^e, ther were .400. Palestines slaine. The Azotes caried away the Arke, ful of relicks, vnto their temple, in the cite of Nazote, & set it by Dagō, their cursed Idol. The true

god (which will not suffer any to be coequal with him in coparison, or in any thing y^e he representeth) caused this Idoll to be shake, thzowen dōwne, and broken in pteces; no man touchinge it: For our god is of such power; that to execute his iustice, he needeth no worldly healpe. God not contented thus (though y^e idoll was broke in pteces) caused those to be punished likewise, whiche woys shipped it, in such sorte, that al the people of Azote, Aiscalon, Geith, Acharon and of Gaza (which were .5. aunciet & renowned cittyes) were plagued, both man & woman inwardly, wth the disease of the Emerodes, so that they could not eate sitting, nor ride by the waies on horse backe. To the ende y^e all men might see, that their offences were greuous (for the punishment they receiued by the deuine iustice) he replenished their houses, places, gardeynes, seedes, & fieldes full of rattes: Because they had erred in honouring the false Idoll, & forsaken the true god, who because he would chastice them in .2. other plagues, sente them the emerodes to torment their bodies, & the rats to destroye their goodes. For to him, whiche willingly offreth to the deuyll his soule, it is but a small matter, that god against his wyll, depryue him of his goodes. Thys then bringe thus, I would now gladly know, whether of them committed most offence, eyther the Azotes which set the Arke in the temple, which (as they thought) was the most holys: or the Christians, which (withoute the feare of god) robbe and pylle the Churches goodes, to their owne p^{ri}uate commoditie in this world. Truly y^e lawe of the Azotes differed as muche frō the Christians, as the offence of the one, dyffereth from the other. For the Azotes erred not, beleuyng that thys Arke was the figure of the true God, but we beleue it, and confesse it, and wth out shame commytte agaynst it, insynite vices. By this so sodeyne punishmente, it semeth that Princes and greate Lordes should not onely therfore acknowledge the

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True god, but also reuerence and honour those thinges, which to him are dedicated. For mans lawes (speaking of the reuerence of a prince) do no lesse condēne him to dye, that robbeth his house: then him which violently layeth handes vpon his personne.

The cause vvhy Prince Oza vvas punished.

IN the booke which the sonne of Helcana wrote, that is the 2. booke of the kynges, & the xvj. Chapter, he saith: that the arke of Israel, the which was somewhat moyste, stode in the house of Aminadab, which was the next neyghbour to the city of Gabaa, the sonne Elsaye (who at that tyme was king of the Israelites) determined to transpose the relikes into hys citie and house, for it semed to him a greates infamy, that to him whiche was a mortall prince, a house should abound for his pleasures: and to the immortall god, ther shuld wante a temple for his relikes. The daye therfore appointed, when they should carie the relicke of Gabaa to Bethleem, there mette. 30. thousand Israelites, wth a greates nombze of noble mē, whych came with the king, besydes a greater number of straungers. For in such a case, those are moe whiche come of their owne pleasour: then those which are commaundid. Besides al the people, they say that al the nobilitie of the realme was there, to thend the relicke shoulde be moze honoured, & his parson better accompanied. It chaunced that as the lordes, and people went singing, and the kinge in person dauncing, the whele of the charpot began to fall, and goe out of the waye: the whiche prince Oza seinge, bychaunce set to his hand & his shoulder against it, because the Arche (where the relicke was) shulde not fall nor breake: yet notwithstandinge that, suddenly, & before thē all, he fel downe deade. Therfore let this punishment be no-

ted, for truly it was fearefull, and ye ought to thinke, that since god (for puttinge hys hand to the chariot to hold it vp) stroke him with death, that a prince shoulde not hope (sekinge the distruccon and decaye of the churche) that god wylle p^{ro}longe his lyfe. O princes, greates lordes, & prelates, sith Oza with suche diligence lost his life, what doe ye hope or looke for, sith with suche negligence, ye dystroye and suffer the churche to fall: Yet once againe I doe retourne to exclaime vpon you, O Princes, and greates lordes, sith prince Oza deservede suche punishment, because withoute reuerence he aduanced him selfe to staye the Ark whiche fel: what punishment ought ye to haue, which throughe malice healep h church to fal.

VVhy kyng Balhasar vvas punished.



Darius king of the Perles and Medes besieged the aunciente citie of Babilon, in Chaldea, wherof Balhasar sōne of Nabuchodonosor the great, was king & lord. Who was so wicked a child, that his father being dead, he caused him to be cut in. 300. pieces, and gaue him to. 300. haukes to be eaten, because he shoulde not reuiue againe, to take the goodes and riches from hym, whiche he had left him. I knowe not what father is so folishe, that letteth his sōne liue in pleasures, and afterwarde the intrelles of the hauke wherewith the sonne hauked, shoulde be the wofull graue of the father, whiche so many men lamented. This Balhasar then beinge so besieged, determyned one night to make a great feast and bācket to the Lordes of his realme that came to ayde him, and in this he did like a valsaunt and stoute Prince, to the ende the Perles and Medes mighte see, that he lytle esteemed their powter. The noble and hyghe hartes doe vse whē they are enuironned wth many trauayles, to seeke occasiōs to inuēt pleasures;

pleasures: because to their men they maye
giue greater courage, and to their enemies
greater feare. He declareth of Pirrus king
of the Epirotes, whē he was besieged very
streightlye in the citie of Tharenta, of the
Romaine captaine Quintus Dentatus, y
thē he spake vnto his captaines in this sort.
Lordes and frendes be ye nothing at all a-
bashed (synce I neuer here before salve ye
afraid) though the Romaines haue com-
passed our bodyes, yet we haue besieged
their hartes. For I let you to wete, that I
am of suche a complection, that the streigh-
ter they kepe my body, the more my hart is
at large. And further I saye, though the
Romaines beate downe the walles: yet
our hartes shall remaine invincible. And
though there be no wall betwene vs: yet
we wyll make them knowe, that the
hartes of greekes are harder to overcome:
thē the stones of Tarentine are to be beate
downe. The banquet then being ended & the
greatest part of the night spent, Balthasar
the king being very wel pleased, y the ban-
ket was made to his contentation (though he
was not the sobrest in dyncing wyne)
comaunded al the cuppes of gold & siluer w
the treasure he had, to be brought & set on y
table: because all the bydden gesses shoulde
drynke therein. King Balthasar did this, to y
end the princes and lordes, with al his cap-
taines, shoulde manfully heape him to de-
fend the seige, and also to shewe that he had
much treasure, to pay thē for their paines.
* For to say the truth, there is nothinge that
encourageth mē of warre more, than to see
their rewarde before their eyes. As they
were dyncing merily (at the bakēt) of these
cups, whiche Nabuchodonosor had rob-
bed fro the temple of Jerusalem, sodenly by
the power of god, & the deserte of his offen-
ces, ther appeared a hand in the wall, with-
out a body or arme, whiche w his fyngers
wrote these wordes. Mane, Thecel, Phares,
whiche signifieth. O kinge Balthasar, god
hath sene thy lyfe, & findeth that thy malice

is now accomplished. He hath commaun-
ded that thou and thy Realme shoulde be
wayed, and hath found that there lacketh a
greate deale of iuste weight, wherefore he
commaundeth, that thy life, for thine offen-
ces, be taken from the: and that thy realme
be put into the handes of the Perses & Me-
des, whiche are thine enemies. The vision
was not frustrate, for the same night with-
out any lenger delaye, the execution of the
sentence, was put in effect by the enemies.
The king Balthasar dyed, the realme was
losse, the treasures were robbed, the noble
men taken, & al the Chaldeans captiues.
I woulde nowe knowe, syth Balthasar was
so extremely punished only for geuing his
concubynes and frendes drinke in the sa-
cred cuppes, what paine deserueth princes,
and prelates then, whiche robbe the Chur-
ches, for prophane thinges: How wicked
so euer Balthasar was, yet he neuer chaun-
ged, gaue, sold, nor engaged the treasures
of the Synagoge: but what shall we say and
speake of prelates, whiche without any sha-
me, wast, chaunge, sell, and spend the chur-
che goodes. I take it to be a lesser offence,
to gyue drynke in a chalyce as kynge
Balthasar did to one of hys concubynes:
then to enter into the churche by symony,
as many doe nowe a dayes. This Tyrant
was overcome more by folie, than by coue-
tousnes: but these others are vanquished,
with folie, couetousnes, and simony. What
meaneth this also, that for the offence of Na-
buchodonosor in Jerusalem, his sonne
Balthasar should come, & be punished. For
this truly, we think it not a thing consonant
to reason, nor agreeable to mans law: y the fa-
ther shuld comit the theft, & the sone should
requite it w seuē double. To this I can-
swere: y the good child is bound to restore al
the good, y his father hath lest him enil got-
ten. For he y enioyeth the theft, deserueth
no lesse punishment: then he y comitteth the
theft. for in y end both are theues, & deserue
to be hanged on y galowes of y diuine iustice.
W by

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VVhy kynge Achab vvas punished.



IN the firste booke of Malachie, that is to wete, in the .3. booke of kinges, the .8. chapter, it is declared that Oza beinge kynge of Iudea, and prophesyinge in Hierusalem, that at that tyme Henry was kynge of Israel, and after him succeeded Achab his sonne, beinge of the age of .22. yeres. This Achab was not onely yonge, but to yong: not onely euyl, but to euyl: for the scriptures vse to call the by names infamed, whose lyues deserued no memozy. The vices of this king Achab were sondry and diuerse, wherof I will declare some as here after foloweth. Firste of all I wyll touche the lyfe of the kinge Iheroboam, who was the first that entised the chyldren of Israell, to committe Idolatrie: whiche thinge turned to his greate reproche and infamie. For the Prince erreth not in immitting the pathes of the good: but offendeth in folowing the wayes of the euyl. Secodarily, king Achab married hys daughter of the kynge of the Idumeans, whose name was Iesabell, whiche was of the stocke of the Gentyls, & he of the Hebrues. And for a trowth the marriage was vnadvisedly considered. For sage Princes shoulde take a wife confozmable to their laue, and condiction: vnlesse they wyll repent the selues afterwarde. Thirdly, he built againe the cite of Hierico: which by the commaundement of god was destroyed, & commaunded that vpon greauous paines it shoulde not be builde againe: because the offences that were therein committed, were so great, that the inhabitantes did not onely deserue to lose their lyues: but also that in Ierico there shoulde not one stone remayne vpon an other. Fourthly, king Achab builde a sumptuous Temple, to the Idoll Baall, in the cite of Samerye, and cōsecrate a wood

vnto him which he had very pleasaunt, and set in the temple his image of fyne gold: so that in the reigne of this cursed king Baal, the wicked Idoll was so hyghly esteemed, that not onely secretly, but also openly, they blasphemed the true and lyving god. The case was such. That one day Achab goinge againste the kinge of Sirea, to take hym, & his cite called Ramothoalaath, beinge in battayle, was shot into the breste wyth an arrowe, wherewith he not onely losse hys life: but also the dogges did lappe his blood that fell to the yerthe. O Princes & greates Lordes, if you will giue credite vnto me, you shall not prayse your selues of any thinge, but in that you are good christians. Syth ye see, that as this prince in his lyfe did serue straunge Idols: so it was reason that after his death, his blood shoulde be buried in the intrelles, of rauenous dogges.

VVhy the kyng Manasses vvas punished.



HE kynge Manasses was the sonne of Ezechias, and father of Amon, which were kinges. And truly they differed so muche in maners, that a man coulde scarcelye iudge, whether the vertues and prowesses of the father were moze to be desired: or the vice and wickednes of the chyldren to be abhored. This Manasses was a wicked Prince, for as muche as he built new Temples to Baall, and in the Cities made hermitages for the Idols, and in the mountaynes repayzed all the aulters, that heretofore were consecrated to the deuyl. He consecrated many forrestes, and woodes to the Idols, he honoured the starres as the gods, and did sacrifice to the planettes and elementes. For the man that is abandoned by the hand of god, there is no wyckednes that hys obstinate harte dothe not enterpryse. So that he had in his Palace all maner of false prophetes,

as southsayers, prophesiers, witches, sozcerers, enchaunters, and coniuers, the which dayly he caused to giue sacrifice to the idoles: and gaue such credite to sozcerers, and enchaunters, that his seruantes were all the most parte sozcerers, and in them, was his chiefe delight, and pleasure. And lykewise he was skilful in all kind of mischiefe, and ignoraunte in all vertues. He was so cruel, that he as lytle esteemed the blood of an innocent man, as he did the water of the renning riuer. For if al the bodies of them that he slewe had ben together, their carcasses would haue ben therewith couered, and the liuyng likewise might haue ben drowned. Yet he not contented with that I haue spoken of, let in the temple of our lord, an old idol, that stode in the woode, for the punishment of whiche facte, god suffred his seruantes to kil his eldest sonne. Afterward god would not suffer these suche sondrye myscheues of mans malice, but of hys deuine iustice caused these wordes to be proclaimed in Hierusalē With the kinge Massalles hath ben so bold to comit thoffences of al, I wil chastice him alone wth the same correctiō, that he hath shewed vnto others.

By these wordes let princes note here, how the deuine vengeance extendeth no further, then our offences deserue: so that, if our fault be litle, the punishment which he giueth vs, is very tēperate, but if the prince be stubburne and obstinate in his wickednes, let hym be sure that the punishmente shalbe extreme.

¶ Why Iulius Pōpeius, Xerxes, Catilina, Germanicus, and Brennus vvere punysshed.



WHEN Pompeius the great passed into the Orient, with all the hoste of the Romaine people, and after he hath subdued all Sirie, Mesopotamia, Damasco, and

Arabia: he passed into the realme of Palestina, whiche otherwysse was called Iudea, where he committed diuerse and sondry euilles, so that manye of the Romaines and Hebrues died there. Finally by force of armes, he toke the puissaunt citie of Hierusalem, which as Plinie saith, was the best of al Asia. And Strabo saith of the situacion of the world, that rome was the chiefe of al Italy: and of Affrike, the principall was Carthage: of Fraunce, Paris: of Spayne, Numantia: of Germanie, Argentine: of Caldea Babilone: of Egipte, Thebes: of Grece, Athēs: of Phenice, Tira: of Capadocea, Cesarea: of Thrace, Constantinople: and of Palestine, Hierusalē. Pompeus therfore not contented to kyl all the auncientes in that warre, to impryson the youth, to behead the elders, to force the mothers, to defile the virgines, to teare in peces the childre, to beate downe buildinges, and to robbe the treasours: but encreasing euil bypon euil, and puttyng all the people to destruction, he made of the temple, a stable for his hores: whiche before god was so abhomyable, that where alwayes heretofore he had ben a conquereur, and had triumphed ouer .12. kynges, euer after he was vnluckye, and ouercome in battayle. The famous rebell Catilina (as Saluste affirmeth) had neuer ben ouercome, if it had not ben for the rebbyng and destroyng of the Temples, whiche were consecrated to the gods. The noble Marcus Marcellus (to whome no Romaine is to be compared in vertues) the same daye that he caused the temple of the goddesse Februa to be burnt, was hym selfe slayne. The Romaine capytayne Drusius Germanicus that was so wel wyllled and beloued, because he gaue a calfe meate to eate, whiche was the god of the Caldeans (beinge probypted and forbydden) within a monethe after dyed, whose deathe was greatlye lamented in Rome.

Suetonius sayeth, that after Iulius Cesar

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far had robbed the Temple of the Catoles, the gods allwayes made hym afraide in the nyght. And Xerxes, whych was the sonne of King Darius, when he passed into Italy, to wage battayle, befoze all other thynges he sente folwer thousande horsemen to Delphos (where the Temple of God Apollo was) to beate it downe: for the pryde of Xerxes was so greate, that he woulde not onely subdue men, but also conquere the gods. It chaunfed, that euen as they approached nere the temple to beate it downe, a sodayne tempest fell vppon them, so that wyth stones and thunder boltes they were all kylled in the fyeldes, and so dyed.

Brennus was one of the renowned Captaynes of the Gothes, who lithe he had conquered and subdued the Greekes, determined also to robbe the treasures of the Temples, sayenge, that gods shoulde gyue vnto men, and not men vnto gods, and that it was greate honour to the goddess, that with their goodes men shoulde be made ryche. But as they beganne to robbe the firste Temple, there fell suche a multitude of arrowes, that the Captayne Bennis dyed there, and all hys men with hym, not one leste alyue. After that Sextus Pompeius was vanquysshed in the battayle by sea, neare vnto Scicile, by Octavus Augustus, he wente to the Arke of the goddess Iuno, where there was a Temple, full of greate and ryche treasures.

It chaunfed one daye, that as hys soul-dyers came to aske hym money (lithe he had none to giue them) he commaunded them to beate downe the Temple of the Goddess Iuno, and that with her treasure, they shoulde paye them selues. The historiographers saye, that within a whyle after, it chaunfed Sextus Pompeius to be taken of the knyghtes of Marcus Antonius, and when he was broughte befoze Titus, generall Captayne of the armye, he spake vnto hym these wordes.

I wyl thou knowe Sextus Pompeius,

I doe not condemne the to dye for thoffences thou haste committed againste my lord Octavius: But because thou haste robbed and beaten downe the Temple of the Goddess Iuno.

For thou knowest, that the good Captaynes oughte to forgette the offences agaynst men: and to reuenge the iniuries done vnto the goddesses.

The.xxiiii. Chapter.

How Valentine the emperour because he vvas an euyl Christian, loste in one daye both the Empire and his lyfe, and vvas burned aliue in a shepecote.



WHEN Iulian the apostata reigned, this cursed emperour sent to conquere þe realme of Pannonia, whiche now is Hungary. And the conquest was for none other thing, but to conquere þe realme, to enlarge þe Romaine empire. Men see daily, that tyrannous Prynces take great paynes, to winne other countries by cruelty: and litle regard to mayntayne their owne by iustyce. The emperour Iulian full of ambycion, had in that warres a mighty and puiſſaunt army, which did wonderful much harme thorow out al the countries where they came. For the fruite of warre is, to bereue the enemies of lyfe: and to spoyle the men of their goods. It chaunfed one daye, as .v. knyghtes went out of the campe to make a rode, they found a yonge man that carped a halter in hys hande, and as they woulde haue taken it

it alwaie from him, to haue tyed their hoz-
ses to let them fede, he was so hardy and so
stout, that he defended him selfe from them
all: so that he had more strength alone, then
they. s. altogether. The romaine knightes
amazed, to see this yong man defende hym
selfe from them all so stoutely, verie in-
stantly desyred him to go to the Romaine
campe with them, and they promysed hym
he shoulde haue greate enterteynment.

* For the Romaynes were so dyligente, that
they would omit no good thinge for wante
of money, so that it were, for the publyke
weale. This yonge man was called Gra-
cian, and was borne and brought vp in the
countrey of Pannonia, in a place they cal-
led Cibata: his lynage was not of the lo-
west sorte of the people, nor yet of the most
esteemed Citizens, but were men that lined
by the swette of their browes, and in loue
of the common people. And trulye it is no
small benefite, that God had made hym of
* a meane estate: for to be of base linage, ma-
kerhe men to be despyed, and not regar-
ded: and to come of a noble bloude and high
linage, maketh men to be proude and lofty.
This yonge man being come into the Ro-
maines campe, the same was immediately
spredde, how that he alone had vanquished
foue knyghtes. And his strength and
courage was so highly esteemed, that with
in a whyle after he was made Pretour of
* the armye. For the Romaynes, not accor-
dyng to fauoure, but accorde to the ha-
byletye of men, deuyded the offices and de-
grees of honoure in warres.

Tyme therfore workyng his nature,
and manye estates being decayed, after
this yonge Gracian was made Pretour of
the armye, and that he was sufficientely
tried in the warres, fortune wythin fewe
yeares bringeth that to passe, within shorte
space: whiche mans maketh cannot, in ma-
nye yeares.

This Gretian came to commaunde in
the Romayne Emperre: for truly come ha-

uer of good successe is more worthe: then
all worldely fauoure.

This Gracian was not onely singuler
in strengthe, couragious in battayle, and
fortunate in al his affaires: but also he was
luckye of chyldren, that is to wete, he had
two sonnes, whiche were Emperours of
Rome, the one was called Valentyne, the
other Valentinian. In this case, the chil-
dren might gloze to haue a father so stout:
but the gloze of the father is greater, to
haue sonnes of suche nobyletye: for there
is no greater prefermente in this worlde,
then durynge his lyfe, to come to honour,
and ryches: and after his deathe, to leaue
good chyldren to gouerne them, and hono-
rablye to spende them.

The eldeste of the two sonnes was the
Emperoure Valentyne, who ruled in the
Orieute for the space of 4. yeares, and was
the 39. Emperoure of Rome, from Iulius
Cesar: though some doe begynne at the
tyme of Octavian, sayenge, that he was
vertuous, and that Iulius Cesar vsurped
the Empire lyke a tyrante.

This Valentyne was beautiful of per-
son, but pooze of vertues: so that he was
more beautifull then vertuous, more cou-
ragious then mercifull, more ryche then
charitable, more cruell then piteful.

For there are manye Princes, that are
verie experte, to deuyse newe orders, in a
common wealthe: but there are fewe, that
haue stoute hartes, to put the same in exe-
cution. In those dayes the secte of Arrian
the curled heretyke floryshed, and the Em-
peroure Valentyne was greatly blinded
therein: in so muche, that he dyd not onely
fauoure the Arrians; but also he persecu-
ted the Christians, whiche was shewed, for
so muche as he kylled, and caused to be
kylled for that occasion manye laye men,
and tooke manye clerkes, and banished
manye Bysshoppes, ouerthrowe manye
Churches, robbed the goods of the Chri-
stiane, and dyd infinite other mycheues in

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* the common wealthe. For the prince whiche is infected with heresy, and liueth without feare of the Church, there is neither myschiefe, nor treason, but he wil commit. In the desertes of Egypte and the cities of Alexandria, there was a great multitude of fryers, and religyous men, amongst whom were manye wyse men, and pure of lyfe, constaunte in the defence of the Church, and pacyente in persecutions.

* For he is a true religyous man, that in tyme of peace is charytable to teache the ignoraunte: and bolde in the tyme of Scismes, to confounde the heretyques.

The Emperoure Valentine was not onely not a frende to the Arrians, and an enemye to the Christyans, but also he was a persecutoure of the deuoute and religyous fryers. For he commaunded proclamation to be had throughe all his realmes, and domynions, that all the religious, that were yonge in yeares, hole of their bodyes, and sounde of their hymmes, shoulde immediately caste of their cowles, and hoodes, leaue their monasterie, and take souldyers wages in the campe. For he sayde Monasteries were invented for nothyng els, but to magneteyne those that were deformed, blynde, lame, and maymed, and, bypon this occasyon, he shewed greates tyranny. For manye monasteries were leste naked, many notable constructions were broke, many hermites were martyred, many friers whipped, many notable barons banished, and manye good men robbed of their goods. For manye notable men despyred rather the bytter lyfe of the monasterie: then the swete and pleasaunte deathe of the worlde.

The Emperoure yet not contented with these thynges, as by chaunce his wife commended vnto hym the beautye of a Romanayne called Iustina, withoute anye more delaye, he maryed her, not forsakynge his firste wyfe, and immediately made a law throughe oute all his Empire, that witha-

oute incurringe anye daunger, eche chastytan myghte haue two wyues, and marye with them by the lawe of matrimonye.

For the tyrannous Princes (to cleake their byces) make and enstablish the lawes of byces. The shame was lytle, that the Emperoure Valentine (agaynst the commaundemente of the Church) would mary twise to two women: but the lesse shame he had, the greater was his iniquyte, to put it into execution, and to cause it to be published throughe his realme as a lawe. For a particular vice, corrupteth but one alone: but a generall lawe, dysstroyeth all.

At that tyme the pussaunt Gothes were in the parties of the orient, the which were in feates of armes verie balyaunte and couragious: but in thynges of faith, they were sel broughte by, althoughe the greatest parte of them were baptised. For then the Church was verie poore of prelates, holyest those that they had were notable men. After the Gothes were baptised, and the furie of the warres somewhat appeased, they sente their Embassadors to the Emperoure Valentine, desyringe hym that immediately, and forthwith, he would sende them holy and catholike Bysshoppes, by whose doctryne they myghte be instructed, and broughte to the Christyan faith. For it was thought that the Emperour of Rome coulde haue with them no bysshoppes, vnles they were vertuous.

This wicked Emperoure, sythe he was now entangled with heresy, and that he had peruercted the customes of the good emperours (that is for haueinge aboute hym euyl Bysshoppes) as he was enuyronned with all euilles and myscheues, he sente to the Gothes a Bysshope called Eudoxius, the whiche was a ranke Arrian, and broughte with hym manye Bysshoppes, whiche were heretyques, by the whiche the kynges and Princes of the Gothes were Arrians, for the space of 200. yeares.

The catholyke Princes oughte to take great

greate care to watche, and in watchynge, to be ware and circumspecte, that they, their Realmes, neyther their subiectes, shoulde in their tyme be despyled with heresye. For the plague of heretykes and heresy is not of lyghte occasyon bannysshed the place, where ons it hath reigned.

We haue declared of the small saythe that this Emperoure had in Ihesus Christ, and of the greate myscheues he dyd to the Church. Let vs now see what was the ende of hys myserable lyfe. For the man of wycked lyfe, seldome cometh to good ende.

The mater was this, that as the Gothes were dyuyen oute of the Realme by some of the Hunnes, they came immediatlye to the Realme of Thracia, which then was subiecte to the Romaynes.

And the Emperour Valentine withoute anye couenaunte, receyued them into hys lande, wherein he commytted greate folye, and bled lytle wysdome. For it is a generall rule, where rebelles, bacabondes, and straungers come to inhabyte, there alwayes the realme & domynyō is destroyed.

The Gothes remayned certayne yeares amonge them, withoute anye dyscention, or quaraplynge agaynst the Romaynes: but afterwarde, throughe the greate contentoufenes of Maximilian, Captayne of the Romaynes, that denyed the Gothes of their pryncypson, whiche so longe tyme remayned frendes, arose betwene them so cruell warres, that it was the occasyon of the losse and utter vndoinge, both of Rome and of all Italye. For truiye there is no enemye doth so muche hurte, as that of frendes, when they faule oute once at discorde.

The warre now beyng kyndeled, the Gothes were scatered throughe the Realme of Thrace, and they lefte no fozte but they battered, they came to no villagyes nor ciyties but they sacked, they toke no women but they forced, they entred into no house, but they robbed. Finally the Gothes shewed the popson that they had agaynst the

Romaynes, and let no man maruell, that the Gothes commytted so manye cruel and heynous factes, sihe we that are Christians doe commytte dailye greater offences. For amonge rebelles it is a common error, that that whiche they robbe in the warres, they saye they are not bound to restore in peace.

The Emperoure Valentine was then in the cite of Antiochie, and sihe he had assembled there a greate armye, and had greate ayde oute of Italye, he determyned hym selfe in person to goe into the campe of the Romaynes, and to gyue thonselt agaynst the Gothes, wherein he shewed hym selfe more bolde, then wise. For a Prynce in battayle can doe no more then one man, nor fight more then one man, and if he die, he is the occasyon of the deathe and destruction of them all. When bothe the hostes of the Romaynes and the Gothes toynd, there was betwene them a cruel and mortal fight: so that in the first byunte the Gothes shewed them selues so valyaunte, that they put to flight the Romaynes horsmen, leauinge their fote men alone in great jeopardy, the which in shorte space after were discomfited, and slaine, not one lefte alieue. For the barbarous sware, that that day the Gothes shoulde all dye, or els utterly they woulde destroye the name of the Romaynes. After the Emperoure was mortallye wounded and the battayle lost, he determyned to flye, and saue hym selfe. But when fortune begynnethe to persecute any man, she leaueh him not, vnep she see him dead or beateh downe withoute recover: therefore as this wycked Emperour (thynking to saue hym selfe) came into a shepe cote, the enemies seing hym, in the ende set fier on the shepe cote, and burnt hym alieue. So in one daye he loste hys person, hys lyfe, hys honour, and hys Empire. It is mete that Prynces and greate Lordes shoulde lyfte vp their eyes, to consyder wel this historye of Valentine, who kyled priestes,

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religious men, and beate downe churches,
and monasteries. For it is a rule infallible,
that the prince which is not a good christiā,
shal fall into the hādes of his cruel enemies.

The.xxv.Chapter.

Of the emperor Valentinian
and the emperor Gracian hys
sōne, vvhich because they vv ere
good christians, vv ere alvvayes
fortunate, and that god geueth
victories vnto princes, more tho
roughe the teares of them that
pray, thē through the vv eapons
of those that fighte.



Valentinian and valēti-
nian were brethzen, and
the eldest of them was
Valentinian, who suc-
ceded in the Empire (af-
ter the deathe of his fa-
ther) to be pretor of the armies. For amon-
ges the Romaines there was a law in bre,
that if the father died in the fauour of the
people, of right the sonne, withoute any o-
ther demaund was heire. This Iustinian
was a lusty yong man, of a sanguine com-
plexion, and of his body wel shaped, and a-
boue al, he was a good christiā, and of all
the people generally wel beloued: for vnto a
mā that is noble, and of a good behauiour,
there is nothinge to be compared. At that
time when the emperor Iulian persecuted
the christians, Iustinian was pretor of the
armies, and as Iulian was aduertised that
Iustinian was a christiā, he sent vnto him,
and bad hym do sacrifice to the idols of the
Romaine Emperour, or els to forsake the
office of his pretorship. Iulian would gladly
haue killed Iustinian, but he durst not: For

it was a law inuolable amōges h Romay-
nes, that no citezen shuld be put to deathe,
without decree of the Senate. This Empe-
rour Iustinian being aduertised that Iulian
had sent vnto him to resigne his office, he did
not onely forsake it & his wyfe: but also he
forgaue them al h money they ought hym,
and because he would liue w a more quyet
conscience, he went frō rome into a cloyster,
where he bannished him selfe for .2. yeares
and a halfe, and for this he was highly este-
med, & commended. For it is a good sygne
that that man is a good christiā, the which
of hys owne voluntarie. wyl renounceth
worldely goods. It happened that Iulian the
emperour went to cōquer the realme of the
Perses, and as sone as he was wounded in
the battaile, he fel downe deade in the pre-
sent place: for to the mishappes of fortune,
the Emperour with al his estate, and plea-
sours, is as muche subiecte, as is the pooress
mā that lieth in the streates. Whē h newes
came to rome that Iulian was dead, by the
consent of all, the emperor Valentinian
was elected, so that he being bannished for
christes sake, was called againe, & crowned
prince of h romaine empire. Let no mā care
to lose all that he possesseth, let no mā waye
to se him selfe dispised for christes sake: For
in h end, no men can in a thousand yeares
somuche abase vs: as god in one houre can
exalte vs. In the yeare of the foundation of
Rome, which was the .iiij. in a citie called
Atrobata, it rained very fine wul, so that
al the citie became rich. In the same yeare,
in the citie of Cōstātinople, it hailed such
greate stones, that they killed manye men,
and leste no herdes in the feldes alyue. At
the same tyme, there came an earthquake
throughtoute Italye, and so likewise in Sci-
cille, that manye howsen fel, and slew sun-
dye parsons, and aboue all, the sea rose, in
suche sorte, that it drowned manye Cypres
nyghe thereunto. Paulus Diaconus in
the .ii. booke De gestibus Romanorum,
salet, that this Emperoure Valentinian
was

was of a subtil witt, of cōtēnānce graue, very distinct & pleasānt in his speache (how best he spake litle of baine pleasures) skoute in his affayres, & diligent in his busines, in aduersities patient, and a great enemy of the vicious, tēperate in eating & drīnking, & a frende of religious personnes: so y they saide he resembled y emperour Aurelius. After that Marcus Aureli⁹ the emperour dyed, with whom the felicitie of y Romaine empyre ended, the custome was in Rome, that al yong princes were allwaies cōpared to some of the auncientes, y is to wete, if he were couragious, he resembled Iulius Cesar, if he were vertuous, they saide he was an other Octavian; if he were poze & wicked, it was Tiberius, if he were rashe they saide he was Caligula, if he were cruell, they compared him to Nero, if he were mercifull, they saide he was lyke Antonius Pius, if he were idle, they compared him to Domitian, if he were temperate, they likened him to Adrian, if he were beautiful, they saide he resembled Titus, if he were patient, they called him Vespasius, finally he that was sage and vertuous, they compared him to the good Marcus Aurelius. This emperour Valentinian was a good Christian, and in all his affayres touching the Empyre very wise and circumspecte, & of one thing he was noted, & he deserued it: that is to wete, he trusted and fauoured so much his seruantes, that throughe this occasion, and also for behauinge hym selfe euill in the Empyre, there arose many dysentions emonges the people. Seneca sayd once to the Emperour Nero, I wyll that thou vnderstand (Lord) that there is no patience can suffre, that 2. or 3. absolutely commaunde all, not for that they are most vertuous: but for that they are most in fauour. O Princes and greate lordes, yf you were as I am, I knowe not what you would do; but if I were as you be, I would behaue my selfe in such sorte to them of my house, that they shoulde be seruantes to serue & obeye

me, and not best them selues to be in suche fauour to commaunde me: For that prynce is not sage, that for to content one, getteth the hatred of all. This emperour Valentinian died in the 33. yeare of his byrthe and 11. yeare of hys Empyre, of so longe sykkenes, that the baynes of his body were dried vp in suche sorte, that they could not drawe one droppe of bloude out of hys body. And the day of his buriall, saint Ambrose made an excellent sermon, for in those daies, whē any Prynce departed that fauoured muche the Church, all the holy Byschoppes mette at hys buryall.

The 2. brythren beinge emperoures, that is to wete, Valentinian, and Valentin, thorough the desire of y father in law of Gracian, that was father to his wife, and desyrous to haue 1. of hys daughters chyldren, chose Valentinian to bring vp, who had a sonne named Gracian: whiche was created emperour so yonge, that as yet he had no berde. And truly the Senate would not haue suffered it, if the father had not bene vertuous, and the childe sage. But the Senate would haue done this, & more also for Valentinian, because he dyd deserue it well of the Romaine people: For it is reason in distributing of the offices, that Princes haue more respecte to the desertes of the fathers: then to the tender age of the children. This yonge Gracian began to be so temperate, and was so good a christian in fauouringe the Church, that it was muche quyet, and great pleasure to the Romaine people to haue chosen hym, and greater ioye to the father (beinge alyue) to haue begotten him: so that he lefte for hym after hys deathe, an immortall memoire of hys lyfe. For the childe that is vertuous, is allwaies the memoire of the father after his death.

An the yeare of the foundacion of Rome a thousand a hūdreth thirrie & two, y saide Gracia the yonger was created sole heire of the whole empyre, his vnckle Valentin & hys father beinge departed the worlde. After
Gra

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Gracian came to the empyre, many byshop-
pes, which were banished in the time of his
vncle Valentine, were restored to the
Church againe, and banished all the sect of
the Arryens out of his region. Trulpe he
shewed him selfe to be a very religious and
catholyke Prince. For there is no better
Justice to confound humayne malice, then
to establish the good in their estate. In the
firste yeare of the reygne of Gracian Em-
perour, all the Germaines and Gothes re-
belled againste the Romaine Empyre, for
they wuld not onely not obey him, but also
they prepared an huge army to enuade his
Empyre, Imagininge that sythe Gracian
was yonge, he neyther had the wyt nor yet
the boldnes to resyste them: For where the
prince is yong, there oftetymes the people
suffreth much wrong, and the realme great
misery. News come to Rome, howe y the
Gaules and Germaynes were by, the em-
perour Gracian wrote to all the catholyke
Byshoppes, that they shoulde offer in theyr
Churches greate sacrifices, wyth prayers
vnto god, and in Rome lykewise it was or-
deyned, that generall processions shoulde be
had, to the ende almighty god shoulde mo-
derate his yre against his people. For good
christians firste pacifie God with prayers,
before they resist their enemies with wea-
pons. This good prince shewed him selfe to
be no lesse warlike in his outwarde affay-
res, then a good Christian in his religion.
For god giueth victories vnto princes, moze
through teares, then through weapons.
These thinges thus finished, and his affay-
res vnto god recommended, the noble em-
perour Gracian determined to marche on,
and him selfe in person to giue the battaile.
And truly as at y first he shewed him selfe
to be a good christian: so now he declared
him to be a valiaunt emperor. For it were
a greate infamy & dishonour, y a prince by
negligence or cowardnes shoulde lose that,
which his predecessours by force of Armes
had gottē. The army of the enemies excea-

bed farre the Romaine army in nombze, & when they mette together in a place called Argentaria, the Romaines beinge inferiour to their enemies in nombze, were affraide: ffor in the warres, & great multitude of enemies, and their puissaunt power, maketh oft times the desired victoꝛye to be doutfull. This thing seene of the Romaines, and by them considered, importunately they besought the Emperour not to charge the battaile: ffor they saide he had not men sufficient. And herein they had reason: ffor the sage pꝛince should not rashely hazarde hys person in the warre, noꝛ yet should lightly put his life in the handes of fortune. The Emperour Gracian not chaunging counsaile, noꝛ stoppinge in his woꝛdes, to all hys knightes whiche were aboute hym answered in this wise.

The.xxvi.Chapter.

2. Of the godly Oration, vvhicke
the emperour Gracian made to
his souldiours, before he gaue
the battayle.



VAliaunt knightes, and cō-
pagnions in warre, moſte
thankfully I accept your ſer-
uiſe, in ȳ you haue ſold your
goodes, & do offre your liues
here to accōpany me in ȳ warres, & herein
you ſhew your duties: for of right you ought
to loſe your goodes, & to vēture your liues,
for the defence & ſuretie of your cotantrey.
But if I giue you ſome thākes for your cō-
pany, know you ȳ I geue you muche more
for your good cōſel, which preſſely you gi-
ue me: for in great cōſtates ſildom is found
together both good cōſel & ſtout hertes. ¶
I haue enterpriſed this battaille in hope of
mānes pōwer, thē you had had reaſon, ȳ we
ſhuld not giue ȳ battaille ſeing ȳ great mul-
titude that they haue, and the ſmall num-
bre that we are, for as you ſay, the weighty
affayres of the publyke weale ſhoulde not
vniaduſedly

bradussedly be committed, to the incertaintie of fortune. I haue taken vpon me this dangerous and perillous warres, firste trustinge that on my parte Justice remaineth, and sith god is the same onely iustice, I trust assuredly he wyl giue me the victorie in this perillous conflyt: For iustice auayleth princes moze, that they haue: then the men of warre do, whiche they leade.

Wherefore sith my cause is iust, and that I haue god the onely iudge thereof on my side: me thinketh, if for any worldely feare I shuld cease to giue the battaile, I shuld both shew my selfe to be a prince of small sayth, and also blaspheme god; sayenge they were of small iustice: For god sheweth moste his power there, where the frailenes of man hath the lesse hope. Then sith I beginne the warre, and that by me the warre is procured, and for me you are come to the warre, I haue determined to enter into this battaile, and if I perishe therein, I shalbe sure it shalbe for the memory of my personne, and the saluation of my soule: For to dye throughe Justice is not to dye: but to chaunge death for life. And thus doing if I lose my life, yet therefore I lose not my honour, & all this considered, I do that which for the comon wealth I am bound. For to a prince it were great infamy and dishonour, that the quarrel beinge his owne, should by the bloud of others be reuenged. I wyl proue this day in battaile, whether I was chose emperor by the diuine will, or not: for if god this day causeth my life to be taken from me, it is a manifest token he hath a better in store for me: and if through his mercye I be preserved, it signifieth that for some other better thing he graunteth me life: For in the end, the sword of the enemye, is but the scourge of our offences. The best that I see therefore in this matter to be done, is that til .3. daies be passed, the battaile be not giuen, & that we confesse our selues this night, and in the morninge prepare our selues to receyue our redeemer, and besides this, that euery

man pardon his christia brother, if he haue had any wronge, or iniury done him. For oftentimes though the demaund of the warre be iust, yet many mishappes be fall therein, through the offences of those, which presume and followe the same. After the .3. daies are passe, & eche thing according to my sayenges before accomplished, in euery poynt as behoueth: then let god dyspose thinges as he shall see good, for now I am fully determined to aduenture my life in battaile. Wherefore my ballaunt & stoute warriors, doute not at all, for this day I muste eyther vāquish mine enemies, or els suffer death: and if I dye, I do that which nedes I must. Wherefore I wyl now cease to exorte you any moze, desiring you to consider & wherunto youre duety leade you, remembryng that you are come as knightes, and in the defence of your countrey you wage battaile: for now we are come to that pynche, & nedes must moze auaille vs then wordes. For peace ought to be mainteyned by the tong: but warres ought to be atcheued by the sword. All these words then ended, and the .3. daies passe, the Emperour Gracian in personne gaue the battaile, where the conflyte and slaughter on bothe sides was marvellous terrible: yet in the ende, the emperor Gracian had the victorie ouer his enemies, and there died in that conflicte .30. thousand Gothes, and Almaines, and of the Romaynes there were not slaine, but .5. thousande. For that army onely is preserved, whiche to the diuine will is conformable. Let all other princes take example by this noble prince: let them consider how much it auaileth them to be good christians, and that in great warres and conflictes, they neede not feare the greates nombre of their enemies: but they oughte greatly to see, that the wrath of god be pacified: for the hart is moze dismayde wth the secrete sinnes, then it is feared wth the open enemies.

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The.xxvii.Chapter.

That the Captaine Theodosius, vvhiche vvas father of the great Emperour Theodosius, dyed a good Christian. And of the kinge Ismarus, and the byshop Siluanus, and the holyc lavves vvhich they made and establi-
shed.



HHe.2. brethren beinge Emperours, that is to wete, Valentinian & Valentin, in the cosses of Afrike, and the Realme of Mauritania, a tyraunt vsurped the place of a kinge, against the Romaines: who was named Tyrmus, a man hardy in traunples, & in daungers floute: For the aduēturous hertes oftentimes do commyt many tyrannies. This tyranne Tyrmus, by much crueltie, came possessed of this realme, & not contented therewith, but also by tyranny possessed a great part of Afrike, & prepared (as Hanniball did) an huge army to passe into Italy, to dye in challenging the empyze of Rome. This was a renowned Tyraunte that neuer toke pleasure in any other thing so much: as to spoile & robbe others of their goodes. The Romaines that in al their doynges were very sage, & of the tyrāny of tirauntes sufficiently monished: immediatly prepared a great army to passe into Afrik, & to spoile the realme, & to destroy the tyranne, by the commaundement & decre of the Senate, and that for no parte or couenaūt the tyraunt shuld live. And without doute this commaundement was iust. For to him that is a destroyer of the comon wealthe, it is not punishment enough to take away his life. At that tyme there was a knyghte in Rome, whose name was Theodosius, a man well streken in

peres, & yet better approued in warres, but he was not the richest: howbest he vaunted him selfe (as truth was) to be of the bloud of Traian the great emperour, vpon wyche occasion, he was greatly honoured & feared in Rome: for h comōs were so noble & gracious towards their princes, that al those, which frō h good & vertuous emperour descended, were of h whole comō wealth greatly esteemed. Sithe this noble Theodosius was of yeares so auncient, & so honoured in his old age, so noble of linage, and so approued in warres: he was by the auctoritie of h emperour Valentinian, by the cōset of all the Senate, and by the good willes of the whole people, chose to go to the conquest of Afrike, & truly their reason was good. For Theodosius desired much to fight against that tiraunt Thirmus, & al the people were glad that suche a captaine led the army. Theodosius departed from Rome, & in few daies arriued at Bona, which was a Citie greatly replenished with people, situated in a haven of the sea in Afrike. And as he, & his army laded, the tyran Thirmus for the with withdrew his army into the field, & so al being planted in the plaine, the one to assaulte, & the others to defend, Immediately the.2. armies soynded, & the one assaultinge the other fiercely, on both sides was greare slaughter. So that those which to day were conquered, to morow did conquer: & those which yester day were conquerours after ward remained conquerid. For in lōg warres, fortune chaungeth. In the prouince of Mauritania ther was a strong citie called Obelysta, and as the captaine Theodosius by his force occupied al the field, the tirāne Thirmus fortified him self in y citie, h which valiauntly being assaulted of the captayne Theodosius, & al most w his men entring into the same, the tiranne Thirmus because he would not commyt him selfe vnto the faith of other mē slew him self w his proper handes. For the properrie of proude and disdainfull hertes, is rather to dye in lybertie

bertie, then to lyue in captiuitie. At that tyme the Emperour Valentine, by the Arte of of Nigromancy, wrought secretly to know what lucke should succede in the Romaine Emppye. And by chaunce a woman being an enchauntresse, had aunswer of the deuyll, that the name whyche with these letters shoulde be written, shoulde be successoz to the Emppye, & the letters were these. T.E.O.D.E.S.C. The Emperour Valentine, diligently enquired of all the names, whiche with these letters coulde be named, & they found, that Theodotes, the Theodores, and the Theodoses, and al other which were written with these names immediatly suffered death by the sword. And the cause why they slew them was, for that the Emperour Valentine was wicked; & thought that they woulde haue taken the Emppye from hym beyng alyue: For the tyranous Prynce, lyueth alwayes in suspicion. The excellent Captayne Theodosius (the tyranne Thyrtus beinge deade, and hauing subdued al Affryke to the Romaine empire) was bouredened, that he was a secret traytour to the Emppye, and that he compassed to winne the same by tyranny, for this cause therfore the Emperour Valentine gaue sentenice, he shoulde be beheaded: And this was done, he netter hearinge of it, and much lesse therof culpable: for all princes that be wilfull in their doynge, are very absolute of their sentenice. This come to the eares of Theodosius, & seinge that he was condemned to be beheaded: he sent incontinent for the byshoppe of Carthage to whom he demaunded the water of the holy Baptyme, and so being baptised, and in the faith of Chyriste instructed, was by the hangeman put to executyon. Of this so greuous, oultragious, and detestable facte every mā iudged this Theodosius, to suffer as an innocēt, & that the emperour Valentine had iudged euill & like a tyrant. For the innocency of the good, is the greate enemye of the euill. At the same

time when Theodosius demaunded baptisme (according to the sayenge of Prosper in his cronicle he said vnto the byshop, whych shoulde baptise him, these woordes. O byshop saint Roger, I do coniure the, by the creator which made vs, & do desire the, for the passion of Iesu chryst, who redemed vs, to giue me the water of Baptisme: for I haue made a bow to become chrystia, if god graunted me victoꝝ. Wherefore I will accomplish my bow, for those thynges which necessitie causeth vs to promyse, our owne free wyll ought to accomplishe, I am soꝝ w all my hearte, that being a chrystian, I can liue no longer, & sith it is so. I offer my lyfe for his sake, & into his mercyfull handes I comend my soule. I leaue a sōne of mine, who is called Theodosius, & if the fatherly loue begyle me no, I think he wil be a vertuous and skoute yong man, & besides that, he will be wise, & sith by thy handes he hath bene baptised, I require the holy father, y thou thorough thy wisdom wil bring him vp, in the trus faith: for if he be a good chrystia, I trust in god he wil be a great man in þ emppye. This Theodosius was the father of the great emperour Theodosius, so that the father was a chrystian, & the sōne a chrystia. Not lōg after the emperour Valētime had caused Theodosius (which was father to þ great emperour Theodosius) to be erected, Valētime by the cōmaundemēt of god, was by þ Gothes persecuted, & in chēd put to death, & truly this was the iust iudgemēt of god: for he of right shuld suffer death hym selfe, which vniustly procureth the death of others. Rufinus in the second booke of his histories saith, that after the tyrant Thirinus was put to death, by þ captaine Theodosius, & that the Emperour Valentine had caused this Theodosius to be put to deathe. The Romaines created a kinge in Afrike, whose name was Ismarus, called for a right Chrystian in that time, whyche was from the buyldynge of Rome, 377. There was in the Citty of Carthage a holy

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a holy byshoppe called Siluanus, a man in humayne and deuynne letters excellently well learned, and sythe the kynge was so luste, and the byshoppe so holly: bothe the fayth encreased, and also the affayres of the common wealthe prospered. For commonly the warres begynne rather throughe the pryde of the higheste, then throughe disobedience in the lowest. Therefore this holy byshoppe and good Christian kynge, beinge desirous in their tyme to geue good example to the subiectes, and for the tyme to come to leane good preceptes, they celebrated in the Citie of Bona a counsaile, with all the byshoppes of Affryke, in the whiche, king Ismarus was in parson. For in aunciente counsellers the kynges were not onely there in parsons: but also all the Lordes and hye estates of their Realmes. Amongest many excellent thinges, whiche Rufinus mentioneth that were ordayned in this place: it semed good vnto me to remember here, to the end that those whiche are now present, shoulde see what deuoute christians those were which liued in times past.

✱ A collection or Purport of the counsell of Hyponense.



Hese were the thinges whiche in the sacred counsaile of Hyponense were ordeyned, where there was in parson, the catholyke kynge Ismarus, and the religious byshoppe Syluanus, and in that which was ordeined, the kinge spake in some of them, and dothe counsaile in other some: because in suche semblable affayres, it is both mete and requisite, that the royall prehemynens be reuerenced: and the auctoritie of the churche not diminished. We ordeine that from .2. yerres, to .2. yerres, all the Byshoppes, Abbottes, and prelates of our realme, do assemble, and celebrate a prouintial counsaile, and that in this coun-

saile, there be no tempoꝛal matters spoken of, but of the disordes and misgouernaunce of Churches; for the churche is not lost for the lacke of scarcitie of money: but for the to greate aboundance of ryches. We ordeine, and all prelates whiche are nowe and shalbe here after we desire, that when they wyll cal any counsaile in our realmes, that before the celebracion of the same, they certifie vs, lest that vnder the couler or cloke of a holy counsaile, there shoulde some suspicious assembly be had. We ordeine, that from hencefoꝛth the princes and great lordes be bound to repaire to the sacred counsaile, with al the company of the holy Byshoppes: For it were moze mete they shulde come to destroye false heretickes, in winninge their soules: then to fyghte agaynst their enemies, in losing their liues. We ordeine that the Prince, whiche come not to the counsailes throughe negligence, that vnto him the sacramēt of the body of christ be not ministred, vntyll the next counsell be celebrated. And if perchance he refuse not to come throughe negligence, but throughe malice, we wyll that then they procede agaynst him as a suspect parson in the fayth of christ. For the Christian Prince, that of malyce onely committeth an offence, is not partyt in the holy catholyke fayth. We ordeine that at the first assembly of the counsaile, all the prelates togethers openly, and afterwarde eche one by him self pryncially, shall say the Crede, the whiche thinge finished, the kynge him selfe alone, shal say the crede lykelike: for if the prince be suspected of the holy catholyke fayth, it is vnpossible that his people shoulde be good Christians. We ordeine, that in this counsaile, the prelates haue libertie and auctoritie to say vnto the kinge what they wyll, and the kynge lykelike to saye in the counsaile what he thinke beste: so that the prelates mighte tell the kinge of his faynt herte and negligence, which he peradventure hath in destroyeng of heretickes, and bringinge to nought theyr

their heresyes: and likewise the king might tel the prelates theyr neglygence, that they vse in the charge of their flocke. For the ende and intencion of counsayles oughte not to be any other wyse, then a scourge for offences passe, and a refozmacion of the euilles to come.

We ordeyne, that all the princes of Afrike, immediatly befoze they do any other thing in the morning, do openly & diligently here masse: and we wil also that there be present, their sampliare counsellours, which with them oughte to enter into counsaile. For that creature can not gyue any good counsaile, who hath not reconciled him self vnto god befoze.

We ordeyne, that the Archebyschoppes, Byschoppes, and Abbottes, continuallye during the tyme of the counsaile, do euery daye confesse them selues, and saye masse openly, and that one of them doe preache to the people gods worde. For if euery prelate be bound to giue good example alone, then beinge altogether they shall gyue it muche better.

We ordeyne, that princes (as much as lyeth in them) doe gyue vnto their subiectes good examples, and especialye, that euery holly day they confesse them selues, and receiue the Sacramente, and be at the diuine seruises. For it would be a greate slander to princes, whiche of their faultes ought to reprehend others, that a man should neuer see them confessed, nor receiue the Sacramente them selues.

We ordeyne, that at Easter cheafely Princes doe go to the churches Metropolitanes, and if ther be no let, that the archebyschoppe doe saye masse: and the gospel bringe sayde, the Prince hym selfe shall be bound to saye with a loude voyce, the crede confyrmyd in the sacred counsaile of Nisene. For the good princes, ought not onely in their hartes to be faithfull vnto Ihesu chyst, but are also bound openly with theyr mouthes, to confesse it befoze the people.

We ordeyne, that princes be not so hardye to haue in their courte aboue two byschoppes, the one to heare hym confessed, and the other to preache vnto him the word of god. And those we wil that the counselle entertayne wel, and that the counselle be bounde to synde two parsonnes, of the moste auncyente and bertuous, which shall remayne in the Courte no more but two yeares, and that afterwarde others be placed there in their steades. For there is no thinge more monstrous, then to see the Church without prelates.

The.xxviii.Chapter.

What a goodly thinge it is to haue but one prince to rule the publyke vveale: for there is no greater enemye to the common vveale, then he vvhiche procureth many to commaund therein, as by reasons folowynge it shalbe proued.



FORTE times vwith my selfe alone I consider, that sith the diuine providence, whiche dothe all thinges by weight and measure, and that of her, and by none other, all creatures are gouerned, and that furthermore with God there is no acception of parsons (for he maketh the one ryche, and the other poore, the one sage, and the other simple, the one hole, and the other sycke, the one fortunate, and the other vnluckye, the one seruaunte, and the other maister) let no man meruaile, though I muse thereat: for the varpetye of tyme, is the begynner of dyssentyons amonge the people. In mans iudgemente it seemeth

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that it were better all were a lyke in apparell, all equall in commaundyng, none greater then others in possessions, all to content them selues with one kynde of meate, and that the names of commaundyng and obeyinge, were bitterlye abolysshed and brought to nought: so yf the mysteryes of the one, & prosperities of y other were put out, from that dawe forthwarde, I protest there shoulde be no enuy in the world, layeng aside mans oppynyon, whiche oughte not to be compared to the deuyne mysterye. I demaunde now, what reason sufficed to thinke, that of two brethren (that is to wete, Iacob, and Esau, bothe children of holye and deuoute personnes) the deuyne prouydence would the one shoulde be chosen, and the other dyspyssed, that the one should commaund, and the other obeye, the one to be dysheryted beinge the eldest, and the other to inheryte beinge the yongest: That whiche chaunced to Iacob, with Esau, the same chaunced to the chyldren of Iacob and Ioseph: who beinge patriarches and chosen, God prouyded and ordeyned, that to Ioseph beinge the yongest, his brethren shoulde serue, and obeye hym. This thynge was reppned at, of all the eleuenth brethren, how be it their intencions auayled not: for it is impossible for mans malysce, to dysorder that, with the deuyne prouydence hath appointed: we see daylye nothyng els; but that whiche man decreeth in a longe tyme, god dysposeth otherwise in one momente. Trulye it is not euell done, but well ordeyned: for in the ende, sithe man is man, in fewe thinges he can be epyther certayne or assured: and sithe God, is God, it is impossible that in anye thinge he shoulde erre.

It is a greate benefyte of the creator, to be wyllynge to refozme and correcte the workes of the creatures. For if God would suffer vs to doe after oure owne myndes, we shoulde be quyte contrarie to his pleasure. God withoute a greate mysterye, dyd not ordeyne, that in one familye there shuld

be but one father, amonge one people there shoulde be but one citezen that shoulde commaunde, in one prouynce there shoulde be but one gouernoz alone, and also that one kinge alone shoulde gouerne a proude realme, and lykelysse, that by one onelye captayne a puissaunte armye shoulde be led. And furthermoze, and aboue all, he willethe that there be but one Monarchyall kyng, and lorde of the worlde. Trulye all these thinges are suche, that we with oure eyes doe see them, and knowe them not, we heare them with our eares, and vnderstand them not, we speake them with our tonges, and knowe not what we saye. For trulye mans vnderstandynge is so dull, that withoute doubt he is ignoraunte of moze then he knoweth. Appolonius Thianeus, compassyng the mooste parte of Asia, Affricke, and Europe, that is to say, from the brydge of Nilus, where Alexander was, vnto Gades, where y pillars of Hercules were, he beinge one dawe in Ephese, in the temple of Diana: the preestes asked hym what thing he wondered at most in al the worlde: for it is a general rule, that me which haue seen muche, alwayes do note one thinge aboue another. Although the Philosopher Appolonius greatlyer esteemed y workes, then the speaking of them that demaundyng this question: yet forthwith he made them this aunswere. I let you knowe preestes of Diana, y I haue be thorough out Fraunce, England, Spayne, Germany, throughe the Laces, and Lidians, Hebrues, & Grekes, Parthes, and Medes, Phrigians, and Corinthians, and so with the Perles, and aboue al, in the greate realme of India: for that alone is moze worthe, then all these realmes togyther: I wyl you vnderstande that all these Realmes in manye and sondrye thinges doe dyffer, as in languages, persones, beastes, mettals, waters, fleshe, coussomes, lawes, landes, buyldynges, in apparel, and fortes, and aboue al, dyuers in their Gods, and Temples. For the language

language of the one differeth not somuch from the language of the other: as the Gods of Europe, differ from the Gods of Asia; and the temples and gods of Asia and Europe, differ from them of Affike. Amonges al thinges whiche I haue seen, of two onelye I dyd meruaile, whiche is, that in all the partes of the world, wherein I haue traueyled, I haue seen quyet men troubled by sedycious parsones; the humble subiecte to the proude, the iust obediente to the tyrant; I haue seen the cruel commaundynge the mercyfull, the cowardlye rulyng the hardy, the ignorant teachynge the wyse; and aboue all, I sawe that the most thyenes, hunge the innocent on the galloves. The other thing wherent I meruailed was this, that in all the places, and circuyte where I haue bene, I know not, neyther coulde I fynde anye man that was euerlastynge, but that all are mortall, and in the ende, bothe hygh and lowe haue an end: for many enter y^e same night into their graue, whiche y^e same daye ensuynge, thought to be aliue. Leauyng aside y^e deuine iudgement, & in that he spake he sayd highly, and lyke a Philosopher, for it semeth to be a pleasaunt thing, to see how men gouerne the world.

Therefore now to the matter, it is but reason we knowe the cause of this so auntyent a noueltie, whiche is: that God wylleth, and ordeyneth, that one onelye commaunde all: and that all together obey one. For there is nothyng that God dothe (thoughe the cause thereof to vs be vnknewen) that wanteth reason in hys eternall wyldome. In this case, speakynge lyke a Christian I saye, that if oure father Adam had obeyed one onelye commaundemente of God, whiche was forbydden hym in the terrestriall paradyse, we had remained in lyberty, bypon the pearche, and shoulde haue ben Lordes and maysters ouer al.

But sythe he woulde not then obeye the Lorde, we are now become the slauys of so manye Lordes. I wycked synne, cur-

sed be thou, sythe by the onelye, the worlde is broughte into suche a bondage; without teares I cannot speake; that whiche I woulde, that throughe oure firste fathers, whiche submytted them selues to sinne, we their chyldren haue losse the sygnorye of the worlde. For sythe they were pylsoners to synne in their hartes, lytle auaylethe the lybertye of their bodies.

There was greate dyfference, betwixte the oppynions of Pythagoras, and the oppynions of Socrates, for somuch as those of Socrates scoole sayde, that it were better all thinges shoulde be comen, and all men equall. Thother of Pythagoras scoole sayd the contrarie, and that the comen wealth were better, wherein eche one had hys owne proper, and al shoulde obey one: so that the one of them dyd admytte and graunte the name of seruautes, and thothers dyd despyse the name of Lordes. As Laertius in his first booke of y^e lyfe of Philosophers sayeth, that the panime democritus, was a Philosopher Cathegoryke, but he was also of the same oppynion, that to the ende the people shoulde be wel gouerned, he woulde two names shoulde be vtterlye abolysed, and taken awaye: that is to wete, Lordes and subiectes, masters and seruautes: for the one desirous to rule by svernes, and thothers not wyllynge to obeye by tyrany, woulde shed the bloude of the innocent, and woulde be vyolente agaynst the poore: they woulde destroye the renowned and famous people, and tyrannes woulde ware stoute, the whiche thynges shoulde be taken awaye, if there weare no sygnorye, nor seruytude in the worlde.

But notwithstanding these thinges, the Philosopher in hys firste booke of hys polittiques saythe, that by sower naturall reasons we may proue it to be very necessa-rye, that Prynces doe commaunde, and the people obeye.

The firste reason is, of the partes of the Elementes simple, and myrre. For we see

by experience, that the Elementes doe suffer (to thende they woulde be ioyned together) the one to haue more power then all: the whiche is shewed by experience, for as muche as the Elemente of the fyre, the elemente of the ayer, and the Elemente of the water doe obey, and the Element of the yearth dothe commaunde: for agaynst their nature, he byngeth them all to the yearth. But if all the noble and cheafest Elementes were obeyent to the most vile Elemente, onely to forme a bodye myrrer: it is a greater reason that all obeye to one vertuous persone, that the common wealth myghte thereby the better be gouerned.

The seconde reason is, of the bodye and the soule: in the armonye whereof, the soule is the mystrisse whiche commaundeth, and the bodye the seruaunte whiche obeyeth: for the bodye neither seeth, heareth, nor vnderstandeth withoute the soule: but the soule heareth, seeth, knoweth, and vnderstandeth withoute the bodye. The sage Philosopher by this wyl infer, that the sage men should naturallie be Lordes ouer others. For in the worlde there is nothinge more monstrous: then that fooles should commaund, and wyse men obeye.

The thirde reason taketh hys grounde one beastes: for we see by experience, that dyuers beastes by thonely knowledge of men are gouerned, therefore it is but mete, that many men which are more lyker beastes then the beastes them selues, doe suffer them selues to be gouerned and ruled by wyse men. For the common weale is more profited by a brute beast: then it is by a wyllesse man.

The fourthe reason procedeth of women: for we see, that they beinge created to the image of god, god commaundeth and ordeyneth, that they shuld be subiecte to man, presupposynge their knowledge not to be so greate, as the knowledge of men.

Therefore if this thinge be thus, why coulde not dyuerse mortalles, who without

comparyson knowe lesse then women, take them selues for happy, that one alone shuld commaunde and gouerne them: so that such one were a sage and vertuous parson. For the man is naturallie pollytike, whiche is to be a frende of compaignie, the compaignie engendreth enuye, and afterwarde dyscorde norryeth warre, and warre bringeth in tyranye, and tyranye destroyeth the common wealth, and the common wealth beinge losse, all men thinke their lyues in perill. Therefore it is verie necessary, that in the common wealth man be gouerned by one alone, for to conclude, there is no common wealth wel gouerned, but by one alone. The greate trauayles, and inconueniences, whiche the auncientes founde in tymes passe, were the occasion that it was ordeyned in the publike weale, that all shoulde obeye one. For that in a campe one onely Captayne is obeyed, and in the sea one Pilot folowed, in the monasterie al obeye one prelate, and in the Church all obeye one byshoppe, and syns in a hyue of bees, one bee onely leadeeth all the rest: it were not reason, that men should be withoute one kynge, nor the common wealth without a gouernour. Those men that wyl not haue a kynge in a common wealth, are lyke vnto drones, and waspes, which withoute trauayle eate the swerte of others. And mine opiniõ in this case shoulde be, that euery man that wyl not be commaunded, as an abiecte of the comon wealth, shoulde be expelled and cast out therof. For in a comon wealth there can be no greater enemy: then he that desireth y many should rule therein. In that publike weale, where one onely hath care for al, and al obeye the commaundement of an onely, there god shalbe serued, y people shal profite, the good shalbe esteemed, and the euil despysed, and besydes that, tyrannes shalbe suppressed. For a gouernaunce of many is not profitable, onlesse they referre them selues to the iudgements of a seue, and to the arbitraments of one alone

lone. Oh how manye people, and Realmes
(bycause they would not obey their princes
by iustice) haue sence, by cruel tirānes bene
gouerned, with tyrannye. For it is euen a
* lust plage, that they which despise the scep-
tures of righteous Princes, shoulde seale
and proue the scourge of cruel tirantes. Al-
wayes it was, is, & shalbe, that in y^e worlde
there was one to commande, and another
to obeye, one to gouerne, and another to be
gouerned. In this case, let no man saye, I
am excepted, for vntyl this daye there hath
no prince bene sene, neyther knight percei-
ued, but hath tranayled vnder this yoke.
I warne, pray, and importunately require
you all, that you be loyal, and saythful ser-
uauntes, to the ende you maye deserue to
* haue louinge lordes. For generallye, the
prynce that is wycked, causeth hys subiecte
to rebel, and the sedicious subiecte, maketh
his lord to become a tiraunte. It is a great
thing to the people, that their Princes
be good or euil. For there are no Princes
so stable, nor so tēperate, that alwayes wyl
dyssemble the euil: nor there is no gouer-
nor so very a tyraunte, but sometymes wyl
acknowledge the goode. Oftymes god suf-
fereth, that there be emperours in the Em-
pire, kinges in realmes, and gouernors in
the prouinces, lordes in the cities, and pre-
lates in the churches, not all onelye as the
common wealthe desireth, nor as the good
gouernement requireth: but as the offence
of y^e multitude deserueth. For now a daies,
* we se manye, that haue the charge of soules
in the churche, whiche deserue not to keape
the sheape in the felde.

That to be true, playnelye it dothe ap-
peare: for suche doe not gouerne, but disor-
der, they doe not defende, but offende: they
doe not resiste the enemyes, but ingage,
and sel the innocent: they are no iudges,
but tyrannes: they are not gentyl pastores,
but cruel hangemen: they are not increa-
sers of the common wealthe, but destroyers
of iustyce: they are not ordeynors of lawes,

but inuentors of trybutes: their hartes
wake not to good, but to inuent and worke
al myschefe: and finallye, God sendethe vs
suche prelates, and gouernors, not for that
they shoulde be mynisters of hys lawes, but
for that they shoulde be scourges for oure
offences.

The.xxix.Chapter.

* That in a publike vveale their is
no greater destruction: then
vvhether princes dayly consent to
newe orders, and chaunge old
customes.



In the booke of the
kynges, the.19. chapter,
of the holpe and sacred
scripture, is sayde, that
Samuel (when he was
olde) in his stead, placed
hys two sonnes, to gouerne y^e people, whose
names were Ichel, and Abia: for that na-
turally the fathers are desirous to aduance
theyr chyldren to hono^r. The sonnes of Sa-
muel were resydente and helde the iudge-
ment in the cite of Bersabie, whiche was
the forthest parte of Iudea, and the old Sa-
muel went to dwel in the cite Ramatha.
The honozable & most auncient men (amōg
the people of Ierusalē) assembled togither,
and decreed to sed imbassato^rs to Samuel,
whiche shoulde be the wyfess men of all the
Synagoge. For the auncyentes in those
dayes were so circumspect, that they neuer
commytted anye affayres of the common
wealthe, into the handes of yonge men.

The auncyentes then beyng arryued at
Ramatha: spake these wordes vnto Sa-
muel, Samuel thou arte now olde, and for

THE DIAL

thy yeares thou canst not gouerne the people, therefore thou lyke a pytesfull father hast committed the gouernemente of the people into the handes of thy chyldzen.

Wherefore we let the know in this case, that thy chyldzen are couetous. Firste they doe receyue bybes of the suters. And Secondlye they doe greate iniurye to the people. Therefore we are come to require the to geue vnto vs a kynge, that maye gouerne vs, and that might leade vs in batayle. For we wyl no more iudges to iudge vs, but kinglys for to gouerne vs. The aged Samuel hearynge the imballage, was ashamed of that the auncientes of Iudea had tolde hym. Firste seing his chyldzen to be iuel. Secondly bycause they would take their offices from them: and trulye herein Samuel had but iust occasyon, bothe to be ashamed, and also to be sorre. For the vices and wyckednes of the yonge chyldzen, are swerdes that passe thorough the hartes of the olde and auncient fathers. Samuel seing that the Hebrues were determyned to depriue them of their office, and gouernement of the people, had none other remedy, but euen to make his mone to God of his greife, and god hearinge his complaintes, sayde vnto him. Samuel, be not sad, nor lament not, for their demaunding a kynge (as they do) they do not myslike thy parsoe, but they dyspraise my prouydence, and maruel not thoughe they forsake thy chyldzen, for they are somewhat to yong, si the they haue forsaken me their god, and worshippe false idolles. Sy the they demaunde a kynge, I haue determyned to geue them one, but firste tell thou them the condycions of the kynge, whyche are these.

The kynge whome I wyl geue you, shal take your chyldzen, with your charriottes, and bestes, and shal send them laden with burdens. And yet therewith not contented, he shal make youre chyldzen posses by the wayes, tribunes, and ceturions in his batayles, and shal make them labozers & gar-

dyners in his gardins, he shal make them sowe his sedes, and passe his breade: and surby the his harnes, and armour. You shal haue besides delycate and tender doughters, the which you shal lytle enioye: for the king that I wyl geue you, shal commaund them to keape and attend those that are wounded in the warres, he shal make them cookes in his pallace, and caters of his expences.

The kynge that I wyl geue you, if he handle your sonnes and daughters euyl, much worse he wyl handle your goods. For on the bestes & fertile felde that you haue, his herde shal fede, he shal gather the best grapes of your vignes, he shal chose of your olyue trees, the best olyues, and olyes, and if anye frute afterwarde remayne in your felde, he wyl they shalbe gathered not by you, but of his workemen, and afterwarde the kynge that I wyl geue you, shal oppresse you muche more. For of every pecke of corne, you shal geue hym one, of tenne shepe, you muste neades geue hym one, so that of all thynges whiche you shal gather, agaynst youre wylls, you shal geue the tenth: of youre slaues, the kynge shalbe serued soner then you, and he shal take al your Oren that laboure, and trauayle in youre owne possessions, and shal bynge them to ploughe in his owne grounde, and tementes. So that you shal paye trybute, and the kynge shal take his owne proutie, for the wealch and commoditie of his pallace. And al this which I haue reherled before, the king shal haue whome I wyl geue you. The hystorie which here I haue declared, is not Ouide, neither yet the Egloges of Virgil, ne yet the sayninge of Homer, but it is the sentence, and the very worde of God. O mortal ignoraunce, that we demaunde, and knowe not whye, nor wherefore, to whome, nor where, neyther what we demaund, which is the cause y causeth vs to fall into soday errors. The Hebrues asked (as they thinke) the better, and god geueth them the worse: they ask to gouerne them

them, and god giueth them a Tyrant: they aske one that should mainteine them in iustice, and he threatneth them with tyranny: they require one that shoulde geue them, and he geueth them one whiche robbeth them: they require one to deliuer them from bondage, and he ordeineth one to keape them as slaues. And finally, the Hebzeues trusting to be deliuered of their iudges, whiche ruled not accordinge to their appetites, God shall giue them a kinge that shall take their goodes from them by force. How many times ought we to pray vnto God, to geue vs Princes in our common wealthe, and prelattes in our Churches, which do know howe to gouerne vs, and minstre vnto vs not accordinge to the waight of our soules: but accordinge to the measure of his mercy. Plato saith in the first booke of lawes, that one of the moste excellent lawes which the Sicomenes had in the prouince, was to kepe their Cities, that they shoulde not chaunge nor alter any thinge therein.

Truly those Barbarous were sage in so doyng, and Plato was very discrete to commend them therein. For nothinge destroyeth a common wealthe soner, then to suffer chaunges oftentimes therein. All these thynges seemed to be true in the Hebzeues, the whiche in their gouernement were verie rashe, and indiscrete. For first they gouerned them selues by Patriarches, as Abraham was. After they were gouerned by prophettes, as Moyses, by captaines, as Iosue: by iudges, as Gedeo: by kynges, as David: and after they gouerned themselves by Bishoppes, as Abdias was: and in the end, the Hebzeues not contented with all these, God suffered that they shoulde fall into the handes of Antiochus Ptolomeus, and Herodes tyrantes.

This punishment fell (accordinge to the iust iudgement of God) vpon them, for their offences: for it was eue mete, that they that would not enioye the pleasaunte libertie of Iudea, should taste the cruel ser-

uitude of Babylone. The condition whiche chaunced in the gouernement to the vncoustant Hebzeues: the same happened vnto the proude Romaines. The whiche in the beginninge of their Emprye, were gouerned by kynges, afterwarde by tenne men, then by the Consulles, so by the Dictators, by the Censours, and afterwarde by the Tribunes, and Senatours: and in the end, they came to be gouerned by Emperours, and tyrannous princes. The Romaines inuented all these alterations in their gouernementes, for none other cause, but to see, whether they coulde be deliuered from the commandement of an other.

For the Romaines in this case were so proude harted, that they had rather dye in libertie, then liue in captiuitie. God had so ordeyned it, and their woofull case did so promise it, when they were aboue all other kinges, and Realmes of the yearth, that the slave should be obedient to his prynces, and the subiect shoulde acknowledge the homage to his master.

And though the subiectes do moue warres, though kinges also do winne Realmes, and Emperours conquere Empryes: yet (wylle they or nylle they) bothe greates and small shoulde acknowledge them selues for seruantes.

For duringe the time of our fleshely life, we can neuer withdraw our selues fro the yoke of seruitude. And say not, you princes, for that you are puissant princes, that you are excepted from seruitude of me. For without dout, it is a thinge more vntollerable, to haue their hartes burdened wth thoughtes, then their neckes loden with yrons. If a slave be good, they take from him some yrons: but to you that are princes, the greater you are, the greater cares you haue. For prince that for his comon wealthe taketh care, hath not one momēt of an houre quyet. A slave hopeth to be deliuered in his life, but you can not looke to be deliuered, tyll after your death.

They

They lape pions on the flane by weight,
but thoughtes burde you without mesure.
* For the woful hert is moze burdened with
one houre of care: then the body is pressed,
with twenty pound of pion. A flane oz pris-
sonner, if he be alone, many times fylethe
of his pions; but you Princes that are as
alone, are moze greuouly tormentted wth
* thoughtes: for solitary places are arbores, &
gardeyns, to wofull and heauy hertes. A
flane hath nothing to care for, but him selfe
alone: but you that be Princes, haue to sa-
tisfye, & please al men. For the prince shuld
haue a time for him self, and also for those,
whiche are aboute him. The diuine Plato
saide well, that he that shoulde haue the lest
part of a prince, and belonging to a prince,
ought to be the prince him selfe. For to the
end the Prince shoulde be all his owne, he
ought to haue no parte in him selfe.

Though a flane worke, and trauaile in the
day: yet he slepeth withoute care, in the
nighetes; but you Princes passe the daies in
hearing importunate suetes, & the nighetes
in fetchinge innumerable sighes. Finallye
I saue, that in a flane (be it well, oz be it eu-
yll) all his paine is finished in one yeare,
oz is ended at his death: but what shall a
woful prince do, when he dyeth: if he were
good, there is but a shorthe memozye of his
goodnes: and if he hath bene euyll, his infam-
y shal neuer haue end. I haue spokē these
thinges, to yend, that great, and smal, lordes,
and seruauntes, shuld confesse, and ac-
knowledege the true signozye, to be onelye
vnto him, who for to make vs lordes aboue,
became a seruaunt here beneth.

The. xxx. Chapter.

* VVhen the tyrannes began to
reigne, and vpon vwhat occasiō
cōmaunding, and obeying first
began, And howv the auctority,
vvhich the prince hath, is by the
ordinaunce of God.



EASINGE to

speake any further of y
the poeticall histories, &
auncient feyninges, and
speakinge the truth, ac-
cording to the diuine hi-
stories, the first that did loue in this worlde,
was our father Adam: who did eate of the
frute forbidden, and that, not so muche for
to trespasse the commaundement of one, as
for not to displease his wife Eue.

* For manye now a daies, had rather suffer
thei conscience a longe time to be infected:
then one onely daie, to see thei wiues dis-
pleased.

The first homteyde of y worlde was Caym.
The first that died in the worlde, was Abel
The first that was blind in the worlde, was
Lameth.

The firste Citte of the worlde, was
by Enoche builde in the felde of Edon.
The first musician, was Thubalcain. The
firste which sayled in the worlde, was Noe.
The firste Tyrante, was Nembrod. The
firste priest, was Melchysedech. The first
kinge of the worlde was Auraphaell. The
first duke, was Moyse. The first whyche
was called Emperour in the worlde, was
Iulius Cesar.

For vntyll that tyme, they which gover-
ned, were called Consulles, Censors and
Dictators. And fro Iulius Cesar hiterto,
they haue bene called Emperours.

The first battayle that was giuen in the
worlde, (as we rede) was in the wyld val-
leys, which now they call, the dead and salt
sea.

For a great parte of that, that then was
the mayne lande, is now the deade sea.

The holy scriptures can not deceyue vs,
for it is full of all truthe, and by them it is
declared, that a thousande and eyght hun-
dred yeaeres after the worlde beganne, there
was no battayle assembled, nor companye
that mette to fyghte in the felde: for at
that

that time, what they had no ambicion nor
couetousnes, they knewe not what batayle
me. It is reason therefore, that in this wy-
tinge we declare the cause, why the fyrste
battayle was foughte in the worlde, to the
ende princes may therof be aduertised: and
the curious reader remaine therein satisfied.
The matter was thus, that Bara kinge of
Sodome, Bersa king of Gomorrhe, Sea-
naab kinge of Adamee, Semebat kinge
of Schoime, and Valen kinge of Segor,
were all 5. tributaries to Chordorlaom-
mor kinge of the Alamytes, whiche con-
spired againste him, because they woulde
paye him no tribute, and because they wold
acknowledge no homage vnto him. For
the Realmes payeng tribute, haue alwayes
rebelled, and sowed seditions.

This rebellion was in the 13. yere of the
reigne of Chordorlaomor, kinge of the
Alamytes, and immediatly the yere folo-
winge, Amraphel king of Sennaar, Ari-
och king of Ponte, and Thadal kinge of
the Gentilles, toynd with Chordorlaom-
mor. The whiche all together beganne to
make warres, to destroye citises, and coun-
treys, vpon their enemies.

For the olde malice of the warre is, that
forasmuche as they can not haue their ene-
mies, whiche are in the faulte: they put to
sacke and destroye those, which are innocent
and guiltlesse. The one assaultinge, and the
other defendinge, in the ende, all come into
the fielde, they gaue batayle as 2. enemies,
and the greatest part was overcome of the
feweste, and the feweste remayned victori-
ous ouer the greatest: which thing God
would suffre in y first battaile of the worlde,
to the ende princes mighte take example,
that all the mishappes of the warres come
not: but because in peace they wyll obserue
no Justice. If Chordorlaomor had helde
him selfe contented, as his predecessours
did, & that he had not conquered Realmes,
in making them subiect, and had not caused
them to pay tribute: neither they vnto him,

would haue denied reason: nor he with them
would haue waged battayle. For throughe
the couetousnes of the one, and the ambici-
on of the other, enmities grew betwene the
people. This considered whiche we haue
spoken of signory, and of those which came
into contentions for signories, Let vs now
see, from whence the fyrste original of ser-
uitude came, and the names of the seruati-
tes and lordes, which were in the old time,
and whether seruitude was by the discorde
of vertuous men, fyrste broughte into the
worlde: or els inuented, by the ambicion of
Tyrantes. For when the one commaun-
dereth, and the other obeyeth, it is one of the
nouelties of the worlde, as the holy scripture
declareth vnto vs in this maner. The
patriarche Noe had 3. sonnes, which were
called, Sem, Cham, and Iaphet, and the
seconde sonne (whiche was Cham) begotte
Chus, and this Chus begotte Nemrod.

Nemrod made hym selfe a hunter of
wylde beastes, in the woodes and mountai-
nes, he was the fyrste that beganne to play
the tyrante amongest men, inforcynge
their personnes, and takinge their goodes,
and the scriptures called him Oppressor
hominum, whiche is to saye, an oppressor
of men. For me of euyl life, alwayes committe
much euyl in a common wealthe. He
taughte the Chaldeans to honour the fyre,
he was the first that presumed to be an ab-
solute lord, and the first that euer requy-
red of men, homage and seruice.

This cursed Tyrante ended his lyfe, in
the golden worlde, wherein al thinges were
in comon, with the common wealth. For the
auncientes bled their goodes in comon: but
their wylls onely they reserued to the sel-
ues. They ought not to think it a light ma-
ter, for his person to haue bene a Tyrant:
but they ought to think it a greater mater,
to haue bene a rebel in a comon wealthe. And
much more they ought to take & esteeme it as
an euyl matter in him, whiche hath bene (as
he was) a disturber of y good customes of
his

his countrey: but the mosse vntilte of al is, to leane behinde hym any euill custome, brought into the common wealth. For if he deserue great infamy, which woꝝkerh euill in his lyfe: truly he deserueth muche moze, whiche tranailleth to bzing that euill in bye, after his death. Eusebi⁹ seemeth to affirme, & after this Nembroth had destroyed & realines by his plagues, he came to dwell in Italye, w. s. sonnes, & builde the citie of Camese, which afterwards in Saturnes time, was called Valence; & in the time of Romulus, it was called, and yet is Rome.

And sythe this thinge was thus, a man ought not to mariuayle, that Rome in ancient tyme was with tyzauntes possessed, and with tyzauntes beaten downe, synce by so famous and renowned tyzauntes it was founded. For euen as Ierusalem was the daughter of the pacient, and the mansion of the quyetie kinges in Asya: so was Rome the mother of proude princes in Europe.

The hystories of the gentylles (whyche knewe not the helpe scriptures) declare in an other sorte, the beginninge of Signorye and seruitude, and when they came into the worlde: for the Idolatryers, not onelye dyd not knowe the creatoure of the worlde: but also they were ignorant of many thinges, whiche beganne in the worlde. They therefore say, that the Tyzanne Nembroth (as moꝝgest the others) had a sone called Belus, & that this Bel⁹ was the first, & reigned in y^e lād of Syria, and that he was the first, that inuented warres on the yearth, and that he set vp the firste hierarchie, and in the ende he dyed, (after he had reigned. 60. and. 5. yeres) in Asia. The firste monarchie of the worlde, was that of the Assirians, and continued. 133. yeres. The firste kinge was Belus, and the laste king was Sardanapalus, whom (at that tyme, when he was slayne) they founde spinning with women, hauing a distaffe in his hande, wherewith they vsed to spinne: and truly this vyle death, was to good for suche a cowardely kinge. For the

prince ought not to defende that, wth the distaffe: which his predecessours had wone, by the sword. As we haue said, Nembroth begat Belus, who had to wife Semyramis, whiche was the mother of Ninus, whych the Ninus succeeded his father in tyzanny, and in the empyze also: and bothe the mother & the sonne, not contented to be Tyzauntes, inuented statues of newe gods. For mans malice pursueth rather the euill, whych the wicked do inuent: then the good, whiche vertuous men beginne. We woulde haue shewed you how the graundfather, and the father, the mother, and the sonne, were Idolatryers and warlike, to the end princes and greate lordes might see, that they beganne their Empyres, moze for that they were ambitious parsonnes, then for y^e they were good, pacient, or vertuous men. Albeit that Nembroth was the firste, that euer committed any tyzanny, and whether it be true or not, that Belus was the first, that inuented warres, & that Chordorlaormor was the firste that inuented battaylles, and that ther be others, wherof the wytinges make no mention: every man taking for him self, and afterwarde all togethers, those were occasions of euill enough in the worlde, to agree vnto those thinges. Dure inclination is greatly to be blamed, for those which haue credyt for their euil are many: and those whych haue power to do well, are verpe fewe.

The. xxxi. Chapter.

Of the goldē age in times past, and vworldly misery vwhich vve haue at this present.



IN the first age and golden worlde, all lyued in peace, eche man tooke care for his owne landes, euery one planted and sowed theyr trees and corne, euery one gathered hys frutes & cut his vignes, knoed their breade and brought vp their chyldezen, and synallye, all lyued by theyr owne proper swette and traualle, so that they all lyued wythout the preiudice or hurt of any other.

A worldly malice, & cursed and wycked worlde, that thou neuer sufferest thynges to remayne in one estate, and though I call the cursed, marueyle not thereat: for when we are in mosse prosperitie, then thou with death persecutest vs most cruelly. Without teares, I saye not, that I wyll saye, that thre hundred yeares of the worlde were past, before we knewe what the worlde mente: god sufferinge it, and worldely malice intentinge it, ploughes were touned to weapons, open & hoyses, were touned to carpe, and serue in the warres, munitions thereunto agreable, whypes, to arrows, synges to crossebowes, sympletye into malice, traualle into Idolenes, rest to paine, peace to warre, loue to hatred, charitie to cruelte, Justice to tyranye, proffyte to damage, almes to thefte, and aboue all, saythe into Idolatrye: and finallye, the swette they had to prosyte in their owne goodes, they touned to bloude sheddinge, to the damage of the common wealth.

And herein, the worlde sheweth it selfe to be a worlde, herein, worldely malice sheweth it selfe to be malycious, in so muche as the one reioyceth, and the other lamenteth: the one reioyceth to stumbe, to the ende the other maye fall, and breake his necke, the one reioyceth to be poore, to the ende the other maye not be ryche: the one reioyceth to be dysprayed, to the ende the

other maye not be honored: the one delygh- teth to be sad, to the ende the other shoulde not be merue, and to conclude we are so wycked, that we banyshe the good from oure owne house, to the ende that the euill myghte entre in at the gates of an other man.

When the Creator created the whole worlde, he gaue to eche thyng immediatlye hys place: that is to wete, he placed intelligence, in the vppermoste heauen: he placed the starres, in the firmament: the planettes, in the orbes: the byrdes in the ayre: the yearth, on the centre: the fysshes, in the water: the serpent, in the holes: the beastes, in the mountaynes: and to all ingenerallye, he gaue place, to rest them selues in.

Nowe let not Princes and greate Lordes be vayne gloriouse, sayenge, that they are Lordes of the yearth, for truelye of all that is created, **G D D** onelye is the true Lord thereof. For the myserable man for hys parte, hath but the vse of the frute, for if we thinke it reasonable, that we shoulde enioye the profyte of that whyche is created: then were it more contentente, we shoulde acknowledge **G D D**, to be the Lord thereof.

I do not denye, but confesse, that God created all thynges, to the ende they shoulde serue man, vpon condicion, that man shuld serue **G D D** lyke wyse, but when the creature ryseth againste **G D D**, immediatlye the creator respyketh againste man: for it is but reason, that he be disobeyd, who onelye commaundement wyll not obey. What euill fortune hath the creature, onely for disobeyinge the commaundement of his creator. For if man had kepte his commaundement in Paradise, god had conserued to the world the signory: but the creatures whom he created for his seruice, are occasion to him, of greate troubles: for the ingratitude of benefyte, heapeth great sorow, to the discrete harte. It is greate pittie to be-
holde

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holde the man that was in paradysse, and that mighte haue bene in heauen: and now to see him in the worlde, and after to become wormes meate. For in terrestypall paradysse he was innocente, and in heauen he had bene blessed: but now he is in the worlde, enuyronned with cares: and afterwards he shalbe thowen into hys graue, and gnawen of the wormes. Let vs now see the disobedience we had in the commaundement of God, and what frute we haue gathered in the worlde: For he is very simple, that dare commyt any vyce, takinge no delighte nor pleasure thereof in his body. In my opinion, through the synnes whiche oure forefathers committed in Paradysse, the seruptude remaineth in vs their childzen, whiche are on the yearth: forsomuche as if I entre into the water I drowne, if I touche the fyre I burne, if I come neare a dogge he byteth me, if I threaten a horse he casteth me, if I respyke the wynde it bloweth me downe, if I persecute the serpent he poysoneth me, if I smyte the beare he destroyeth me, and to be bypese I say, that the man that without pitie eateth men in his life: the wormes shall eate hys intrayles in the graue after his death. ¶ Princes and greate Lordes, lode your selues with cloth of gold, heape vp your great treasures, assemble many armies, inuente Jukes & Coyneys, seke your pastimes, reuenge your selues of youre enemies, serue your selues with your subiectes, marrye your childzen to mighty kinges, & set them in great estate, cause your selues to be feared of your enemies, imploie your bodyes to all pleasures, leaue greate possessions to your heyyes, raise sumptuous buildinges to leaue memozy of your parsons, I sweare by him that shall iudge me, y I haue moze compassion to see your synfull soules, then I haue enuye to see your vitions lyues: for in the ende, all pastimes wil banishe away, and they shall leaue you for a gage to the hungrye wormes of the yearth. ¶ If Prin-

ces dyd consider (thoughe they haue bene bozne Princes, created and nozysed in greate estates) that the day they are bozne, death immediatly commeth to seke the ende of their lyfe, and taketh them here & there when they are hole, & when they are sycke, now tomlinge, then rysinge, he neuer leaueeth them one houre, vntyl their woful buriall. Therefore syth it is true (as in dede it is) that that whiche princes possesse in thys lyfe is but small, and that whiche they hope in the other is so greates: truly I meruayle why princes (the which shall lye so streight in the graue) dare liue in such, and so great largenes, in their life. To be riche, to be lordes, and to haue great estates, men shoulde not thereof at all be proude, sence they see howe frayle mans condicion is: for in the end, life is but lone, but death is enheritance. Death is a patrimony and heritage, which successiuelly is inherited: but life is a ryght, which dayly is surrendred. For death counteth vs somuche his owne, that ofte tymes vnwares he cometh to assaulte vs: and life taketh vs suche straungers, that oftentimes we not doutinge therof, it banissheth awaie. ¶ If this thinge then be true, why will princes & great lordes presume, to commaunde in a straunge house, which is this life: as in their owne house, whiche is the graue. Leauing a side the said opinions, I say that for sinne onely, seruitude came to dwell in vs, and entered into the worlde: for if there had bene no sinners, we oughte to beleue there had bene no Lordes, nor seruantes. For asmuche as seruitude generally entred into the worlde through synne, I saye that the signozye of Princes, is by the diuyn commaundement, for he saythe: by me the kinge doth gouerne, and by me the prince doth minisitre iustice. I conclude in this sort, by this reason, that since it is true princes are sente by the handes of god for to gouerne vs, we are bound in all, & for all, to obey the: for ther is no greater plage in a publike weale, then to be dishobedient to the prince.

The

The.xxxii. Chapter.

* Howv king Alexāder the great after he had ouercome kyng Darius in asia,vvent to cōquere the greate India, and of that vvhiche happened vnto hym, vvith the garamantes, and hovv the good life hath more povver then any force of vvarre.



* **I**N the yeare of the creation of the world. 4. 9. 70. in the firste age of the world, Tado being highe preeſte in Iheruſalem; Dactus; and Mamillus, at rome conſulles, in the thirde yeare of the monarchie of the Grekes, Alexander the greate (ſonne to Philippe of Macedonia king) gaue the laſt battayle to Darius king of Perſia, wherein, king Alexander eſcaped verie ſoze wounded, and Darius ſleine, ſo that the whole empire of y Perſes, came vnder the gouernaunce of the Grekes. For the vnfortunate Princes, doe not onely loſe y liues of them, with whome they were brought bp: but alſo the realmes which they did inherite. After that Darius was deade, and Alexander ſaw hym ſelfe lord of the ſelde, and that the Perſes & Medes were become ſubiectes to the Gretiās: though many kinges & lordes died in thoſe cruel battayles, yet it ſemed to Alexander a triſle, to be gouernour of all Asia, wherſoze him ſelfe in perſone he determyned to go cōquere the greate India. For proude and ſtout hartes, obteining that which they deſire, immediatlye beginne to eſtyme it as litle. Al his armies repaired, & placinge gouernours in al the realmes of Asia, Alexander departed to cōquer y great India: for he had promiſed, & ſwozne to his Gods,

that throughe all the world, there ſhoulde be but one empire, & that that ſhuld be his, and moze ouer, that he would neuer paſſe thorough any ſtraunge realme or country, but it ſhould geue obediēce vnto him, or els forthwith he would deſtroye it. For tirannous hartes, haue neuer any regard to the damage of another, vntyl they haue obteined their wicked deſiers. Alexander then going to cōquere realmes, and deſtroye prouinces, by chaunce one ſayd vnto him, that on the other ſide of y mountaynes Riphei (to wardes the partes of India) was a barbarous natiō, which were called Garamantes, as yet neuer conquered, neither by the Perſes, Medes, Romaines, nor Grekes, neither anye of them euer triumphed ouer them: for they had no weapōs, nor eſtmed them not, ſithe they had no riches. King Alexander (who for to ſubdue realmes, and ſtraung countries, was very diligente, and hardye, & to ſe new thinges very deſirous) determined not onely to ſend to ſe that counrey: but alſo to go him ſelfe in perſone, and in y place, to leaue of hym ſome memozye, which thing forthwith he accompliſhed. For he lefte them Alters, as Hercules lefte in Gades pillars: for mans harte is ſo ſtoute, that it trauayleth not onely to cōpare with many: but alſo to excel al. The imbassadors of Alexander were ſent to y Garamantes, to aduertise them of the coming of kyng Alexander the greate, and of the terrible & cruel battayles, whiche he in warres had ouercome, & to declare vnto them, how the puiſſant kinge Darius was ſlayne, and that all Aſie was vnder hys ſubiection, and howe euerye Citie dyd yelde them ſelues, agaynſte whome, he neyther lyfted ſpere nor ſworde, becauſe all yelded to hys commaundement. With theſe, and ſuch other like thinges, they woulde haue feared them, for wordes oftentimes maketh mē moze affraied, ſpecialllye when they are ſpoken of ſtout mē: then do the ſwordes of cowardes. Lucius Boſco ſaith, in his thirde booke of
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the antiquities of the Gretiās (of whom the original of this historye is drawen) that after the imbassatours of Alexāder had spoken to the Garamantes, they were nothing at all troubled for the message, neither dyd they flye from Alexander, nor they prepared any warre, neither toke they in hande any weapons, nor yet they dyd resiste him. Yea and the cheafest of al was, that no mā of al the countrey euer departed out of hys house, and finally, they neither aunswered the imbassatours (of Alexander) to their message, nor yet spake one worde vnto the. And truly the Garamātes had reason therein, and did in that, right wisely: for it is as muche as a man can doe to perswade those men with wordes, whiche enterpryse any thing of wil. It is a merueylous matter, to here tel of the histories of those Garamātes (that is to say) that al their houses were of equal height, all men were appareled a like, the one had no more auctorite then another, in sedyng they were no gluttons, in dryncking wine they were temperate, of plees and debates they were ignoraunte; they woulde suffer no idle man to lyue amonge them; they had no weapons, because they had no ennemyes, and generallye, they spake selve wordes, but that which they spake, was alwayes true. King Alexander beinge somewhat informed of those Garamantes, and their life, determined to send for them, and called them before hys presence and instantly desired them, if they had any wise men amonge them, to bringe them vnto him, and by writing, or by word of mouthe, to speake somewhat vnto hym. For Alexander was suche a frend to sage men, that all the realmes whiche he ouer came, immediately he gaue to his men, exceptinge the sages, whiche he kepte for his owne person. Quintus Curtius, by kynge Alexander sayeth, that a prince doeth wel spende hys treasours to conquere manye Realmes, onelye to haue the conuersation of one wyse man. And trulye he had rea-

son, for to princes it is more profite, in their lyfe to be accompagned with sages: then after their deathe, to leaue great treasures to their heires. Certaine of those garamātes then being come before the presens, of Alexander the greate, one amonge them (as they thought the most auncientest) him selfe alone (the residue keepinge silence) in the name of them al, spake these wordes.

The xxxiii. Chapter.

Of an oration, vvhich one of the sages of Garamantia made vnto king Alexāder. A goodly lesson for al ambitious men.



It is a custome king Alexander, amongest vs Garamantes, to speake seldome one to another, & scarcely neuer to speake with straungers, especially, if they be busy & vnquiet men: for the tonge of an euil man is no other, but a plaine demonstracion of hys enuious harte. When they told vs of thy commyng into this countrey, immediately we determined not to go out to receiue the, nor to prepare our selues to resist the, neither to lifte vp our eyes to behold the, nor to open our mouthes to salute the, neither to moue our handes to trouble the, ne yet to make warre to offend the: for greater is the hate that we beare to riches and honours, which thou louest: than the loue is, y thou hast, to destroy men, & subdue countreies, which we abhorre. It hath pleased the, we should se the, not desiring to se the, & we haue obeyed the, not willyng to obey the, and y we should salute the, not desirous to salute the, wherewith we are content, vpon condition, that thou be paciet to here vs. For that which we wil say vnto the, shal tēd more vnto the amendmēt of thy life: than to disswade the from conquering of our countrey. For

It is reason that princes, whiche shal come hereafter, do knowe, why we lyuinge, so lytel easeme that, which is our owne: & why thou dyeng, takest suche paynes to possesse that, which is an other mans. **A**lexander, I aske the one thing, & I doubt whether thou canste aunswere me thereunto or no: for those hartes whiche are proude, are also moste commonly blynded. Tel me whither thou goest: from whence thou comest: what thou meanest: what thou thinkest: what thou desirest: what thou seekest: what thou demaundest: what thou searchest: and what thou procurest: and further to what realmes and prouinces thy dysordynate appetyte extendeth: without a cause I do not demaunde the this questyon, what is that thou demaundest, and what it is that thou seekest: for I thinke thou thy selfe knowest not what thou wouldest. For proude and ambitious hartes, knowe not what wyl satisfie them. Sith thou art ambitious, honoz deceiueth the, siche thou arte podygal, couetousnes begileth the, siche thou art yong, ignoraunce abuseth the, and siche thou arte proude, all the world laugheth the to scozne, in suche sorte, that thou followest men, and not reason, thou followest thine owne opinion, and not the counsel of another, thou embracest flatterers, & repulcest vertuous men: for princes, and noble men, had rather be comendyd with lyes, then to be reproued with truthe. I cannot tel to what ende you princes lyue so dyscesued, & abused, to haue and keape in youre pallaces mo flatterers, iuglers, and fooles: then wyle, and sage me. For in a Princes pallace, if there be anye whiche extollethe their doenges, there are fennie thousand, which abhorre their tyrannies. I perceiue by these dedes (Alexander) that the gods wyl soner ende thy lyfe, then thou wylte ende thy warres.

The man that is brought vp in debates, dyscentions, and strife, al hys felycythe consisteth in burning, destroyeng, and bloodshedding. I see the defended with weapons,

I see the accompanied with tyrannes, I see the robbe the Temples, I see the withoute profite waste the treasours, I see the murder the innocents, and trouble the payente, I see the euyl wylled of all, and beloued of none, which is the greatest euyl of all euylles. Therefore howe were it possible for the, to endure suche, and so greate trauayles, vnlesse thou arte a foole, or elles because God hathe apoynted it to chastyse the. The Gods suffer ostymer, that men beinge quyet, shoulde haue some weyghtye affaires, and that is not, for that they shoulde be honozed, at this presente, but to the end they shoulde be punished, for that whiche is passe. Tell me I praye the, peraduenture it is no greate follye to empouerys the manye, to make thy selfe alone ryche: it is not (peraduenture) follye, that one shoulde commaunde by tyrannie; and that all the reste lose the possession of theyre signozes: It is not follye perchaunce, to leue (to the damnacyon of oure soules) manye memoyres in the world of oure bodye: It is not follye perchaunce that the Gods approue thy dysordynate appetyte alone, and condemne the wyl and oppynyon of all the world besyde: peraduenture it is not follye, to wyne (wyth the teares of the podye, and comfortlesse wydowes) so greate and bloudye vyctozes: Peraduenture it is no follye, wyllyngelye to wette the earth with the bloude of innocents, onelye to haue a vayne gloze in this world: Thou thinkest it not follye peraduenture, God hauyng deuided the world into so manye people, that thou shouldest vsurpe them to the alone.

Alexander, Alexander, truly such workes proceade not from a creature, nor rysshed amonge men on the earth: but rather of one that hathe bene broughte vp, amonge the infernall furies of hell.

For we are not bounde to iudge men by the good nature they haue: but by their good, and euyl workes, whiche they doe.

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The mā is called, if he haue not bene cursed, he shalbe cursed, that lyueth to the pꝛesydence of all other in this woꝛlde pꝛesente: onelye to be counted couragious, stout, and hardye in tyme to come. For the gods seldome suffereth them to enioye that quietly in peace, whiche they haue gotten vntully in the warres. I would aske y, what insolence moued the, to rebel againste thy loꝛde (kinge Darius) after whose death thou hast soughte to conquere al the woꝛlde, and this thou doest not as a kyng that is an inheritor: but as a tiraunte that is an oppressor. For hym properly we cal a tiraunt, that without iustice and reasoꝛ forceth that, whiche is another mans. Either thou searchest iustice, or thou searchest peace; or els thou searchest riches, and our hōr, thou searchest rest, or els thou searchest fauoure of thy frendes, or thou searchest vengeance of thine ennemyes. But I sweare vnto the (Alexander) that thou shalte not fynde anye of all these thinges if thou sekest by this meanes, as thou hast begonne: for the swete suger, is not of the nature of the bytter gumbe. How shal we beleue thou searchest iustice, sithe againste reasoꝛ and iustice; by tyrannye, thou rulest all the yearth: how shal we beleue thou searchest peace, sithe thou causst them to paye tribute, which receyue the: and those whiche resist the, thou handelest them lyke ennemyes: howe can we beleue that thou searchest rest, sithe thou troublest all the woꝛlde: How can we beleue thou searchest gentlenes, sithe thou arte the skourge and swoꝛde of humayne frailnes: howe can we beleue that thou searchest ryches, sithe thine owne treasure sufficeth the not, neyther that which by the vanquished cometh vnto thy handes, nor that whiche the conquerours offer the: how shal we beleue thou searchest pꝛofyte to thy frendes, sithe that of thine olde frendes thou haste made newe ennemyes: I let the vnderstande Alexander, that the greatest oughte to teache the leaste,

and the leaste oughte to obeye the greatest; and that frendeshyppe is onelye amongst equalles: But thou, sithe thou sufferest none in the woꝛlde to be equall, and lyke vnto the, loke not thou to haue anye frende in the woꝛlde. For Pꝛynces oftymes by their ingratitude, lose faithfull frendes: and by ambition, wyne moztall ennemyes. Howe shal we beleue thou searchest reuengement of thy ennemyes, sithe thou takest moze vengeance of thy selfe beinge aloue: then thine ennemies woulde take of the, if they toke the pꝛysoner: though perchance in times paste they bled thy father Philype euyl, and haue now disobeyed the hys sonne.

It were better counsell for the, to make them thy frendes by gentlenes: then to contrarye them ennemyes by crueltie.

For the noble and pityfull hartes, when they are reuenged of any, make of them selues a bouchery. We cannot with trouth say, that thy trauayles are wel employed to wyne suche honour, lich thy conuersation and lyfe is so vncōstraunte. For trulpe, honour consisteth not in that flatterers saye, but in that which Lordes do. For the great famylarytpe of the wicked, causeth the life to be suspected: honour is not gotten by lyberall geuynge of treasures at hys death, but by spendynge it wel in hys lyfe. For it is a suffyciente pꝛofe, that the man whiche easeth the renowne, dothe lytel regarde monye: it is an appaunte token, y that man, who lytel easeth the monye, greater lyte regardeth hys renowne.

A man wynneth not honour by murtherynge innocentes, but by destroying tirauntes: for all the armonye of the good gouernement of Pꝛynces is, in the chastising of the euyl, and rewardeinge the good. Honour is not wonne in takynge and snatchynge the goods of another, but in geuynge and spendynge hys owne: for there is nothyng that beautifyeth the maiesties of a pꝛince moze, then to shewe hys noblenes, in extendynge mercy

mercy and sauoure to his subiectes: and
 geuynge gyftes and rewarde, to the ver-
 tuous. And to conclude, I wyl let the know
 who he is, that wynneth bothe honoure in
 this lyfe, and also a perpetuall memozy af-
 ter his deathe: and that is not he, whiche
 leade the his lyfe in warres, but he whiche
 taketh his death in peace.

✱ Alexander, I see thou arte ponge,
 and that thou desyrest honoure, wherefore
 I let the vnderstande, that there is no man
 farther from honoure, then he whiche pro-
 cureth and desyrest the same. For the am-
 bitious men, not obteynynge that whiche
 ✱ they desyer, remayne alwayes defamed:
 and in wynnynge and gettynge that which
 they searche, honour (notwithstandynge) wil
 not followe them. Beleue me in one thinge
 Alexander, that the true honoure, oughte
 thorowhe woorthy deades to be deserued,
 and by no meanes to be procured: for al the
 ✱ honour that by tyrannye is wonne, in the
 ende by infamy is losse.

I am sorre for the Alexander, for I see
 thou wantest iustice, since thou louest tiran-
 ny. I see thou lackest peace, bycause thou
 louest warre. I see thou arte not ryche, by-
 cause thou haste made all the worlde poore.
 I see thou lackest rest, bycause thou seakest
 contencion, and debate. I see thou haste no
 honour, bycause that thou winnest is by in-
 famye. I see thou wantest frendes, bycause
 thou hast made them thine ennemyes. Fi-
 nally, I se thou doest not reuenge thy selfe
 of thy ennemyes, bycause thou arte (as they
 would be) the scourge to thy selfe. The since
 it is so, why arte thou a lyue in this worlde,
 sicke thou lackest vertues, for the whiche
 lyfe oughte to be desired:

✱ For trulpe that man, whiche withoute
 his owne profyte, and to the domage of a-
 nother leadyth his lyfe: by iustyce, oughte
 ✱ forthewyth to lose his breathe: for there is
 nothing that soner destroieth the weale pu-
 blyke, then to permyt vnprofytable men
 therein to lyue. Therefore speakynge the

trouthe, you Lordes and Prynces are but
 verry poore. I beleue thou conquerest the
 worlde bycause thou knowest not thy supe-
 rior therein, and besydes that, thou wylte
 take lyfe from so many, to the ende, that by
 their death, thou mayest winne renowne.
 If cruel and warlike prynces (as thou arte)
 shoulde inherite the lyues of them whome
 they slaye (to augmente and prolonge their
 liues) as they doe inherite their goods to
 mainetayne their pryde, althoughe it were
 vnmeate) then warre were tollerable: but
 what profiteth the seruaunt to lose his life
 this day, and his masters death to be differ-
 red but vntyl the morowe? Alexander,
 to be desirous to commande muche, ha-
 uynge respite to lyue but lytle: me thinketh
 it were a greate folpe, and lacke of wysse-
 dome. Presumptuous and arrogante men ✱
 measure their hartes, not to the felwe daies
 they haue to lyue, but to the greate desyer
 they haue to commande: they leade their
 lyfe in trauayle, and take their deathe with
 sorowe. And the remedye hereof is, that if
 the wyse man cannot obtayne that, whiche
 he would, he shoulde content him selfe with
 that, which he may. I let the know Alexan-
 der, that the perfection of men is not to se
 much, to heare much, to know much, to pro-
 cure much, to come to much, to traueyle
 much, to possesse much, and to be able to do
 much: but it is, to be in the fauoure of the
 gods. Finally I tel the, that that man is
 perfecte, who in his owne oppinion, deser-
 ueth not that he hathe, and in the opinyon
 of another, deserueth much moze then that
 he possesseth. We are of this opinyon among
 vs, that he is, vnwoorthy to haue honoure
 who by suche infamous meanes searchoth
 for it. And therefore thou Alexander, de-
 seruest to be sclauie to many, bycause thou
 thinkest to deserue the signorye ouer all.
 By the immortal gods I sweare, I cannot
 imagine the great mischeafe, which entred
 into thy breast, so vnrightheously to kil king
 Darius (whose bassale & frende thou wert
 l. iiii. onely)

THE DIALL

onelye bycause thou wouldest possesse the
 * Empire of the whole worlde: for truly, ser-
 uitude in peace is moze woꝛthe, then signo-
 ry in warre. And he that shall speake a-
 gaynst it, I say he is sicke, and hath losse
 of his taste.

The. xxxiiii. Chapter.

* Amonge other notable matters
 he maketh mention of seuen
 lawes, vvhich they obserued.



* **T**hou wilt not de-
 ny me Alexander, that
 thou were moze helthful
 when thou wast kynge
 of Macedonia, then thou
 arte now being lord of
 al the earth: for the excessiue trauayle, bryn-
 * geth men out of al order. Thou wilt not de-
 ny me (Alexander) that h moze thou get-
 test, h moze thou desirest: for the hart which
 * with couetousnes is set on fier, cannot with
 wood and bowes of riches, but w the earth
 of the graue, be satisfied & quenched. Thou
 wilt not deny me (Alexander) but the abou-
 daunce that thou thy selfe hast, semeth vnto
 the lytle, and the lytle whiche another man
 * possesseth, semeth vnto the muche: for the
 gods, to the ambitious, and couetous har-
 tes, gaue this for penytence, that neyther
 wth ynough, nor wth to much, they should
 contente them seluss. Thou wilt not deny
 me (Alexander) if in dede thy harte be
 couetous, that firste the pleasures of lyfe
 shall end, before thy couetousnes: for where
 bices haue had power longe tyme in the
 harte, there deathe onelye and none other
 * hath authoritye to plucke vp the rootes.
 Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander) that
 though thou hast moze then al, yet thou en-
 ioyest least of anye: for the Prince whiche

possesseth muche, is alwaies occupied in des-
 sendynge it: but the Prince that possesseth
 lytle, hath tyme and leasure, in quiet to en-
 ioye it. Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander)
 though thou callest thy selfe lord of all, yet
 thou hast but onely the name thereof, and
 others thy seruantes and subiectes haue
 al the profites: for the gredye and couetous
 hartes doe trauayle and toyle to get, and in
 wastynge that whiche they haue gotten,
 they pnye awaye. And finallye (Alexander) *
 thou wilt not deny me, that all that
 whiche thou hast in this longe conquest
 gotten is lytel, and that whiche of thy wise-
 dome and quyetnes thou hast lost is much:
 for the Realmes whiche thou hast gotten
 are innumerable, but the cares, sighes, and
 thoughtes, whiche thou hast heaped vpon
 thy harte, are insynpte. I let the knowe one
 thing, that you princes are poozer, then the
 pooze subiectes: for he is not riche that hath
 moze then he deserueth, but he that desireth
 to haue lesse then that he possesseth. And *
 therefore Princes, you haue nothynge, for
 though you abounde in greate treasures:
 yet you are pooze of good desires. Now A-
 lexander, let vs come to the poynte, & callye
 accompte, and let vs see to what ende the
 conquest wyll come, whether thou arte a
 man, or a G^{OD}, and if thou be anye of the
 gods, commaunde or cause that we be im-
 mortal: and if thou cast do any such thinge,
 then take vs, and oure goods wthall. For
 perpetuitye of the lyfe, by no ryches can be
 boughte.

¶ Alexander, I let the vnderstand, that
 therefore we seake not to make warre with
 the: for we see, that bothe from the, and also
 from vs, deathe wyl shortlye take awaye the
 lyfe. For he is a verie symple man, that
 thinketh alway to remaine in another mā's
 house, as in his owne. If thou Alexander
 couldest gyue vs, as G^{OD}, enerlastynge
 lyfe, eche man woulde trauayle to defende
 his owne house: but sicke we knowe we
 shall dye shortlye, we care lytel, whether
 to

to the, or to any other, our goodes & ryches remaine. For if it be follye to dwell in an other mans house, as in his owne, it is a greater follye to him y^e loseth his life, in tasing thoughte & lamenting for his goodes. Presuppse y^e thou art not God, but a man, I censure the then by the immortal gods, & do require the, that thou lyue as a man, behaue thy selfe as a man, content thy selfe as a man, & couet no moze then an other man, neyther desyre moze nor lesse then a man: for in the end, thou shalt dye as a man, and shalbe buried as a man, and thowen into the graue, and then ther shalbe no moze memory of the, but as a man. I told the before, that it greued me to see the so hardye and couragious, so apte and so ponge, and now it greueth me, to see the so deceyued with y^e world, and that which I perceiue of the is, that then thou shalt know thy follye, when for it thou shalt not be able to fynd any remedy. For the proude young man before he feleth the wound, hath al redy the oymtmet. You whiche are Grecians, cal vs Barbarous, because we enhabite the mountaines: but as touching this I say, that we reioyce to be Barbarous in our speache, and Grekes in our doinges; and not as you whiche haue the Grecians tonge, & do Barbarous workes. For he that doth wel, and speaketh rudely, is no barbarous man: but he which hath the tonge good, and the life euyl. Syth I haue begonne to that ende nothinge remaine vnspoken, I wyll aduertysse the of our lawes and lyfe, and meruayle not to here it, but desyre to obserue and kepe it: for infynite are they whiche extolle vertuous workes, but few are they which obserue the same. I let the were (Alexander) that we haue short life, we are few people, we haue litle londes, we haue litle goodes, we haue no couetousnes, we haue fewe lawes, we haue few houses, we haue few frendes, and aboute all, we haue no enemies: for a wyse man ought to be frende to one, and enemye to none. Besides al this, we haue amongst

vs great friendshipes, good peace, greates loue, much rest, & aboute al, we hold our selues contented. For it is better to enioy the quyetenes of the graue, then to lyue a discontented life. Our lawes are fewe, but in our opinions they are good, and are in .7. wordes onely included, as here foloweth.

We ordaine, that our chyldren make no mo lawes, then we their fathers do leaue vnto the: for new lawes oftentimes, make them forget old customes.

We ordaine, that our successours shall haue no mo gods then .2. of the which, the .1. god shalbe for the life, and the other for the death: for .1. god well serued, is moze worth, then many not regarded.

We ordaine, that all be appareled with one cloth, and hoised of one sort, and that the one haue no moze apparell then the other: for the diuersyte of garmentes, engendreth folly amonge the people.

We ordaine, y^e whan any woman which is married hath had .3. chyldren, that then she be separated fro her husband: for the aboutdaunce of chyldren, causeth men to haue couerous hartes, And if any woman had brought forth any mo chyldre, the they shuld be sacrificed vnto the gods before her eyes.

We ordaine, that al men & womē speake the truth in all thynges, & if any be taken in a lye, comitting no other faulte, that immediately he be put to deathe for the same. For one lyer is able to vndoe a hole multitude.

We ordaine that no woman liue aboute 40. yeres, and that the man lyue vntyll .50. & if they dye not before that time, y^e the they be sacrificed to the gods: for it is a great occasion for men to be vycious, to thinke that they shall lyue many yeres.

The .xxxv. Chapter.

That princes ought to consider, for vwhat cause they were made Princes.

THE DIAL



Tis a comen and an olde sayenge (whiche manye tymes by Aristotle the noble pynce hath bene repeted) that in the ende , all thynges are done to some purpose: for ther is no worke (nether good nor euill) but he that doth it, meaneth it to to some ende. If thou demaundest the gardenet to what ende he watereth so ofte his plantes, he wyll aunswere the, it is to get some monye for his herbes.

If thou demaundest why the ryuer runneth so swifte , a man wyll aunswere the, that his ende is to the sea , from whence it came . If thou demaundest why the trees budde in the springe tyme , they wyll aunswere, to the end they may beare frute in harueste. If we see trauaylers passe the mountaynes in the snowe, the riuers with peryll, the woodes in feare, to walke in extreame heates in somer , to wander in the nighte tyme in the colde winter , and yf bechance a man dothe aske one of them sayinge : frende , whether goest thou? wherfore takest thou suche paynes ? and he answered , truly sye I knowe no moze then you to what ende , neither can I tell, why I take so muche paynes . I aske the nowe, what woulde a wyse man aunswere to this innocent trauayler? Truly (hearing no moze) he would iudge him to be a foole: for he is muche infortunate, that for all hys trauayle loketh for no rewarde. Therefore to our matter, a pynce whiche is begotten as an other man , bozne as an other man, lyueth as an other man , dyeth as an other man, and besides all this, commaundeth al men , if of suche one we shoulde demaunde why god gaue him suche signoz, and that he shoulde aunswere he knoweth not , but yf he was bozne vnto it, in such case let euery man iudge, how vnwoorthy suche a kinge is to haue such auctorite. For it is vnpossible for a man to minister iustice , vnlesse he knoweth befoze what iustice meaneth . Let pynces and noble men heare this worde, &

let them impynte it in their memory, which is, that when the lyuing god determined to make kinges and lordes in this worlde , he did not ordeyne them to eate moze then others, to drynke moze then others , to slepe moze the others, to speake moze the others, nor to reioyce moze then others: but he created them vpon condicion , that sihe he had made them to comaunde moze then others, they shoulde be moze iust in their lines then others: It is a thinge mosse vnjuste, and in the common wealthe very sclaunderous , to see with what auctorite a puiſsaunte man commaundeth those that be vertuous : and with how muche shame, he is bound to al vices. I know not what lord he is , that dare punish the his subiect for one onely offence committed: seinge him selfe to deserue, for euery deede to be chastised. For it is a monstrous thing, that he that is bitterly blind wyl take vpo him, to resourme yf deades of hym that hath one eye. They demaunded greate Cato the Censor, what a kinge oughte to do , that he shoulde be beloued , feared, and not despyed , he aunswere . The good pynce shoulde be compared to him that maketh the tryacle, who (if his euyl condicions were not) might sell it righte well. I meane therby, that the punishment is take in good parte of yf people, which is not ministered by the vicious man: for he that maketh the tryacle shal neuer be credited, vnlesse yf profe of his tryacle be openly knowen and tryed . I meane, that the good lyfe is none other, the a fyne tryacle, to cure the common wealthe. And to whom is he moze like whiche with hys tonge blasfeth vertues, & imploeyeth hys deades to all byces: then vnto the man, who in yf one hand holdeth popson to take away lyfe, and in the other tryacle to respyt deathe? To the end that a lord be wholly obeyed, it is necessary that his parson had executed that, which vnto others he commaundeth: for no lord can, nor may, withowt we him selfe fro vertuous workes. This was yf aunswere yf Cato yf censor gaue, which (in mine opynio) was

was spoken more lyke a christian, then like any Romaine. When the true GOD came into the worlde: he employed thirtie yeaeres onely in workes, and spent but two yerres and a halfe in teachinge; For mans hart is perswaded more; wth the worke he seeketh, then with the worde whiche he heareth.

Those therfore whiche are lordes, let them learne and knowe of him which is the true Lord, and also let Princes learne why they are princes: for he is not a pylot which neuer sayled on the seas. In mine opinion, if a prince wyll knowe why he is a prince, I would saye, to gouerne well his people, to commaunde well, and to mainteyne all in Justice, this shoulde not be wyth wordes, whiche shoulde make them asfayde, neither by workes which shoulde offende them: but by swete wordes, whiche should encourage them, and by the good workes, that should edifye them. For the noble and gentle hart can not respyte him; that with a lounge countenaunce commaundeth.

Those whiche wyll rule and tame fiers, disdainefull, and wyld beastes, the whiche (though a hundred times are threatened, yet they are taken but once) if they kepe them tyed, they shewe them sondry pleasures, so that the wyldenes of the beaste is taken away, onely by the gentyll and pleasaunt vsage of the man. Therefore sith we haue this experience of brute and sauage beastes (that is to wete) that by their well doinge, and by the gentyll handelinge of them, they voluntarily suffer them selues to be gouerned, muche more experience we reasonable men ought to haue, that is to knowe, that beinge right and well gouerned, we should humblye and willyngly obey our soueraigne lordes: for there is no man so hard harted, but by gentyl vsage wyll humble him selfe. Princes and noble men, I wyll tell you in one worde what the Lorde ought to do, in the gouernement of his comon wealth. Every pynce that hath his mouth full of trouthe, his handes open to giue rewardes,

and his eares stoppe to lyes, and his herte open to mercy, suche a one is happye, and the Realme whiche hath him, maye wel be called prosperous, and the people may call them selues fortunate.

For whereas truth, liberalitie, and clementye, ruleth in the hart of a pynce; there wronges, Inturles, and oppressions, do not reygne: and contrarywise, where the Pynce hath his herte flesshed in crueltie, his mouth full of tyrannies, his handes despyled with bloude, and enclyneth his eares to heare lyes, suche a pynce is unhappy, and muche more the people, the whiche by such one is gouerned.

For it is vnpossible that there be peace and iustice in the common wealth, yf he whiche gouerneth it, be a louer of lyes, and flatterers. In the yere. 540. before the incarnation of Christe, whiche was in the yere; 254. of the foundation of Rome, Darius the fourth, beinge kynge of Persia, and Brutus and Lucius at Rome Consules, Thales the greates Phylosopher florished in Grece, who was Pynce of the seuen renoumed sages, by the whiche occasion, all the Realme of Grece had and recovered renoune. For Grece boasted more of the seuen sages whiche they had, then Rome did of all the valyaunte captaynes whiche she nourished.

There was at that tyme muche contention, betwene the Romaines and the Grekes, forsomuche as the Grekes sayde, they were better, because they had mo sages; and the Romaines saide the contrarie, that they were better, because they had alwayes mo armies. The Grekes replied agayne, & the Romaines knewe not to make any lawes, but in the Greke tonge: and the Romaines to thys answered, that though they were made in Grece: yet they were obserued at Rome. The Grekes sayd, that they had great vniuersities to make wise men, & the Romaines said they had many greates temples to worship their gods in; for y^e in the end,

THE DIAL

ende, they oughte to esteeme more one seruice done to the immortall goddes: then all the other commodities that myghte come vnto me. A Thebatne knight was demaunded, what he thoughte of Rome and Grece: and he answered: me thinke it is harde to iudge, there is a hard choise. For the Grekes boast in their tonges, and the Romaynes referre it to the poynt of the sword: but we referre them into vertuous woordes.

✱ For one good worde is more worth, then eyther the Romaynes sharpe sword, or the Grekes eloquente tong. Therfore touching my matter, this Philosopher Thales was the firste, that founde the pole, called the north starre to sayle by, and the firste, that founde the deuision of the yeres, the quantitie of the sonne and the moone, and the first, that said soules were immortall, & that the world had a soule, & aboue all, he would neuer marry: for the care to content his wyfe, and the thought to bringe vp his children, both muche dull the wyttes of wyse men.

✱ This philosopher Thales was very pooze, wherfore (some disdayninge him for his pouertie) to declare & shewe that he was more riche then all they: he bought the next yere all the olyues he coude get: for by Astronomy he knewe, that in the thirde yere, there would be a greate wante and skarste, thorough oute all the countrey, wherfore all were compelled to come to him for olyues, which at his owne pryce he sold, and in this sorte, he shewed them that mocked him, that he wyllinglye despyed ryches, and louinglye embraced pouertie. For he that willinglye in this worlde is pooze, ought not to be called pooze. This philosopher Thales was a myrrour amongest the sages of Grece, and was greatlye reuerenced of all the kynges of Asia, and hyghly renowned in Rome.

And further he was so wise, that to all sodaine questions he was demaunded, forthwith he answered: whiche thinge declared him to be of a marueylous wytte, & truelye it was a greate matter: for the moste parte

of mortall men can not tel how to aunswere, nor what to demaunde. Many and diuerse questions were asked him, as Laertius affirmeth, in the aunsweringe wherof, he shewed greate wisdom, treasure of memoire, and subtiltie of vnderstandinge.

First he was asked what god was, Thales answered: of all the moste antiquities, God is the moste auncient thinge. For all the auncientes past, neither salve him take beginninge, nor those whiche shall come, shall see him haue endinge.

Secondarily he was asked, what thinge was most beautiful, he answered: y^e world because no artysicall painting could make the lyke.

Thirde he was asked, what was the greatest thinge, to that he answered: place wherein all thinges do stande, for the place which conteyneth all, of necessitie muste be greater then all.

Forth he asked him, who knoweth moste, he answered: that no man was wiser then time, because time alwaies onelye inuented new thinges, and is he, which reuolueth the olde.

Fiftelye they asked him, what was the lyghtest thinge, he answered: the wytte of man, because that without trauaile & dangers it passeth the sea, to discouer and compassse all the whole yearth.

Sixtelye they asked him, what was the strongest thing, he saide: the man that is in necessitie, for necessitie reuoluyeth the vnderstanding of the rude, & causeth the cowardes to be hardy in peryll.

Seuenthye they asked him, what was the hardeste thing to know, he answered: for man to knowe him selfe, for ther should be no contencions in y^e world, if man knew him selfe.

Eyghthlye they asked him, what thinge was sweetest to obayne, he answered: desire, for the man reioyceth to remembre the paines past, and to obtaine to that whiche he despyeth present.

¶ Synthely they asked him, when the er-
upons man is quyet, he aunswered: when
he seeth his enemy dead or vtterly vndone.

¶ For truly the prosperitie of a frende, is a
* Sharpe knyfe to the enuyous hart.

¶ Tenthely he was asked, what man shuld
do to lyue vpyghly, he aunswered: to take
that counsell to him selfe, which he geueth
* to an other. For the vndoing of all men is,
that they haue plenty of counsell for others,
and want for them selues.

¶ The eleuenth question was, they asked
him what profyt he hathe that is not coue-
rous, whereunto he aunswered: that suche
a one is deliuered from the tormētes of his
desyre, and besydes that, he recouereth frē-
* des for his parson, for ryches torment hym,
because he spendeth them not.

¶ The. xii. they asked him what the pynce
should do to gouerne others, he aunswered:
he ought firste to gouerne him selfe, & then
afterwardes to gouerne others: for it is im-
possible the rodde shoulde be righte, where
* the shadowe is crooked: by the occasion of
this laste aunswere, I did bringe in here al
these questions, to the end pynces and ru-
lers might see, how that euery one of them
is at the rod of iustice, and that the commō
wealth is none other, but a shadowe of the,
which in all, and for all, ought to be righte:
for immediatly it is perceiued in y shadowe
of the common wealth, if the iustice, or lyfe
of him whiche gouerneth, be oute of hys
order. Therfore cōcluding all that I haue
spoken before, if a Pynce woulde aske me
why he is a pynce, I would tell him in one
word onely, that he, which is the high pynce
hath made you Pynces in this worlde, to
the ende you shoulde be a destroyer of here-
tykes, a father of orphanes, a frende of sa-
ges, a tryar of malicious, a skourge of vy-
rautes, a rewarder of good, a defender of
Churches, a plague of the wycked, a onely
louer and frende of the cōmon wealth, and
aboue al, you ought to be an vpyght mynis-
tre of iustice: beginninge firste with your

parson and pallace, for in al thynges amen-
dement is suffered, except in iustice, whiche
ought to be equall betwene the pynce and
the common wealth.

The. xxxvi. Chapter.

¶ VVhat Plutarche the Philoso-
pher vvas. And howv the good
Prince is the heade of the publi-
ke vveale. And if it be iuste to
lyue vnder a iuste lawe, it is
muche better to lyue vnder a
good Prince.



IN the tyme of Tra-
ian the Emperour, there
flourished in his courte
a Philosopher named
Plutarche, a man verie
pure, and of good lyfe,
wyse in science, and well esteemed in Rome.

For Traian the Emperour desyred
greatelys to haue wyse men in hys com-
pany, and to make notable and sumptuous
buildinges in euery place where he came.
It is he whiche wrote the lyues (whem they
call Plutarche) that is to wete, of manye
Grekes and Romaines, and aboue all, he
made a booke, entytuled the doctrine of
Pynces, whiche he offered to the Empe-
rour Traian, in the whiche he sheweth hys
vertues, the zeale whiche he had to the
common wealthe, the hyghenes of hys e-
loquence, & the profoundnesse of his know-
ledge. For he was elegant in wyrynge,
and pleasaunte in speakynge, and amenge
all other thynges whiche he wrote in hys
booke, were these wordes solowinge, wor-
thy to be noted, and wyrtten in golden let-
ters, and they are suche.

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I let the to wete Lord Traian, that thou and the Emppre are but one mysticall body, in maner and fourme of a lyuely body, for they oughte to be so agreable, that the Emperour shuld reioyce to haue such subiectes, and the Emppre oughte to be glad to haue suche a Lorde. And to the ende we may describe the mysticall body, whiche is the Emppre, in the fourme and shape of a naturall man, you shall vnderstande, that the heade whiche is aboue all, is the Prince whiche commaundeth all: the eyes wherby we see, are the good men in the common wealthe, whom we folow: the eares that heare what we say, are the subiectes which do what we commaund them: the tonge wherewith we speake, are the sages, of whom we here the lawes & doctrines: the heeres which groweth on our heades, are those whiche are be-
 red and greued, and that demaunde iustice of the kinge: the handes and the armes, are the knightes which resyst the enemies: the feete which susteineth the membres, are the tyllers of the grounde, which geueth meate to all estates: the hard boones that susteyneth the feble and softe fleshe, are the sage men, which endure the trauayle of the common wealthe: the hartes which we see not outwardly, are the prynces counsellours: Finally, the necke that knytteth the bodye wyth the head, is the loue of the kinge and of the Realme, whiche make a common wealthe. All these wordes aboue named, spake Plutarke the great, to Traian the emperour: and truly the inuencion, and grace of him, proceeded of a hyghe and deape vnderstanding: for the heade hath 3. properties, which are very necessary for the gouernour of the common wealthe.

The firste is, that euen as the heade is of al other members of the body the higheste: so the auctoritie of a prince, exceedeth the estates of al others: for the prince onely hath auctoritie to commaunde, and al others are bounde to obey. Admyt ther be many stout, riche, & noble men in the common wealthe:

yet all oughte to knowe, and acknowledge seruice, to the lord of the same. For the noble and worthy princes, do daily ease many of diuerse seruices, but they wyll neuer except any from their loyaltie. Those whiche are balyaunte, and myghtie in a Realme, should content them selues with that, wherewith the bartelmentes doe vpon a castell, (that is to wete) that they are hygher then the alleys wherein men walke on the walles, and lower then the pynakelles whiche are in the toppes: for the wyse man of hyghe estate, ought not to regard the prince which is the hyghe pinacle, but oughte to loke on the alleys whiche are the poore comfortles. I would speake a word and it greueth me, (that is) wheras great lordes desire in a common wealthe to commaund, is like vnto him that holdeth his armes and hādes ouer his head. For all that I haue herde, and for all that I haue red, and also for all that hath chaunced in my tyme, I counsel, admonish, and warne al those whiche shall come after this tyme, yf if they wyl enioy their goodes, if they wyl lyue in safegarde, and if they wyl be deliuered from tyrannye, and lyue quyet in the common wealthe, that they do not agree to haue in one realme, aboue one king, and one lord: For it is a general rule, where there are many rulers in a common wealthe, in the end, both it and they al must perishe. We see by experyence, that nature fourmed vs wth many synewes, many boones, wth much fleshe, wth many syn-
 gers, and wth many teethe, and to al this, one onely bodye was made, and this bodye had but one head, wherfore thowge wth many estates the common wealthe is ordained: yet wth one prince alone it oughte to be ruled. If it consysted in mens handes to make a prince, they woulde then also haue the auctoritie to put him downe: but thinges that are measured by the deuyne iudgemēt, man hath no power wth rasoꝝ to cut them. I know not what ambicion the meane can haue, neyther what enuye the loweste can haue,

haue, nor what pryde the highest can haue, to commaund, and not to obey, since we are sure, that in this mistical bodye of the common wealth, he which is moste worth, shal be no moze esteemed: then the fingers of paringe of the nayles, or the fallinge of an heere from the hedde. Let euery man therefore lyue in peace in his common wealth, and acknowledge obediēce vnto his prince, and he that wyl not do so, awaye with him: for euen as the onely offence procedeth of hym, so let the onely paine rest vpon him.

* For it is an olde sayeng, that he that taketh vp the sworde agaynst his mayster, wyl shortly after laye his headde at his feete.

The seconde condicion is, to compare the kynge to the hed, bycause the hed is the begynnynge of mans lyfe. The most parte of thinges that euer god created, according to their natures worke their operations, as in growing high, and towardes the heauens. We see the vapors ascende highe, the plantes groweth highe, the trees budde out on height, the sourses of the sea mounte highe, and the nature of fier, is alwayes to ascende and mount on highe, onely the miserable man groweth downewarde, and is brought lowe by reason of the feble & fraile fleshe, whiche is but yearth, and cometh of yearth, and liueth on yearth, and in the end returneth to yearth agayne, from whence he came. Aristotle sayeth wel, that man is but a tree, planted with h̄ rootes bpwarde, whose roote is the head, & the stocke is the bodie, the braunches are the armes, the barke is the fleshe, the knottes are the bones, the sappe is the harte, the rottennes is mallice, the gumme is loue, the flowers are wordes, and the frutes are the good workes. To make the man to goe vpryghtlye, his hed shoulde be where his feete are, and the feete where the heade is, sythe the heade is the roote, and the feete are the bowes: but in this case I sweare, that we are correspōdaunte to our begynnynge, for if oure fleshe be planted contrarywyle, so muche

more contrarye, we haue our lye ordered. Therefore concernynge our matter I saye, that the realme hath no lesse his beginning of the kynge, then the kynge of the Realme: whiche thinge is playnlye seen, for that the kynge gyueth lawes and institutions to a Realme, and not the Realme to the kynge. The giftes and benefites whiche the kynge geueth, cometh to the realme, and not from the realme, to the kynge. To inuente warres, to take trefwse, to make peace, to reswarde the good, and to punyssh the euyl, proceedeth from the kynge to the Realme, and not to the contrary. For it apperteyneth onely to the maiesty of a prince, to commaunde and ordeyne: and to the common wealth appartayneth, to be in auctorite and obeye. As in a greete sumptuous byldynge it is more daungerous, where one stone of the foundacyon doethe fall, then when. 10. thousand tyles faule from the top: so he oughte moze to be blamed, for one onely dysobedyence comyncted and done to the kynge, and his iustice, then for fīue thousande offences, agaynst the common wealth. For we haue seen, of a lytel dysobedyence, a great flander arysē in a com-
* mon wealth. It is a goodlye matter for a prince to be beloued of his subiectes, and a goodlye thinge also for the Realme, to be feareful of their kynge: for the kynge who is not loued of his subiectes, cannot liue in peace nor quyet, and the realme that is not feareful of their kynge, can not be well gouerned. The realme of Trīniacrie (whiche now they call Cecil) was alwaies extreamē agaynst Princes and gouernours: for in auncēt time it was gouerned by vertuous princes, or els by cruel & malicious tirauntes. In the time of Severus the emperour, ther reigned in Cecil, a king called Lelius Pius, a mā stout enough, & thoroughout al the empire wel esteemed, and touchinge our matter we finde, that they ordeyned in that realme, these lawes folowynge.

We ordeyne, that if amongst equal per-
m. i. sones

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tones there be any intaryes offered, y they be punished, or els that they be dissembled: for wher enuye is rooted, it profiteth moze
 * to reconcyle their good willes, then to punishe their persones.

*We ordaine, that if the greatest be offended, by the least, that suche offence be lytel reproued, and wel punysshed: for the audacityte and lytel shame, and also the dyslobedynce of the seruaunte to the mayster, ought
 * not to be reformed, but by greuous punishmente.*

*We ordaine, that if any resiste or speake against the commaundemēt of a pynce, that without delay he suffer death befoze the all: for in any iust quarel, they may boldely, by
 * the way of supplication, reuerently declare their greses, and not by slaunder rebellyouslye dysobeye their lordes.*

We ordaine, that if anye keape the common wealth against a pynce, he shuld at his first cōming strike of his hed, without fearing any danger of punishment: for his head is iustlye taken from him, that would there should be many heades in h cōmon wealth. Of all this befoze spoken, Herianus is the authour, in his forth booke of the kinges of Rhodes, where he putteth many and singular lawes, & customes, which the auncietes had, to the greate confusion of these that be presente: for trulpe, the auncientes dyd not onely excede these that be now presente in their woorkes and doinges: but also in speaking profound wordes. Therfoze returning to our matter, mans life greatly trauaileth alwayes to defende the head, in suche sorte, that a man woulde rather suffer his hande to be cut of, then to suffer a wounde to be made in his head. It is to note: A faulte in a common wealth, is a cut, whiche cankereth & festereth, but the disobeyence to a pynce, is a wound whiche forthwith killeth. If a man dyd aske me what vnion pynces shuld haue with their common wealth, I woulde aunswere them in this sorte, that h wealth of the kinge and realme, consisteth herein:

that the king should accompany with h good, and bannithe the euil. For it is vnpossyble that the kinge shoulde be loued of the common wealth, if the company he hath about him be suspicious. He should also loue hys Realme withoute dysymulacion, and the realme shoulde serue hym vnfaynedlye: for the common wealth, whiche knoweth it to be beloued of their Pynce, shall not finde anye thinge to harde for hys seruice. Further that the kyng vse hys subiectes as hys chyldren, and that the subiectes serue hym as a father: for generallye the good father can not suffer hys chyldren to be in daunger, neyther the good chyldren wil disobeye their father. Also the kyng ought to be iust in his commaundementes, and the subiectes in their seruices, ought to be faithfull to there kynges: for it is reason and mete to lyue vnder a iuste lawe, but it is muche better to lyue vnder a iuste kyng. Also the kyng oughte to defende hys subiectes from enemyes, and they oughte well to paye hym hys tribute: for the Pynce who defended hys people from enemyes, and straiynge woorthelye deserueth to be lord of all their goods. Also the kyng ought to keape hys common wealth in quiet, and oughte not to be presumptuous of hys person: for the pynce which is not feared and wel esteemed, shal neuer be obeted in his commaundement. Finally I saye, that the good king ought to doe his Realme pleasure, and the faythful subiectes ought to endeuour them selues neuer to dysplease their kyng. For that Pynce cannot be called vnfortunat, who of his common wealth, is loued and obeyed.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

* The Prince oughte to here the complaintes of all his subiectes, and should knowve them al, to recompence their seruices.



WE haue sheved,
how y^e emperour, kinge,
or prince, is the hed of al
the comon wealthe, and
now we wyl let you vn-

derstand another thing,
whiche is this: that as all fences are in the
head, so oughte all estates to be in prin-
ces. For the vertues, whiche are in manye
sprad and skatered: shoulde be in one prince
founde, & gathered. The office of the feete is
not to se, but to goe: the handes office is not
to heare, but to labour: the shoulders not to
feele, but to beare: all these offices are not
semely for the membres, which are his sub-
iectes, but apperteyneth to y^e kyng alone to
exercise the. For the head to haue eyes, & no
other members, meaneth nought els, but
that only to the prince, & to none other, ap-
perteyneth to knowe all: for Iulius Cesar
knew al those of his host, & named them by
their proper names. A counsell, & admonysh
you, o you princes, which shall heare, see, or
reade this thing, that you doe reioyce, to vi-
site, and to be visited: to see, and to be seen:
to talke, and to be talked with: for y^e thinges
which with your eyes you se not, you can-
not perfectlye loue. A man oughte also to
know, that y^e head only hath eares, to note,
that to the king, and to none other, appertei-
neth to here al, & to keape the gates open, for
them that haue any sekres: for it is no smal
matter to a comon wealthe, to haue and ob-
taine of his prince, easye audience. Helius
Spartianus, commendeth highly Traian the
emperour, that when he was on horsebacke
to goe to the warres, alighted agayne to
heare the complainte of a poore Romaine,
which thing was meruelously noted amo-
ngst all the romaynes: for if men were not
vaine, they shoulde geue a Prince more ho-
noure for one worke of iustice, then for the
victorye of manye battayles. Trulpe to a
kyng it is no pleasure, but rather payne
and grieve, and also for the common people
anoyauce: that the prince alwayes shoulde

be enclosed & shet vp. For the prince which
shetteth his gates agaynst his subiectes,
causeth them not to open their hartes wyl-
lingly to obeye him. How many and great
slaunders dothe thet arise in the common
wealthe, onely for that the prince sumtyme
wyl not speake. Iulius Cesar was Empe-
rour, and the head of al the empire, and by
cause he was musing of weighty matters,
and would not harken to him, which woulde
haue reueled the treason conspired agaynst
him, was that same day with .33. woundes in
the senate murdered. The contrary is red of
Marcus Aurelius y^e emperoure, who was
so famillier with al men, y^e howbest he was
chefe of al, and that the affaires which now
are deuided to many, dependyd then only of
him: yet he neuer had porter to his gate, nor
chamberlaine at his chambere, and for anye
affaires that euer he had to doe with man-
me (were they neuer so great) he was neuer
longer then one day about the. For trewly
(if I may saye it) that prince is not woorthy
to be beloued, that is scarce of his wordes
vnto those, which faithfully serue him with
workes: for wise princes, shoulde be quicke
in hearing, and graue in determining. For
many come to speake with princes, whiche
thinke that their counsellors shal not be ac-
cepted, nor their requestes graunted, yet they
desier importunately to be heard, & of trouth
the prince ought to here them: for the heuy
harte with sorowes burdened, when it is
harde, is greatlye lightened. I would know,
why the sence of sinellynge is onely in the
head, and not in the feete, nor in the handes,
neither in any other parte of the body: truer-
ly it signifieth nought els, but that it apper-
teineth to the prince (which is head of al) to
heare and knowe all, & to vnderstand al, and
therfore it is very necessary he be informed
of al their liues. For the prince cannot go-
uerne his common wealthe wel, vnlesse he
knoweth the perticularities therof. It is ne-
cessary that y^e prince knowe the good, to the
end he may preferre them: for that comon

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wealth is greatly flandered, wherein the
 euyl are not punished, nor the good honou-
 red. It is necessary the prince know y^e sage,
 * to counsel with them: for the auncient Ro-
 maines neuer admitted any for coucellors,
 but those whiche with philosophie were a-
 dozned. It is necessary he know the euyl, for
 to correcte them: for there is a great dysor-
 * der in that comon wealth, where withoute
 any shame the wickednes of the wycked, is
 eloked, and unpunished. It is necessary the
 prince do know those, y^e are able to teache:
 * for in the courte of y^e romaine princes, there
 were alway captaynes, whiche taught and
 shewed how to handel their weapōs, & wise
 men which taught and instructed them sci-
 entis. It is necessary the prince knowe the
 pooze of his realme, for to ayde and succor
 them: for the princes shuld so gouerne their
 * common wealth, that among the ryche no-
 thinge shoulde abounde, nor amonge the
 pooze anye thinge shoulde wante. It is ne-
 cessary the prince know the presumpuous &
 * malicious, for to humble them: for the pooze
 by enuye, and the riche by pride, heretofore
 haue destroyed great common wealthes. It
 is necessary the prince know the peace ke-
 pers, for to keape and maynteine them in
 peace: for it is y^e duty of a prince, to plucke
 * downe the stoute stomaches of the proude,
 and to geue winges of fauour to the hum-
 ble. It is necessary y^e the prince know them
 which haue done him seruice, to y^e end they
 may be rewarded accordinge to their meri-
 tes: for the stoute and noble harte for litel fa-
 * uour shewed vnto him, bindeth him selfe to
 accomplishe great thinges. It is necessary
 the prince know y^e noble mē of his realme,
 to the end that at tyme of neade, he myghte
 retaine and take them into his seruice: for
 it is but mete, that the man which is ado-
 * ned with vertue, and nobilitie, be preferred
 aboue al other in the common wealth. Fi-
 nally I say, the prince shoulde know y^e mur-
 merers, neuer to creadite them, & likewise
 to knowe those that tel the trueth, alwayes

to loue them: for none shoulde be moze fami-
 lyar, then the wyse man to geue him coun-
 sel, and the vpryghte man to tel the trueth. *
 And contrary wyse, none ought to be moze
 abhorred of the prince: then y^e flatterer, and
 ignoraunte man. O how necessary it is for
 a prince, to knowe and vnderstand al thin-
 ges in his realme, to theend no man mighte
 deceiue him, as they do now a dayes: for the
 * most parte of princes are deceiued, for none
 other cause, but for y^e they wyl not be coun-
 celled, and informed by wyse and dyscrete
 men. For manye croutcheth vnto princes
 with saire wordes (as though they mente
 hym good seruyce) but their entente is con-
 trarye, by dysceite to get an office, and seke
 their owne profite. Helius Spartianus
 saith, that Alexander Severus (the 25. em-
 peroure of Rome) was a man verie stoute,
 and vertuous, and amongest al other thin-
 ges, they greatly commendyd him, bycause
 in hys chamber he had a famlyar booke,
 wherein he had wyrtten all the nobles of his
 Realme, and empire, and when anye office
 was voyde, they sayde nothinge els to him,
 but that it was voyde: for the emperour did
 not graunte it to him that sought it, but (by
 the secrete informaciō of hys booke) to him
 that deserued it. I wyl sweare, and al other
 princes shal affirme the same, that though
 they erre in distributing their offices, they
 doe not erre for that they woulde erre: yet
 they cannot denye, but that they erre gre-
 uouslye, for that they wyl not be informed,
 and though they be informed, yet it were
 better they were not informed at all: for he
 shall neuer geue the Prince good nor par-
 *fect counsel, which (by that counsel) inten-
 dethe to haue some proper interest. The
 chiefe thinge of Princes is, to knowe how
 to choose the best in prosperyty, and how to
 auoyde the worst in aduersity: and to
 knowe also, howe to rewarde the good men
 liberallye. And trulpe in this case, Princes
 shoulde haue moze consideracion to them,
 whiche haue done them worthy seruyces,
 then

* then to the importunytes of hys famplier
frendes : for he shall thanke the seruante
that procureth it , but not the Prince that
geneth it . All that we speake is to no other
purpose, but to perswade, that sith the Prince
is lord of all, it is reason that he be infor-
med of the state and condicion of all : for o-
therwise, he shall be disceined by a thousand
malycious hartes , whiche are in the com-
mon wealthe. Therefore to conclude I say,
if the Prince be not informed of the lyfe of
all, the skynne wil seame fleashe, the brayne
meate, the strawe corne, the brasle, gold, the
gaull, honye, and the dregges, good wyne,
I meane in deuydng hys offyces , thin-
kyng to hit the whyte , he shall ostymes
myse the butte.

The. xxxviii. Chapter.

* Of a solempne feaste, vvhich the
Romaines celebrated . And of
that vvhiche besel vnto the em-
peroure Marcus Aurelius the
same daye.



AMONGE the
Solempne feastes,
whiche the auncient
Romaines vsed, this
was one , to the God
Ianus , the whiche
they celebrated the
first day of the yeare,
whiche now is the firste of Januarie : for
the Hebryues beganne their yeare in Mar-
che, and the Romaines beganne at Janu-
arie. The Romaines paynted this GOD
with two faces, syngnyfyng thereby, the
ende of the yeare passe, and the begynnyng
of the presente yeare to come.

To this God Ianus was dedycated , in
the cytye of Rome , a sumptuous Temple,
whiche they called the Temple of peace,
and was in greate reuerence throughtoute
all the cytye: for the citezens , on this daye
offered greate gistes and sacrifices, bycause
he shoulde defende them from their ene-
myes . For there is no nacion, nor people,
to whome warre euer succeeded so prosper-
rouslie , but that they had rather lyue in
peace, then in warre.

When the romayne Emperours wente
to the warres or came from the warres,
firste they vlsyted the Temple of Iupiter,
secondarplye the temple of the bestall bir-
gyngs, and thirde they vlsyted the Tem-
ple of the GOD Ianus: bycause there was
a lawe in Rome, that the emperoure shoulde
at hys goinge forth to the warres , vlsyte
the Temple of Iupiter lasse of all , and at
hys retourne, the firste shoulde be the tem-
ple of Ianus.

And let them that be desyrous of anti-
quytes here knowe, that when they went
to the warres , they set the Emperoure in
the Temple of the bestall birgynges vpon
mens shoulders, and in the temple of Iupi-
ter, the Senatours kyssed hys feete , and in
the temple of Ianus, the Counsulles kyssed
hys cheake: for synce the time that the cruel
Silla caused thre thousande neyghbours to
dye, whiche kyssed hys ryghte hande , they
neuer after kyssed the handes of anye em-
peroure in Rome.

Therefore sythe the gentylles would not
issue oute of Rome withoute vlsyng the
Temples aboue named neyther woulde re-
tourne into Rome , befoze that firste they
had taken the benediction of those dayne
Gods: howe muche more oughte Chrystyan
Princes to doe it, whiche knowe wel that
their Temples are consecrated to the true
God, and ordeyned for hys seruice onelye. *
For the man that forgetteth GOD , and
commytteth hys affayres to men , shall see
howe hys busynes wyl thine in the handes
m. lll. of

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of men. Therefore proceedinge forth, the day wherein the feast of the god Ianus was celebrated, every man reioysed thorough all the streates of rome, because that in y^e feastes of Iupiter, Mars, Venus, & Ianus, all the romaines were mery, and triumphed, and likewise they did solempnise the feastes of the goddesse Berecinthia: for the feastes of the other goddes (sith they were many in number) were not celebrated, but in certayne places in rome. The romaines on that day, put on their best apparel, for they had a custome in rome, y^e he which had not that day chaunge of apparel to honour y^e feast, should either go out of rome, or els keape him selfe locked in his house. That day they set on their houses many lightes, and made great bonfires befoze their dozes, and had sondry, and many playes, and pastimes: for the feastes of vaine mē are more to deliyght their bodie, then to reforme their mindes. They watched al y^e night in the temples, and also they deliuered all the prisoners whiche were imprisoned for dette, & whiche the common treasures paid their dettes. Furthermore they had a custome in rome, that they shuld susteine al the senators (whiche were fallen into pouerty) wth the goods of the common wealth. They had y^e day tables set befoze their dozes, furnished with al sortes of meates, so that y^e which remained and was left, was more worth, then that, which was eatē: for vaine glorious men, auant them selues more of y^e, which in bakettes & feastes is left, then they do of that, whiche is eaten. They sought all that day for poore men, because they shuld be prouyded of al thinges: for it was an auncient lawe, y^e none should be so hardy to make any open feast, excepte first he had prouided for al the of his streate. The romaynes thoughte, that if they spent liberallye that daye, the god Ianus would deliuer them from pouertye, because he was the God of the temperall goods: and they sayde further, that the God Ianus was a God bearye thankefull, and ac-

knowledged the seruices whiche were done vnto hym, and beleued earnestlye, that if they spente frelye for hys sake, he would requyte it doble. In the feast of this God Ianus, manye processions were made, not all together, but the Senate wente by them selues, the Censours by them selues, the people by them selues, the Matrones by them selues, the maydes by them selues, the bestall virgins by them selues, and all the straunge imbassatours went with the captiues in procession.

There was a custome in rome, that the same daye, the Emperoure should weare the imperyal robe, and all the captiues whiche coude touche hym with their handes were deliuered, and al the transgressours pardoned, the exiles and outlawyes were called agayne: for the romayne princes were neuer presente in anye feast, but they shewed some noble example of mercy, or gentlenes towards the people. At this tyme Marcus Aurelius was emperor of rome, and married with the beautiful lady Faustina, who (in the feast of Ianus) leuinge in procession the company of the senators, came into the processio of the captiues, the whiche easelye touched his robe, whereby they obtained liberty, the whiche they so greatly desired: for truly the captiue is contented with a smal thing. And because ther is no good thing by anye good man done, but immediatlye by the wicked it is repined at, this deed was so contrarie to the euil, that many good men dyd reioyce at it: for there is nothinge, be it neuer so good, nor so wel done, but forthwith it shalbe contraried of them that be euyl. Of this thinge I haue seen by experience (in this myserable lyfe) sondry examples, that eauen as amonge the good, one onelye is noted to be chiefe: so lykewyse amonge the euyl, one is noted pryncypall aboue the rest.

And the worst I fynd herein is, that the vertuous do not so much glory of their vertue: as the euil & malicious hath shame and dishonour

dishonour of their vice: for vertue naturally maketh a man to be temperate & quyet, but vice maketh hym to be dissolute & wretched lesse. This is spoken, because in the Senate ther was a Senatour called Fului², whose berde and heerres were berye white, but in malices, he was mosse cankered blacke: so y^e for his yerres he was honoured in Rome of many, and for his malice he was hated of all. This Senatour Fuluius made frēdes in the time of Adrian to succede in the empyre, & for this cause he had alwetes Marcus Aurelius for hys competytour, and whersoever he came, he alwaies spake euyl of him, as of his mortal enemy. For the enuious hart, can neuer geue a man one good word. This senatours hart was so puffed wth enuye, that he seinge Marcus Aurelius to obtaine the empyre being so yong, and that he beinge so old could not attaine therunto: there was no good thyng that euer Marc² Aurelius did in the comen wealth openly, but it was grudged at by Fuluius, who sought alwaies to deface the same secretlye. It is the nature of those whiche haue theyr hartes enfecte with malyce, to spitte oute their pop^o with wordes of spite. Oft times I haue mused which of these .2. are greater, the dewtpe the good haue to speake against the euyl, or els the audacitie the euyl haue to speake against the good: For in the world ther is no byute beast so hardye, as the euil man is, that hath lost his fame. I would to God the good to his desyre had asmuche power to do good workes, as the euyl hath strength to his affection, to exercise wycked deades: for the vertuous man syndereth not one hand to healde him in vertue to worke, yet after he hath wroughte it, he shall haue a thousand euyl tonges, against his honest doynge to speake. I would all those which reede this my wyrtinge, would call to memory this worde (which is) that amonge euyl men the chiefest euyl is, that after they haue forgotten them selues to be men, and exiled both trouth and reason, with all their

might, they goe against yttrouth with their wordes, and against good dedes with their tonges: for though it be euyl to be an euyl man, yet it is muche worse, not to suffre another to be good, whiche aboue all thynges is to be abhorred and not be suffered.

I let you wete, and assure you, you princes and noble men, that you in workynge vertuous dedes, shall not wante flaundersous tonges, and though you be skoute, yet you muste be paciente to breake their malyce: for the noble hearte fealethe moze the enuye of an other, then he dothe the labour of hys owne bodye. Princes shoulde not be dismayde, neither ought they to meruayle, though they be tolde of the murmuring at their good workes: For in the end, they are men, they lyue wth men, and can not escape the miseries of men. For there was neuer prince in the world yet so high, but he hath bene subiecte to malicious tonges. Cruely, a man oughte to take greates pytie of Princes, whether they be good or euyl: for if they be euyl, the good hate them, and if they be good, the euyl immediately murmureth againste them.

The emperor Octavian was very vertuous, yet greatly persecuted wth the enuious tonges, who on a time was demaunded (sence he dyd good to all men) why he suffered a fewe to murmur agaynst hym, he answered: you see my frendes, he that hath made Rome free from enemies, hath also set at lybertie the tonges of malicious men. For it is not reason, that the harde stones shoulde be at lybertie, and the tender tanges tyed. Cruely this Emperour Octavian by hys wordes, declared hym selfe to be a wyse man, and of a noble hert, and lyghtely to way bothe the murmurynge of the people, and also the vanities of their wordes, whiche thyng truely a wyse and vertuous man oughte to doe: For it is a generall rule, that vices continuallye seake defendours, and vertues allwayes gertethe Enemies. In the booke

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booke of lawes the deuine Plato saith wel,
 that the euill were alwaies double euyl, be-
 cause they weare weapons defensiuē, to des-
 fend their malicious purpose, and also cary
 weapons offensyue, to bleamysh the good
 woꝝkes of others. Vertuous men ought w
 muche study to folow the good, & with more
 diligence to flye from the euyl: for a good
 man may commaund al other vertues mē,
 with a becke of his synger, but to keepe him
 selfe onely frō one euyl man, he had neade
 * both handes, feete, and frendes. Themisto-
 des the Thebayne said, that he felt no grea-
 ter toymente in the woꝝlde then thys, that
 hys proꝝpe honour should depend vpon the
 Imaginacion of an other: for it is a cruell
 thinge, that the life and honour of one that
 is good, should be measured by the tonge of
 * an other that is euyl. For as in the forge,
 the coles can not be kyndled without spar-
 kes, nor as coꝝruption can not be in the
 synckes without ordure: so he that hath hys
 hart free from malice, his tonge is occupi-
 ed alwaies in swete and pleasaunt commu-
 nication: and contrarype wyse, oute of hys
 mouth, whose stomack is infected with ma-
 lyce, proceadeth alwaies woꝝdes bytter, &
 full of popson. For if out of a coꝝrupted foꝝ-
 * nayne the fyꝛe burneth, it is impossible that
 the smoke should be cleare. It is but a smal
 time, that in prophane loue he that is enar-
 moyed, is able to refrayne his loue, & muche
 lesse time is the wyꝛathful man able to hyde
 his wyꝛath: for the heuy syghes oꝝ tokens of
 * the soꝝowfull hert, and the woꝝdes are those
 that disclose the malycious mē. Pulio saith
 in the first booke of Cesars, that the emper-
 our Marcus Aurelius was verpe vertu-
 ous in all his woꝝkes, sage in knowledge,
 iust in Iudgement, merciful in punishmēt,
 but aboue al thinges, he was wise in disce-
 blunge, and herein he was very discrete: for
 ther was neuer pacient man but prospered
 wel in all his affayres. We see that through
 * wyꝛte, and wysedome, many euyl thinges
 become reasonable, & from reasonable are

brought to good & frō good to excellēt. The
 cōtrary happeneth to them that are moued
 moꝝe then they neede, for the man whiche is
 not pacient, loketh not yet for any good suc-
 cesse in his affayres, though they are iuste.
 The emperor Marcus oft times was wōt
 to say, that Iulius Cesar wāne the empyꝛe
 by the sword, Augustus was emperor by
 Inheritaunce, Caligula came to it, because
 his father conquered Germany, Nero go-
 uerned it wyꝛth tyꝛanny, Titus was emper-
 our, for y he subdued Ibery, the good Tra-
 ian came to the empyꝛe, by his strengthe &
 stoutnes, but he obtained not y empire, but
 through pacience onely: For it is a greater
 pacience, to suffer the Injuries of the mali-
 cious: then to dispute with the sage in the
 vniuersity. And this emperor said further
 in the gouernement of the empyꝛe, I haue
 profited moꝝe through pacience: then by sci-
 ence: for science onely profiteth for y quyet-
 * nes of the parson: but pacience profiteth the
 parson, & the common wealth. Iulius Ca-
 pitolinus sayeth, that the emperor Anto-
 nius Pius was a pꝛince very pacient, & in
 such soꝛte, that oftentimes being in the Se-
 nate he saue both those which loued him, &
 also those that were against him, wyꝛth the
 people, when they did rebell: yet his paciēce
 was so great, that neyther his frendes for y
 vnthankefulnes of them selues, remayned
 sad: neither his enemies for any displeasure
 by him done did at any tyme cōplaine. Mea-
 ninge therefore in this chapter to toyne the
 end, with the beginning: I say that as y em-
 perour Marcus Aurelius put hīm selfe a-
 mongest the captiues, and that this dede in
 Rome of al men was cōmended: the Sena-
 tour Fuluius coulde not refrayne frō spea-
 king, for that he had not the wyꝛte to endu-
 re it, wherfoꝛe as it were scoffinge he spake
 these woꝝdes to the emperor. Lord, I mer-
 uayle why thou yeldest thy self to all, which
 thing for y reputaciō of the empyꝛe can not
 be suffered, for y it is not decent for thy ma-
 jesty. The emperor Marc⁹ Aureli⁹ seing
 and

and hearing that in the presence of them al, the senatour Fuluius spake vnto him these wordes, he toke it patiently and with pleasant countenaunce saide. The questio that the Senatour Fuluius proponeth, let it be for to morowe, bycause my aunswere may be the typer, & his coler the greater. Therfore y next day folowing, y emperour Marcus came in to the hyghe capitoll (as Pulio declareth in the lyfe of Marcus Aurelius) and spake these wordes,

The xxxix. Chapter.

Of the aunsvvere vvhiche the emperour made to the senatour before al the people, vvhich he peynteth enuyous men.



FATHERS conscript, and sacred senat,

I would not yesterdave aunswere to that, that the Senatour Fuluius spake vnto me, because it was somewhat late, and for that we were longe in sacrifices, I thought that neyther time nor place was conuenient to aunswere thereunto: For it is a signe of a litle wisedome, and of great folpe, for a man to aunswere sodainly to euery questio. The libertie that vndiscret men haue to demaunde, y selfe same pvtilege haue y sage for to aunswere: For though the demaund procede of ignorance, yet the aunswere ought to procede of wisedome. Truly wise men were wel at ease, if to euery demaunde, they shoulde aunswere the simple & malicious: who (for the moste parte) demaunde more for to bere other men, then for to profite them selues, more for to proue, thā know, wherfore wise men ought to dissemble at suche demaundes. For the sages ought to haue their eares open to heare, & their tong tyed, because they shuld not speake. I let you know (auncient

fathers, & sacred senate) that y litle whiche I knowe, I learned in the ple of Rhodes, in Naples, in Capua, & in Tharente. And al my tutozs told me, that the Intencion & end of men to study, was onely to know, to gouerne them selues amongesse y malicious. For science profiteth nothinge els, but to know how to keape his life well ordered, & his tong wel mesured. The thinges whiche I wyll declare this day in the senate (I proteste before god) I speake the not with any mortall hatred: but onely to aunswere vnto y, which toucheth the auctorite of my persō. For the thinges which touche the honour, ought firste by word to be aunswere, & afterwards by sword to be reuenged. Therfore now beginning my mater, & adresssing my wordes to the Fuluius, & to that which y spakest vnto me, asking why I shew my selfe so to all men, I aunswere the: it is because all men shuld giue themselves to me. Thou knowest wel Fuluius, y I haue bene a Consul as thou art, & thou hast not bene an emperour as I am. Therfore beleue me in this case, y the prince being despised, can not be beloued of his people. The gods wil not, nor the lawes do permyte, neither the common wealth willingly shuld suffer, y all princes shuld be lordes of many, & that they shoulde not communicate but w a few. For princes which haue bene gentile in their liues, the auncientes haue made the gods after theyr deathes. The fisher, to fishe for many fishes in the riuer, goeth not with one bote alone; nor y martiner, to fishe in y deepe sea, goeth w one nette onely: I meane, y the profound willes, which are depely enclosed in y hartes, ought to be wonne some by giftes, other by promises, other by pleasaunt wordes, & others by gentle enterteynement we shoulde winne. For princes shoulde trauaille more to winne the hartes of their subiectes, than to conquire the realmes of straungers.

The greedy and conetous hartes care not, though the prince shutteth vp his hart, so that he open hys cofers: but noble and valyaunt

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valiaunt men litle esteeme that which they lock vp in their cofers, so that their hartes be open to their frendes. For lone can neuer, but with lone againe be requyted.

Sith Princes are lordes of many, of necessity they ought to be serued with many, & beinge serued with many, they are bounde to satisfie many: and this is as generally, as perticulerly, they can not dispence with their seruauntes. For the prince is no lesse bounde to paye the seruice of his seruaunt, then the maister is to paye the wages of the hyred laborer. Therefore if this thinge be true (as it is) howe shall poore Princes doe, whiche keape many realmes, and in keepinge them they haue greate expenses, and for to paye suche charges, they haue litle money. For in this case, let euery man doe what he will, and let them take what counsaile they like beste, I would counsaile all others, as I my self haue experimēted, & is: that the prince shoulde be of so good a conuersacion, amonge other which are his, and so affable and familiar with all, that for his good conuersacion onely, they should think them selues well payde. For with rewardes, princes recōpence the traunayle of their seruauntes: but with gentle wordes, they robbe & hartes of their subiectes. We see by experience, that dyuers marchauntes had rather bye deerer in one shoppe, because the marchaunt is pleasaunt: then to bye better cheepe in an other, whereas the marchaunt is churlishe. I meane, that there are many, whiche had rather serue a Prince, to gayne nothing but lone onely: than to serue an other prince for monney. For there is no seruice better imployed then on hym, whiche is honeste, good, and gracious: and to the contrarye, none worse bestowed, then on hym whych is vnthankfull and churlythe.

In Princes pallaces there shall neuer want euill and wycked men, malicypous and deuilysh flatterers, which will seeke meanes to put into their Lordes heades, howe they shall rayse their rentes, leaue

subsidies, inuent tributes, and bozowe monney: but there are none, that will tel them, howe they shall wyne the hartes and good willes of their subiectes, though they knowe it more profitable to be well beloued, then necessarye to be enryched. He that heapeth treasure for his prince, and seperately hym from the lone of his people: oughte not to be called a faythfull seruaunte, but a mortall enemy.

Princes and Lordes oughte greatlye to endeuoure them selues, to be so conuersaunt amonge their subiectes, that they had rather serue for good will: then for the payment of money. For if money wante, their seruice will quayle, and hereof procedeth a thousand incōueniēces vnto princes, which neuer happen vnto those, that haue seruauntes, which serue more of good wyl, then for money: for he that loueth with all his hert, is not proude in prosperitie, desperate in aduersitie, neither complaineth he of pouerty, nor is discontented beinge fauour lesse, nor yet abashed with persecution, and finallye, lone and life are neuer seperated, vntil they come vnto the graue. We see by experice, that the tablemēt of the poore labourers of Scicil is more worth, then the money of the knightes of Rome. For the labourer euery time he goeth to the fyeelde, bringeth some profit from thence: but euery time & knighe sheweth him self in the market place, he returneth without money. By that cōparisōn I meane, that princes shoulde be affable, easie to talke wth al, pleasaunt, merciful, beninge, & skoute, and aboue all, that they be gracious & louinge, to the end that thzough these qualities, & not by money, they maye learne to wyne the hartes of their subiectes. Princes shuld greatlye labour to be loued, specially if they will find who shall succoure them in aduersities, and kepe them from euill wyl and hatred: For eche man enioyeth his owne traunayle, & truly the furious and sorrowful hartes taketh some rest, to see & others haue pity & cōpassiō vpon their greses.

Princes

Princes also shoulde endeavour themselves to be loued and wel wylled, because at their deach they make of all their seruantes and frendes be lamented. For Princes oughte to be suche, that they maye haue in theyr lyfe time to praye for them, and after the deach of them to make some memorie.

How cursed is that prince, and also how unhappy is that common wealth, wher the seruantes wyl not serue their Lorde, but for rewarde: and that the Lorde dothe not loue them but for their seruices. For there is neuer treue loue, where there is any particuler intereste. With many stones a house is buylded, and of many men and one Prince (whiche is the heade of all) the common wealth is made.

For he that gouerneth the common wealth, maye be called a Prince, and otherwyse not: and the common wealth can not be called no, sayde a common wealthe, yf it hath not a Prince, whiche is the heade thereof. If geometre doe not deceyue me, the lyne whiche ioyneeth one stone wth an other, suffereth well that it be mingled wth sande, but the corner stone that lyeth on the toppe oughte to be medled with vn- flekyd lyne. And it soundeth vnto good reason: for if the nether stones seperate, the wal openeth: but if the corner should flippe, the building incontynently falleth. By reason he that is wyse, without any moe woordes might easely vnderstande me, how be it I will apply this comparisson to my purpose. The loue of one neyghbour wth an other, maye suffer to be colde: but the loue of a Prince to his people, shoulde be true and pure. I meane, that the loue amongeste frendes maye well passe, sometimes though it be cold: but the loue betwene the kyng and his people, at al times ought to be perfect. For wher ther is parfytte loue, there is no fayned woordes, no vnfaithfull seruice done.

I haue seene in Rome many debates amonge the people to haue bene pacified in

one daye: and one onelie, whiche betwene the Lorde and the common wealth aryseth, can not be pacified buttill deach. For it is a dangerous thing, for one to stryue with manye, and for many to contende againste one. In this case, where the one is proude, and the other rebelles, I wyl not excuse the Prince, nor let to condemne the people: For in the ende, he whom we shall fynde moste to vnblymed, deserueth to be reprobended: From whence thinke you commeth it, that Lordes now a dayes do commaund vniuste thinges by furpe, and that subiectes in iuste matters wyl not obeye by reason, I wyl tell you.

The Lorde doyng of wyl, and not of ryghte, woulde caste the wylles of all in his owne bzalne, and deriue from him self all counsaile. For euen as Princes are of greater power then al the rest: so they think they knowe more than all the reste.

The contrary happeneth to subiectes, who (beinge prouoked) I can not tell you wth what frenesye, despyllinge the good vnderstandinge of their Lorde, wyl not obeye that, that their princes willethe for y health of them all, but that whiche euery man despyeth, for him selfe particularly.

For men now a dayes are so sonde, that euery man thynketh the Prince shoulde looke on him alone. Cruellye it is a heauye matter (though it be muche vsed) that one shoulde desyre that the garmentes of all other shoulde be mete for him: and it is more pytye, that all men shoulde seeke to weare the harnesse of one. But what shall we be (fathers conscripte and sacred senate) sith our fathers lefte vs this worlde wth such folye, and that in these debates and stryfes, we their children, are alwaies in dissencion and contreuersye, and in this wylfulnes, we shall also leaue our children and heires.

Howe many Princes haue I seene and read of, in my tyme, of my predecessours, whiche were vtterlye vndone, by to muche pryde & presumption: But I neuer read nor heard

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hearde of any, which were destroyed for be-
 inge curteous, and louinge to his subiectes.
 I wyll declare some examples, whyche I
 haue reade in bookes, to the ende that the
 Lordes maye see what they winne by their
 good conuersacion, and what they loase by
 beinge to haughty. The Realme of the Syco-
 nians was greater then that of the Calde-
 ans in weapons, and inferiour in antiqui-
 tie, vnto that of the Assirians. In this real-
 me there was Debastia, which was called
 a linage of kinges, that endureth. 225. yea-
 res, because all those kinges were of a com-
 mendable conuersacion. And an other of
 Debastia endured no longer then. 40. yea-
 res. And our auncientes tooke pleasure of
 peace, whereof we are destitute: and were
 ignoraunt of the warres, whiche we now
 vse so muche. Alwaies they despyred to haue
 kinges whiche shoulde be good for the com-
 mon wealth in peace, rather than valiaunt
 and couragious for the warre. As Homere
 in his Iliade saith: the auncient Egyp-
 tians called their kinges epiphanes, and had
 a custome, that Epiphanes alwaies shoulde
 enter into the Temples barefoote. And be-
 cause it chaunced the Epiphane on a time
 to come into the church hoased, he was im-
 mediately for his disobedience depyued, and
 expelled from the realme, and in his steade
 an other created. Homere declareth here,
 that this king was proude, and euill condi-
 tioned, wherefore the Egyptians depyued
 him, and bannished him the realme, taking
 occasion that he dyd not enter into the tem-
 ple barefoote. For truly, when Lordes are
 euill wylled, & not beloued, for a litle tryfle
 and occasion, the people wyll arys and re-
 bell against them. The saide Homere sayd
 also, that the Parthes called their kynges
 Assacides, and that the syrte of that name,
 was depyued and expelled the realme, for
 that of presumption he had him selfe to the
 mariage of a knight, and beinge bydden &
 despyred, would not goe to the mariage of a
 poore Plebeyā, Cicero in his Tusculanen

saith, that in olde time the people perswa-
 ded their princes to communicate with the
 poore, and that they shoulde absteyne and
 flye from the ryche: For amonge the poore,
 they may learne to be mercyfull, and with
 the riche, they shall learne nothinge but to
 be proude. We know right wel (Fathers co-
 script) how this our countrey was first cal-
 led great Grece, afterwardes it was called
 Latium, and then Italye. And whē it was
 called Latium, they called their kynges
 Marranos, and truly though their borders
 were but narrowe: yet at the leaste their
 stoutnes was great. The Annales of those
 times say, that after the thirde Siluius, suc-
 ceded a Marrane, who was proude, ambitio-
 us, and euill condicioned, in suche sorte,
 that for feare of the people, alwaies he slept
 locked vp: and therefore they depyued and
 banished him the Realme. For the aunc-
 entes saide, that the kinge shoulde locke his
 doores at no houre of the night againste his
 subiectes, neyther he shuld refuse in the day
 to giue them audience. Tarquyne whyche
 was the lasse of the 7. kinges of Rome, was
 verpe vnthankfull towarde his father in
 lawe, he was an infamy to his bloude, a
 traytour to his countrey, and cruell of his
 parson, who also enforced the noble Lucre-
 tia, and yet notwithstandinge this, they doe
 not call him vnthankfull, infamous, cruel,
 traytour, nor aduoutrer: but Tarquyne
 the proude, onely for that he was euill con-
 ditioned. By the faith a good mā I sweare
 vnto you (Fathers conscript) that if the mis-
 serable Tarquyne hadde bene beloued in
 Rome, he had neuer bene depyued of the
 Realme, for committinge adulterpe, wyth
 Lucretia: for in the end, if euery lyghte of-
 fence (whiche in youth is committed, shuld
 be punished, within shorte space ther shoulde
 be no common wealth. All these euils (both
 before and after Tarquyne) were commit-
 ted by the auncientes in the Romaine em-
 pyre, which were such as these (of this yōg
 and light prince) & were nothinge in com-
 parison

parison vnto the. For trulye consideringe the youthe of the one, and the experience of the other, the greatest offence of the yonge, is but a counterfayte to the leaste, that the olde comitteth. Iulius Cesar, last dictatour of Rome, and first emperour (being a thing commendable, bothe to senatours to salute the emperour on their knees, and to the emperour to rise against them, eche one accordinge to his order) because of presumption, and that he woulde not obserue this ceremonye, with, 23. woundes they dyspatched hym of his lyfe. Tiberius was an Emperour, whome they blame for drunckennes, & Caligula was an emperour also, whome they accuse of adulterye, with hys sisters. Nero was an emperoure, who (for that he slew his mother, and his master Seneca) hath for euer ben named cruel. Sergius Galba was a deuouring & gluttonous emperour, for that he caused for on only banquet, seuen thousand birdes to be killed. Domitian was an emperour, who was greatlye noted of all euilles. For all euyles which in many were scatered, in hym alone were founde. All these myserable Princes in the ende were betrayed, hanged, and beheaded. And I sweare vnto ye (fathers conscripte) that they dyed not for their vices, but because they were proude, and euil condytioned. For finally, the prince for one vice only cannot much endamage the people: but for being to haughty, and presumptuous, and of euyl condicions, he may destroy a common wealth. Let Princes and greate lordes be assured, that if they geue manye occasions of euyl wil, afterwarde on onely sufficeth, to stirre their subiectes to destroye them: for if the lorde shewe not hys hatred, it is for that he wyl not, but if the subiecte doe not reuenge, it is for that he cannot. Beleeue me (fathers conscripte, and sacred Senate) that euen as the physitions with a lytle tryacle purge manye euyl humours of the bodye: so the sage Princes, with verye lytle beneuolence, drawe oute of their sub-

iectes muche fylchynnes of harte. And because the members shoulde be agreeable with the heade, in myne oppynion it beho- ueth the people to obeye the commaundemente of the Prince, and to honour and reuerence hys personne: and the good Prince to be iuste and equall to all in generallye, and gentle in conuersacion with euerye one. O happye common wealth, wherewith the Prince findeth the obedyence in the people, and the people in lyke maner, loue in the Prince. For of the loue of the Lorde, springeth obedyence in the subiecte: and of the obedyence of the subiectes, springeth loue in the Lorde. The emperour in rome, is as the spyder in the myddest of her cobwebbe: the whiche being touched with the needels pointe, by one of the thredes of the same (be it neuer so lytle) immediatlye the spyder feeleth it. I meane, that all the workes whiche the Emperoure dothe in Rome, are immediatlye published throughe oute all the contrye. For in fine, since Princes are the myrrour of all, they cannot wel cloake their vices. I see (fathers conscripte) I haue ben iudged here of worldlye malice, because I accompanied the captiues in processyon, and also because I suffered my selfe to be touched with them, to the end they might enioye the priuiledge of their liberty: and in this case, most humble thanks I render to the immortal gods, because they made me a mercysful emperour, to set those at libertye that were in prison, and that they made me not a cruel tiraunt, to set those in prison whiche were at libertye. For the prouerbe sayeth, that with one beane, a man maye take two pigeons: euen so chaunced the lyke here in yesterdaye. For the benefyte was done for those myserable captiues: but the example of humanytye was shewed to all straunge nacjons. And knowe ye not, that when the Prince vnbloseth the irons from the feate of the captiues, he byndeth the hartes, landes, and Goods of hys subiectes: concluding there-
n. i. fore

THE DIALL

fore I saye, that to Princes it were more safetie, and to the common wealthe more profite, to be serued in their palaces by free hartes with loue: then by subiectes whiche are kepte vnder by feare.

The.xl.Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich the emperour Marcus Aurelius vvrote to hys especial frende, vvherein he declareth the opinions of certaine philosophers concerning the felycitie of man.



Marcus Aurelius Emperour of Rome, tribune of the people, high bishoppe, seconde consul and monarche of al the Romaine empire, wistheth to the Pulio his old frend, health to thy parson, and prosperitie againste thy euyl fortune. The letter that thou wrotest vnto me from Capua, I receiued here at Bethinia, and if thou diddest write it with a good harte, I did reade it with wylling eyes: wherof thou oughtest somewhat to content the. For it is an auncient saying of Homere, that that which is wel biewed to the eyes, is tenderly beloued of the hart. I protest vnto the, by the faith of the immortal gods, that I do not write vnto the as a romaine emperour, that is to say, fro the lord to the seruant, for in this sorte, I should write vnto the brievely, and touching the purpose: which thing ought not to be done to the peculiar frend. For the letters of graue men should neuer beginne, and the letters of vs frendes should neuer end. I write vnto the my frend Pulio, as to a peculiar frend, as to an old companion of mine, and as to him, which is a faithful secretary of my desires, and in whose company I was neuer displeased, in whose mouth I neuer found lie, and in whose promise ther was neuer breach made. And the thing being thus, I shuld commit trea-

son in the lawe of friendship, if I kepte secret from the anye of my inward conceites. For al the griefes, whiche lye buried in the woful harte, ought not to be communicate but with a faithful frend. Dost thou thinke Pulio, that the romaine emperour hath litle trauaile to write vnto the as emperour, to speake as emperour, to walke as emperour, to eat as emperour, and finally to be as emperour in deed: certes I do not meruaile hereat. For truly the life of the vertuous emperour, is but a dial which ordereth or disordereth the common wealthe: and that wherof I meruaile, is of the folly of Rome and vanity of the common wealthe. Forasmuch as al saye, that the prince if he wil seme graue, and be wel esteemed of the people, ought to go softly, to speake litle, and to write brievely: so the writing of letters they wil be brievely, and for conquering of straunge realmes they doe not rebuke him although he be long. Wise men shuld desier the princes be of a gentle cōdicio, to the end they sal not to tyrany. That they haue their mind vncorrupted, to minister to al equal iustice, and their thought be good, not to desier straunge realmes, that they haue their hartes boide from wrath, that they be found within to pardon iniuries, and they loue their subiectes to be serued of the, that they know the good to honoure the, and that they know the evil to punish the: and as for the surples, we litle regard whether the kynge goe faste, whether he eate much or write brievely. For the danger is not in the, which is in the lacke of his person: but is in the negligence, and he bleth in the common wealthe. I haue receiued my frende Pulio great comfort of thy letter, but muche more I shuld haue receiued of thy presence: for the letters of auncient frendes, are but as a remembraunce of time past. It is a great pleasure to the mariner, to talke of the perils past being in the hand: and to the captayne, to gloze of the battayle after the victorie. I meane, aboue all pleasure this is the greatest to men, being new faithful frendes, to talke

talke of the trauayle and daungers whiche they passed, when they were yonge men. Beleue me in one thing, and doe not doute thereof: there is no man that knoweth to speake, that knoweth to possesse, nor y can iudge or take any pleasure, neither that knoweth wel how to keape h goods whiche the gods haue giuen him, vnlesse it be he, y hath bought it derely with great trauayle. For with al our hartes we loue y thing, whiche by our owne proper trauayle we haue gotten. I aske the one thinge: who is he that oweth most to the goddess, or that is most esteemed amongst men: of Traian the iust, whiche was broughte by in the warres of Dace, Germanie, and Spaine: or of Nero the cruel, which was nourished in al the deliciousnes of rome. Truly y one was none other, then a rose among thiers, and the other was but as a nettell among flowers. I speake this, because the good Traian hath governed his life in such sorte, that alwayes they wyl smel the rose by the pleasaunt sauiour: but the cruel Nero hath leste y stinging with the nettell of hys infainye. I wyl not speake al, because many are, and were made good, but for h most part, the princes which were brought vp deliciouflye, gaue euery man occasion that al should be offendid, for the euil gouernaunce of their liues in their realmes: and because they neuer experimented any kind of trauaile in the selues, they do litle esteeme the paines of another. I wil not that thou thinke my frend Pulio, that I haue forgotten the time that is past, though the gods brought me to the empire present. For though we together were tossed with the tormentes of youthe: yet now we maye repose our selues in h caulmes of oure age. I doe remember that thou and I did study in Rhodes in letters, & afterwar des we had solwen weapons in Capua: it hath pleased the gods that h seedes of my fortune should ripe here in rome, and to the, and to others better then I, fortune woulde not giue one onelye eare. I doe not geue the lycence, that

thy thoughte be suspitious of me, sicke thou of my harte arte made a faithfull frende: for if vnconffaunt fortune dothe truste me, to gather with trauayle the grape, know thou that here in my palace, thou shalt not want of the wyne. The gods wyl not suffer, that now in this momente thou shouldst sende my harte shutte from the, whose gates I founde alwayes (for the space of 20. yeares) open vnto me. Sith y my fortunes brought me to the empire, I haue alwayes had two thinges before myne eyes: that is to wete, not to reuenge my selfe of mine enemyes, neyther to be vnthankeful to my frendes. For I praye to the Gods dayly, rather then hereafter throughe vnthankfulness my renowne shoulde be defamed: that euen now with forgetfulness my bodye shoulde be buried. Let a man offer to the Gods what sacrifices he wyl, let hym doe asmuche seruice to men as he can: yet if he be vnthankfull to hys frende, he oughte in all, and for al, to be bitterly condempned. Because thou shouldest see my frende Pulio, how greatlye the auncyente frende oughte to be esteemed, I wyl declate the an example of a philosopher, the whiche to heare thou wilt somewhat reioyce.

The aunciente histories of the Gretians declare, that amonge the seven sages of Grece, there was one named Periander, who was Prince and gouernour a greete whyle: and he had in hym such lyuelines of spirite on the one side, & suche couetousnes of worldely goods on the other side: that the historiographers are in doubt, whyther was the greater, the philosophye that he taughte reading in the scoles: or the tyranny that he vsed in robbing in the common wealth. For truly the science whiche is not grounded of trouth, bringeth great damages to the person. In the seconde yeare of my Empire I was in the cite of Corinthe, where I saw the graue, which cōteined the bones of Periander: where about was ingraue in greke verses and olde letters this Epitaphe.

THE DIAL

*In the compasse, of this narrow graue
Wretched Periannder, enclosed lyes
Whose cruell failes, could Greece alone not haue
So small a soyle, his hunger could suffise.*

*¶ Here lodgeth eke, lo Periannder dedde
His filibie fleshe, the hungrie wormes do eate
And luyng he, with Orphelines goods was fedde
His gredie guttes, dyd craue suche deintie meate.*

*¶ The tyrant Periannder, stayeth heere
Whose lyfe was buylte, to hinder all the rest
And eke whose death, suche profyte large dyd beare
As brought releyse, to him that had the lest.*

*¶ Here wicked Periannder, resteth nowe:
His life did cause, great peopled realmes decaye
His death that forste, his luyng sprite to bowe
Assurd them lyfe, that stood in brittle staye.*

*¶ The cursed Periannder, here doth lye
Whose lyfe dyd shed, the poore and symple blood
And eke that clambe, to riches rule so hye
By others swette, that sought for wastinge good*

*¶ Of Corinth lo, here Periannder rest
To seeme for iust, that equall lawes did frame
Yet shyting from the square, that they possesse
By vertues dome, desernde a tyranttes name.*

*¶ The caryue Periannder, sleepeeth heere
That synist hath, his soure scoure years with shame
And though he his lyfe, that thousandes bought so deere
Be faded thus, yet bloometh styll his blame.*

¶ Here were no letters on the graue,
but because it was alone in the field,
the greates waters had woꝛne it, so
that scarcely the letters could be red, & tru-
lye it was verie olde, and in his tyme it se-
med to be a sumptuous thing, but the neg-
ligence of loking to it, lost it quite: & trulye
it is not to be meruailed at, for in the ende,
time is of suche power, that it causeth the
renowmed men to be forgotten, and all the
sumptuous buildinges to decaye, and fall
to the earthe. If thou wilt know my friend
Pulio, in what tyme the tyrant this phy-
losopher was, I wyl thou know, that when
Cathania the renowmed cite was build-
ed, in Trinacria, nere the mount Ethna,
and when Perdica was the .4. kynge of

Macedonia, and that Cardicea was the
thirde kynge of the Meedes, and when Cas-
dare was .5. kynge of Libeans, and that
Assaradoche was .9. kynge of the Assiri-
ans, and when Merodache was .12. kynge
of Caldeans, and that Numa Pompilius
reigned .2. kynge of the Romaynes, and in
the tyme of those so good kinges, Perian-
der reigned amonges the Assirians: and
it is meete thou knowe another thing also,
whiche is this. That this Periannder was
a tyrant not onely in dede, but also in re-
nowme: so that they spake of no other thing
thowowe Grece, but it tended hereunto.
Though he had euyl woꝛkes, he had good
woꝛdes, and procured that the affaires of
the common wealthe shoulde be wel re-
dressed. For generallye there is no man so
good, but a man maye fynde somewhat in
hyim to be reproued, neyther anye man so
euyl, but he hath some thyng in him to be
commendyd. I doe yet remember (of my
age, beyng neyther to yonge, nor to olde)
that I saw my lord the emperour, Traian
suppe ons in Agrippine: and it so chaun-
sed, that woꝛdes were so moued, to speake
of good and euyl princes, in times past, as
wel of the Greekes as of the Romaynes,
that al those whiche were present there, com-
mendyd greatly the emperour Octavian,
and they al blamed y cruel Nero. For it is
an auncient custome, to flatter the princes
that are present: and to murmur at Prin-
ces that are past. Whe the good emperour
Traian was at dinner, and when he prated
in the temple, it was meruel if anye man
saue him speake any woꝛde: and that day,
since he saue that they excessiue praysed
the emperour Octavia, and that the others
charged the emperour Nero, with moze the-
nedes, the good Traian spake vnto them
these woꝛdes. I am glad you commend the
emperour Octavian, but I am angry you
shoulde in my presence speake euyl of the
emperour Nero, and of none other: for it
is a great infamye to a Prince being alme,

to heare in his presence any prince euyl reported after his death. Truly the emperour Octavian was verye good, but ye wil not denye me, but he mighte haue ben better: and the Emperour Nero was verye euyl, but yet you wyl graunte me he might haue ben worse. I speake this, because Nero in his firste fye yeaeres was the best of al, and the other nine folowynge, he was the worste of all: so that there is both cause to dyspraise him, and also cause to commed him. When a vertuous man wyl speake of princes that are deade, before Princes which are alpye, he is bounde to prayse onely one of their vertuous whiche they had, and haue no licence to reuile the vices whereof they were noted. For the good deserueth rewarde, because he endeuozeeth him selfe to follow vertue: and the euyl lykelwyse deserueth pardon, because throught frapltie he hath consented to vice. All these wordes the emperours Traian spake I being presente, and they were spoken with suche fierkenes, that all those whiche were there presente, bothe chaunged their coulour, and also refreined their tonges. For truly the shamelesse man feeleth not so muche a greate stripe of correction, as the gentyl harte dothe a sharpe worde of admonycion. I was wyllynge to shewe the these thynges, my frende Pulio, because that since Traian spake for Nero, and that he founde in hym some prayse, I doe thinke no lesse of the ttraunte Periannder, whome (thoughe for hys euyl workes that he dyd) we doe condemne: yet for his good wordes that he spake; we doe prayse, and also for y good lawes whiche he made. For in the mā that is euil, there is nothing more easyer, then to gyue good counsaile, and there is nothinge more harder, then to worke wel. Periannder made dyuerse lawes for the common wealth, of the Corinthians, whereof heare folowynge, I wyl declare some.

We ordeyne and commaunde, that yf perhappes anye by multiplyeng of wordes

kylle another (so that it were not by treason) that he be not therefore condemned to dye, but that they make hym slaue perpetual, to the brother of hym that is slayne; or to the nexte of hys kinne or frendes: for a shorte deathe is lesse payne, then a longe seruytude.

We ordeyne and commaunde, that if any these be taken he shal not dye, but with a hotte iron shalbe marked on the forehead, to be knowen for a thefe: for to shamefaste men, the long infamy is more payne, then the shortnes of the lyfe.

We ordeine & commaund, that the man or womā, whiche to the prejudice of another shal tel any lye, shal for y space of a moneth carye a stone in their mouth: for it is not mete, that he whiche is wonte to lie, shulda wayes be authoized to speake.

We ordeine, and commaund, that euery man or woman, that is a quareler and sedicious person in the cōmon wealth, be with great reproche banished from the people. For it is vnpossible, that he should be in fauour with the gods, whiche is an enemye to his neighbours.

We ordeine and commaund, that if there be any in y cōmon wealth, that haue receiued of another a benefite, & that afterwarde it is proued he was vnthankesful, that in such case they put him to death: for the man that of benefites receiued is vnthankesful, ought not to liue in the world amōg men. We hold therefore my frende Pulio, the antiquitye whiche I declared vnto the, and how mercifull the Corinthians were to murderers, theues, and pirates: and contrary how, seuerely they were to vnthankesful people, whom they cōmaunded forth w to be put to death. And truly in mine opinion the, Corinthians had reason, for to sage men there is nothing more disagreable, then to se another to be vnthankesful towarde hym, to who he hath shewed a benefite. I was willing to tel the this history of Periannder, for no other cause, but to the end thou shouldest se and know, that

THE D I A L L

that forasmuche as I doe greatly blame the vice of vnthankfulness, I wyl labour not to be noted of the same. For he that repro- ueth vice is not noted to be vertuous: but he whiche vtterlye flieth them. Count vpon this my word that I tel þe, which thou shalt not thinke to be fained, that though I be the romaine Emperoure, I wilbe thy faithfull friend, and wyl not faile to be thankful to- wardes the. For I esteeme it no lesse glorie to know how to keape a friend by wisdom: then to come to the estate of an emperoure by philosophie. By the letter thou sentest, thou requiredst me of on thing to aunswere the, for þe which I am at my wittes end. For I had rather open my treasures to thy ne- cessities, then to open þe booke to aunswere to thy demaundes, although it be to my cost. I confesse thy request to be reasonable, and thou deseruest worþy praise: for in the end, it is moze worþe to know how to procure a secrete of antiquities past, then to heape by treasours for the necessities in tyme to come. As þe philosopher maketh philosophie his treasure of knowledge to liue in peace, and to hope and loke for deathe with hono- r: so the conetous being suche a one as he is, maketh his treasure of worldely goods, for to keape and preferue life in this worlde in perpetual warres, and to end his life & take his deathe with infamye. Herein I sweare vnto the, that one daye employed in philo- sophy is moze worþe, then tenne thousande which are spent in heaping riches. For the life of a peaceable man is none other, then a swete peregrinacion: and the life of sedi- cious personnes is none other, but a longe death. Thou requirrest me my friend Pulio, that I write vnto the, wherein the auncien- tes in times past had their felicitye: that is to wete, þe their desire was so dyuerse, that some dispraised life, others desired it, some prolonged it, others did shorten it, some dyd not desier pleasures but trauayles, others in trauayles dyd not seke but pleasures, the whiche varietye dyd not procede, but of dy-

uerse endes: for the tastes were diuerse, and sondye men desyred to taste dyuerse mea- tes. By the immortall Gods I sweare vnto the, that this thy requeste maketh me muse of thy lyfe, to see that my Philosophie aun- swereth the not sufficiently therein. For if thou aske to proue me, thou thinkest me presumptuous: if thou demaund in mirth, thou countest me to be to lighte: if thou de- maundest it not in good earnest, thou ta- kest me for symple: if thou demaundest me for to shewe it me, be thou assured I am readye to learne it: if thou demaundest it for to knowe it, I confesse I cannot teache it the: if thou demaundest it because thou mayste be asked it, be thou assured, that none wylbe satisfied with my aunswere: and if perchaunce thou doste aske it, be- cause thou sleapinge halfe dreamed it, seing that nowe thou arte awake, thou oughtest not to beleue a dreame: for all that the fan- tasie in the nyghte dothe imagine, the tong dothe publyshe it in the moynynge.

¶ My frende Pulio, I haue reason to complayne of the, forsomuch as thou doste not regarde the authorite of my person, nor the credyte of thy Philosophie, where- fore I feare least they wyl iudge the to cus- ryous in demaundynge, and me to symple in aunswerynge: all this notwithstanding, I determyne to aunswere the, not as I oughte, but as I can, not accoordinge to the greate thou demaundest, but accoordinge to the lytle I knowe. And partlye I doe it, to accomplyshe thy requeste, and also to fulfyl my desyer, and nowe I thinke, that all whiche shall reade this letter, wylbe cruel iudges of my ignoraunce.

¶ Of the Philosopher
Epicurus.

In

IN the Olympiade, the hundreth, & thre, Serpes beinge kinge of Perles, and the cruell Tiraunte Lysander captaine of the Peloponenses, a famous battayle was fought betwene the Athenians & Lysander, vpon the great riuer of Ageon, wherof Lysander had the victorie: and truly vnles the histories deceiue vs, the Athenians tooke this conflicte greauously, because the battayle was lost moze thzough negligence of their captaines, then thzough the greare nombze of their enemies. For trulye many winne victories moze thzough cowardelynesse that some haue, than for the hardinesse that others haue. The philosopher Epicurus at that time flosished, who was of a lyuely witte, but of a meane stature, & had his memory freshe, beinge meanely learned in philosophie, but he was of much eloquence, and for to encourage & counsel the Athenians, he was sent to the warre. For whā the auncientes tooke vpon them any warres, they chose first sages to giue counsaile, then captaines to leade the souldiours. And amongest the prisoners, & philosopher Epicurus was taken, to whom the tyrtaunte Lysander gaue good entertainemēt, & honoured him aboue all other: and after he was taken, he neuer went from him, but redde philosophie vnto hym, & declared vnto hym histories of times past, & of the strength and vertues of manye Greekes and Trojans. The tiraunt Lysander reioysed greatly at these thinges. For trulye tirauntes take great pleasour to heare the prowesse & vertues of auncientes past, & to folow the wickednes and vices of them that are presente. Lysander therfore taking the triumph, & hauing a nauye by sea, and a great army by land, vpon the riuer of Ageon, he and his captaines forgotte the dainger of the warre, and gaue the bydel to the slouthful flesh, so that to the greate presudice of the common wealthe, they led a dissolute and ydell lyfe. For the maner of tyrannous Princes is, to leaue of their owne trauaile, & to enioy that

of other mens. The philosopher Epicurus was alwaies brought by in & excellent vniuersitie of Athens, wheras the philosopher lived in so great pouertie, & naked they slept on the ground, their drinke was colde water, none amongest them had any house propre, they despised riches as pestilence, & laboured to make peace where discorde was, they were onely defenders of the common wealth, they neuer spake any idell thing, & it was a sacrilege amongst the to heare a lie: & finally it was a law intolable amongest them, that the philosopher that shuld be idel shoulde be banished, & he that was bicypous shuld be put to death. The wicked Epicurus forgetting the doctrine of his masters, & not esteeming grauitie (wherunto the sages are bound) gaue him self wholly both in wordes & deedes, vnto a voluptuous & beastly kinde of life, wherin he put his whole felicitie: for he said ther was no other felicity for slouthful men, then to sleape in soft beddes: for delicate parsons, to feale neither heate, nor cold: for fleshely men, to haue at their pleasure amorous dames: for orchards, not to want any pleasant wine: & gloutons, to haue their fill of all delicate meates: for herein he affirmed to consist al worldly felicitie. I do not marueyle at the multitude of his scholars, which he had, hath, & shal haue in the world: for at this day there are few in Rome, that suffre not the selues to be mastered with vices, and the multitude of those which liue at their own willes, & sensualitie, are infinite. And to tell the truth, my friend Pulio, I do not marueyle & ther hath bene vertuous, neither I do muse that ther hath bene vicious: for & vertuous hopeth to rest him selfe with the gods in an other worlde, by his well doinge, and if the vicious be vicious, I doe not marueile, though he wyll goe and ingage him self to the vices of this world, since he doth not hope neither to haue pleasour in this, nor yet to enioy rest wth the gods in the other. For truly & vnstedfast beleefe of an other life (after this wherin the wicked

wicked shalbe punished, and the good rewarded) causeth that now a daies the vicious, and vices reigneth so as they doe.

Of the philosopher Eschilus.



AR TABANVS being the .6. kinge of Persians, and Quintus Cincinatus the husbandeman beinge onelye dictatour of the Romaynes, in the prouince of Tharse, there was a philosopher named Eschylus, who was euill fauoured of countenance, deformed of body, fierse in his lookes, and of a verie grosse vnderstandinge, but he was fortunate of credite: for he had no lesse credyte amongest the Tharses, then Homere had amonge the Greekes. They say that though this philosopher was of a rude knowledge, yet otherwyle he had a very good naturall wytte, and was very diligent in hard thinges, and very patiente with those, that dyd him wrong, he was exceeding couragious in aduersities, and moderate in prosperities. And the thinge that I mosse delighted in him, was that he was courteous & gentyl in his conuersacion, & bothe pithye and eloquent in his communicacion. For that man onely is happye, wheras all men prayse his lyfe, & wheras no man reprooueth his tong. The auncient grekes declare in their histories, that this philosopher Eschylus was the firste that inuented tragedies, and that gotte money to represente them, and sythe the inuencion was newe, and pleasaunte, manye dyd not onelye folowe him: but they gaue him muche of their goodes. And meruaile not ther at my frende Pulio, for the lightnes of the common people is such, that to see vaine thinges all wyll runne: and to heare the excellency of vertues, there is not one that wyll goe. After this Philosopher Eschylus had wyrtten many bookes specialle of tragedies, and that he had afterwarde trauayled through many countreys

and realmes, at the last he ended the residue of his life, nere the Isles whiche are adioyning to the lake of Neotis. For as y^e diuine Plato saith, when the auncier philosophers were yong, they studied, when they came to be men, they trauayled, and then when they were old, they retyred. In mine opynion this philosopher was wise to do as he did, & no lesse shall men now a daies be, that will imitate him. For the fathers of wysedome are science and experyence: and in this consisteth the true knowledge, when the man at the last returneth home, from the troubles of the world. Tel me my frend Pulio I praye the, what doth it profite him that hath learned muche, that hath heard much, that hath knowen muche, that hath seene much, that hath bene farre, that hath bought muche, that hath suffered muche, that hath peried muche, that had muche, if after greate trauayle he dothe not retyre to repose hym selfe a lytle: truelye he can not be counted wyse, but a foole, that wyllingely offereth him selfe to trauayle, and hath not the wylle to procure him selfe reste. For in myne opinion, the lyfe withoute reste, is a longe deathe. By chaunce as this auncient philosopher was sleaping by the lake Neotis, a hunter mans had a hare with him within a cage of wood, to take other hares: wheron the egle sealed, which toke the cage with the hare on high, and seing that he could not eat it, he cast it downe againe, which fell on the head of this philosopher, and kyled him. This Philosopher Eschylus was demaunded in his lyfe tyme, wherein the felicitie of this life consisted: wherunto he answered: that in his opynion it consisteth in sleaping, & his reason was this: that when we sleepe, the entisementes of the fleshe doe not prouoke vs, nor y^e enemy persecute vs, neither the frendes do importune vs, nor y^e cold wynter oppresse vs, nor the heate of the longe sommer doth annoy vs, ne yet we are not angtye for any thinge we see, nor we take any care for any thinge we heare, finallye when

when we slepe, we feele not the anguishes of the body, neither suffer the passion of the mynd to come. To this end ye must vnderstand, that whē they were troubled he gaue them drinke, which caused them immediatly to sleape, so that so sone as the man did drinke it, so sone he was a slepe. Finally all the studie, wherein the Epicuriās exercised them selues, was in eatinge and seekinge meates: & the chiefe study of this Æschil⁹, was in sleaping, and hauing soft beddes.

Of the Philosopher Pindarus.

IN the yere of the foundation of Rome 262. Darius the seconde of that name, who was the sonne of Histaspie, and in the linage of kinges, the .4. king of Persye, Iunius Brutus, and Lucius Collatinus beinge Consulles in Rome, ther was in the great citie of Thebes in Egypt, a philosopher named Pindarus, who was Prince of that realme. They wrot of this philosopher, that in Philosophie he excelled all those of hys tyme, and also in touching, singing, and playeng of musicke, he was more excellent then any of all his predecessours: For the Thebanes affirmed, that there was neuer any scene of such aptenes in speakyng, and so excellent deliueringe of hys syngers in playenge, as Pindarus was: and moreouer he was a great morall philosopher, but not so excellent in naturall philosophie.

For he was a quyet and vertuous man, and coulde better worke than teache: which thyng is contrarie now a dayes in our sages of Rome. For they knowe lytle, and speake muche, and worste of all, in theyr wordes they are circumspecte, and in theyr deedes very negligent. The deuine Plato in his booke that he made of lawes, mentioneth this philosopher, and Iunius Rusticus, in his Thebaide sheweth one thinge of him, and that is, that an Embassatour of Lides, beinge in Thebes, seinge Pyndarus to be of a vertuous lyfe, and very dysa-

greable in his wordes, He spake vnto hym suche wordes. O Pindarus, if thy wordes were so lymed befoze men; as thy workes are pure befoze the Gods, I sweare vnto the, by those gods them selues that are mortall, that thou shouldest be as much esteemed in lyfe, as Promotheus was: and shouldest leaue as muche memozye of the after thy deathe in Egipte, as the greate Homere lefte of hys lyfe in Grece. They demaunded of this Pindarus, wherein felicitie consisted: he aunswered: In such soze ye ought to knowe, that the inwarde soule foloweth in manye thinges (for the mosse parte) the outwarde bodye: the which thing presupposed, I say, & he that feleth no grieve in his body, maye well be called happy, for truly if the fleshe be not well, the harte can haue no resse. Therefore accordinge to the counsaile of Pindarus, the Thebanes were aboue all other nacions and people mosse diligent, to cure the diseases of their bodies. Annius Severus sayth, that they were let bloude euery moneth, for the greate aboundaunce of bloude in their bodies. They vsed euery weeke vomitacions for the full stomackes.

They continued the bathes for to auoyde opilacions. They caried swete sauoures aboute them, againste the euill and infectiue ayres. Finally they studied noughte els in Thebes, but for to preserue, keape, and cherishe theyr bodies, as deliciously as they coulde inuente.

Of the philosopher Zeno.



IN the Olympiade. 133. Cneus Serusius, and Caius Brissius the Consulles in Rome, whyche were appoynted againste the Attikes, immediatlye in the monethe of Januarie, when they were rysen, and in the .29. yere of the reygne of Ptolomæus Philadelphus, this greate Prince Ptolomæus buylte
in

THE DIAL

In the cosse of Alexandrye a greate towler,
 whiche he named Pharo, for y^e loue of a lo-
 uer of his named Pharo Dolouina, thys
 towler was built vpon. 4. engins of glasse,
 it was large and hygh, made 4. square, and
 the stones of the towler were as bryght, and
 shyninge, as glasse, so that the towler being
 20. foote of bredth, if a candel burned withyn,
 those without might see the light thereof. I
 let the know my frend Pulio, that the aun-
 cient hystoriographers did so much esteeme
 this buildinge, that they compared it to one
 of the .7. buildinges of the world. At y^e tyme
 when these thynges flozished, there was in
 Egypt a philosopher called Zeno, by whose
 counsaile and industry Ptolomæus built
 that so famous a towler, and gouerned hys
 land. For in the olde tyme, the princes that
 in their lyfe were not gouerned by sages:
 * were recorde after their death in the regi-
 stre of soles. As this towler was stronge, so
 had he great ioye therein, because he kepte
 his derely beloued Pharo Dolouina therein
 enclosed, to the end she shoulde be wel kept,
 and also well contented. He had hys wyues
 in Alexandria, but for the mosse parte he
 continued with Pharo Dolouina. For in y^e
 olde tyme, the Perles, Siconians, and the
 Chaldeans did not marye, but to haue chil-
 dren to enherite their goodes: and the resy-
 due of their lyfe (for the most parte) to leade
 with their concubynes in pleasure and de-
 lightes. The Egyptians had in great esty-
 macion men that were great wasslers, es-
 peciallye if they were wise men, and aboue
 all thynges, they made great defiaunces a-
 gainst straungers: and as the multitude of
 wasslers was continually greates, so there
 were notable masters amonge them. For
 truly he that daply vseth one thing, shall at
 the laste be excellent therein. The matter
 was thus. That one day as amongest them
 there were many Egyptians, ther was one
 that would not be ouerthrowen nor cast by
 any man vnto the earth. This philosopher
 Zeno perceiuing the strength and courage

of this great wassler: thought it muche for
 his estimation, if he might throwe hym in
 wassling, & in prouing, he threw hym deade
 to the yearth, who of none other could euer
 be cast: This victory of Zeno was so great-
 ly to the contentacion of his person, that he
 spake with his tonge, and wrote wyth hys
 penne, that there was none other felicitie,
 then to know howe to haue the strength of
 the armes, to caste downe other men at his
 fete. The reason of this Philosopher was,
 that he saide it was a greater kind of victo-
 ry, to ouerthrowe one to the earth: then to
 ouercome many in the warres. For in the
 warres one onely wrongfully taketh the vi-
 ctorye, since there be many that doe winne
 it: but in wessling, as the victorye is to one
 alone, so let the onely victory and glory re-
 maine to him, & therfore in this thing felici-
 tie consisteth: for what can be more, the
 contentacion of the hart. Truly we cal him
 in this world happy, that hath his hart con-
 tent, and his body in health.

Of the Philosopher Anacharsis.



WHEN the king Heritaces
 reigned among the Meedes,
 and that Tarquin Priscus
 reigned in Rome, there was
 in y^e coastes of Scythia a phi-
 losopher called Anacharsis, who was born
 in the citie of Epimenides. Cicero great-
 ly comended the doctrine of this philosopher,
 & saith that he can not tel, which of these two
 thynges were greater in him, y^e is to wete, y^e
 profoundnes of knowledge y^e the gods had
 giuen him, or the cruel malice wherwith he
 persecuted his enemies. For truly as Pitha-
 goras saith. Those which of me are most e-
 uyll willed, of y^e gods are best beloued. This
 philosopher Anacharsis, then beinge as he
 was of Scythia (which nacion amongest the
 Romaines was esteemed barbarous) it cha-
 unced, that a malicious Romaine sought to
 displease this philosopher in wordes, & truly

ly he was moued thereunto more throughe malpce than throughe simplicitie. For the outward malpctious wordes are a manifest token of the inwarde enuious harte. Thys Romaine therfore saide to the philosopher, it is vnpossible Anacharsis & thou shuldest be a Scythian bozne: for a man of such eloquence can not be of such a barbarous nation, to whō Anacharsis answered, Thou haste saide well, and herein I assent to thy wordes, howbeit I doe not alow thy intention: for as by reason thou maist dispraise me, to be of a barbarous countrey, & commend me for my good lyfe: so I iustly may accuse the of a wicked lyfe, & praise the of a good countrey. And herein be thou iudge of both, whiche of vs two shall haue the moste praise in the world to come, either thou that art bozne a Romain, & ledest a barbarous life: or I that am bozne a Scythian & leade the lyfe of a Romaine. For in the end, in the gardein of this life, I had rather be a grene apple tree and beare fruite: the to be a drye Libane drawen on the ground. After that Anacharsis had bene in Rome long tyme, and in Greece, he determined for the loue of his countrey (nowe beinge aged) to retorne home to Scythia, whereof a brother of his, named Cadmus was kinge, who had the name of a kinge, but in dede he was a Tyrant. Since this good philosopher sawe his brother exercise the workes of a tiraffe, and seinge also the people so dissolute, he determined to giue hys brother the beste counsaile he coulde, to ordeyne lawes to the people; and good order to gouerne the: whiche thinge beinge seene of the Barbarous, by the consente of them all, as a man who inuented newe deuyces, to lyue in the worlde, before them all openly was put to deathe. For I wyl thou knowe my frende Pulio, that there is no greater token, that the common wealthe is full of vyce: then when they kyl or bannysh those whiche are vertuous therein.

So therfore as they ledde this philoso-

pher to death, he saide he was vnwillinge to take his death, and lothe to lose hys lyfe. Wherefore one said vnto him these wordes. Tel me Anacharsis, syth thou art a mā so vertuous, so sage, & so old, me thinketh it shuld not grene the to leaue this miserable lyfe. For the vertuous man should desyre the company of the vertuous men, the less the thys world wanteth: the sage oughte to dede his lyue, with other sages, whereof the wiccom is destitute: and the old man oughte little to esteeme the losse of his lyfe, since by true experience he knoweth in what trauayles he hath passed his dayes. For truly it is a kind of folye, for a man which hath trauayled & synished a dangerous & longe iourney, to lament to see him selfe now in the end thereof. Anacharsis answered him. Thou speakest very good wordes my frend, & I would that thy lyfe were as thy counsell is: but it greaueth me that in this confliete I haue neither vnderstanding, nor yet sence to tast, nor that I haue time enoughe to thanke the. For I let the know, that ther is no mā tong can expresse the grieve whiche a man feelet, when he ought forthwith to dye. I dye, & as thou seeest, they kyl me enelye for that I am vertuous. I feele nothinge that tormenteth my hart so much, as king Cadmus my brother doth, for that I can not be reuenged. For in mine opinion, the chiefe felicitie of man consisteth, in knowing, and being able to reuenge the iniury done without reason, before a man doth ende his lyfe. It is a commendable thyng that the philosopher pardone iniuries (as the vertuous philosophers haue accustomed to doe) but it shuld be also iust, that the iniuries which we forgive, the gods shoulde therewith be charged to see reuengemet. For it is a hard thing, to see a tyrant put a vertuous man to deathe, and neuer to see the Tyrante to come to the like. Me thinketh my frend Pulio, that thys Philosopher put all his simplicitie, in reuenginge an iniurye, during the lyfe in this worlde.

Of the Sarmates.

THE mounte Cancaſus as the Coſmographers ſay, doth deuide in ſt intoſt great Aſia, & which beginneth in India, and endeth in Scithia, and accordeth to the varietie of ſe people which uſe by the villages: ſo hath this mounte let theſe names, and thoſe which dwell to- ciardes the Indians, differ muche from the others: For the more the countrey is full of mountaynes, ſo muche the more the people are Barbarous. Amongſt all the other ci- ties which are adiacent vnto the ſame, ther is a kynde of people called Sermates, and that is the countrey of Sarmatia, whiche ſtandeth vpon the ryuer of Tanays. Ther growe no vynes in the prouince, becauſe of the great colde: and it is true, that amonge all the orientall nations, ther are no people which more deſyre wine, then they doe. For the thing which moſte we lacke, is comonly moſte deſired. Theſe people of Sarmatia are good me of warre, though they are vn- armed, they eſtyme not much delicate mea- tes, nor ſumptuous apparatle: For all their felicitie conſiſteth, in knowinge howe they might ſyll them ſelues with wine. In the yere of the foundacion of Rome. 318. oure auncient fathers determined to wage bat- tle againſt thoſe people, and other Bar- barous nations, and appoynted a Conſull called Lucius Pius. And ſyth in that war- res fortune was variable, they made a tui- ce, and afterwarde all their captaiues yel- ded them ſelues, and their countrey into the ſubiection of the Romayne empyre, one- ly becauſe the Conſull Lucius Pius in a banquet (that he made) filled them with wine. After the warres were ended, & al the land of Sarmatia ſubiet: the Coſul Luci⁹ Pius came to Rome, and for rewarde of his tra- uaille, required the accuſtomed tryum- phe, the whiche was not onely denied him: but alſo in recompence of his ſatte, he was

openly beheaded, and by the decre of all the Senate, about his graue was wyrtten this Epitaphie.

*In this tombe, Lucius Pius lyes
VV That whilome was, a Conſull great in Rome
And daunted eke as ſhame his ſclaunder cries
The Sarmates ſerne not by Manors his dome.*

*But by reprooſe, and ſhame of Romayne armes
He vanquiſht hath, not as the Romaynes uſe
But as the bloody tyrantes, that with ſwarmer
Of huge decencies, the fyrſt aſſaultes reſuſe.*

*Not in the warres, by byringe weapons ſtroke
But at the boarde, with ſweete delightinge food
Not in the haſarde fyght, he did them yoke
But ſedinge all in reſt, he ſtoole their bloode.*

*Nor yet with mightie Mars, in open field
He reſt their lynes, with ſharpe ypercinge ſpeares
But with the puiſſe of drunken Bacchus ſhield
Hometo bye Rome, the triumphe to be beares.*

THE ſacred Senate ſet this epitaphie here, becauſe all Romayne captaiues ſhould take example of him. For the maieſtie of the Romaynes conſiſteth not in vanquiſhyng their enemies by byces, and deliciousnes: but by weapons and prayers. The Romay- nes were very ſore greued with the audaci- tie of this Conſull Lucius Pius, and not contented to haue beheaded him, & to haue ſet on his graue ſo deſamorous a title: but made proclamation forthwith throughout Rome, by the ſound of a trumpet, howe all that, whiche Lucius Pius had done, the ſa- cred ſenate condemned for nothinge, and ſhould ſtand to no effecte. For ther was an auncient lawe in Rome, when they behea- ded any man by juſtice, they ſhuld alſo take awaye the auctoritie he had in Rome: and not contented with theſe thinges, the ſacred ſenate wrote to the Sermates, that they ſhuld release them of their homage, making them ſelues ſubietes of the Romaynes: wherfore they reſtozed them againe to their libertie. They dyd this thinge, becauſe the cuſtome among the ſtoute and valiaunt Romaynes was,

was, not to get noz winne realmes in makinge their enemyes drunke with delycate wines: but in shedding their proper bloude in the plaine felde. I haue tolde the this my frende Pulio, because the consul Lucius Pius did perceiue that the Sarmates put al their felicitye to ingurge them selues with wyne.

Of the Philosopher Chilo.

IN the 15. Debastia of the Lacedemonians, and Diades being kinge of Medes, Gigioe being king of Lides, Argeus being king among the Macedonians, and Tullius Hostilius being kinge of the Romaynes, in the Olimpiade. 27. there was in Athens a philosopher bozne of Grece, whose name was Chilo, one of the .7. sages, whiche the Greekes had in their treasure. In that time there was great warres, betwene the Athenians, and the Corinthians, as we maye perceiue by the Greke histories, which we see witten: sence Troy was destroyed, there was neuer peace in Greece, for the warre betwixt the Greekes and Troianes was neuer so great, as that which afterwarde they made amonge them selues. Sith the Greekes were nowe wyse men, they did deuide the offices of the common wealth, accordyng to the ability of euery person, that is to know, that to stout and hardye men, they gaue the gouernementes: to the sage, they recommended the embassagies of straunge countreies: & vpon this occasion, the Athenians sente the philosopher Chilo to the Corinthians to create of peace, who came vnto the cite of Corinth. Bechaunce on that daye there was celebrated a great feast, wherfoze he found all men plaieng, the chyldren in the fieldes bowlyng, the olde men playeng at dyce, the women solacinge them selues in the gardenes, the priestes shotte with the crosse-

bowes in the temples, the senators plased in the consistoie at tables, the maysters of fence played in the streates, and to conclude, he found them al playeng. The philosopher seing these thinges, withoute speakinge to anye man, or lyghtinge of on his horse, returned into his countrey, withoute declaringe his message: and when the Corinthians wente after hym, and asked him, why he did not declare the cause of his cominge, he aunswered them. Friends I am come from Athens to Corinthe, not withoute greate trauaile, and nowe I retorne from Corinthe to Athens, not litle offended: & ye might haue seen it, because I spake neuer a word to any of ye of Corinthe, for I haue no commysion to create of peace with vnchristye players, but with sage gouernours. Those of Athens commaunded me not to kepe copany with those that haue their handes occupied with dice: but with those that haue their bodes lodē with harness, and with those, that haue their eyes daseled with their booke. For those men which haue warre with the dyce, it is vnpossyble that they should haue peace wth their neighbours. After he had spoken these wordes, he returned to Athens. I let the vnderstande my frend Pulio, that the Corinthians thinke it to be the greatest felicitye in the world, to occupye both dayes and nightes in plaies: and meruel not hereat, neither laugh thou them to scorn. For it was tolde me by a Greeke being in Antioche, that a Corinthian esteemed it more felicitye, to winne a game, then the Romayne caprayne dyd to wyne a triumphe. As they saye, the Corinthians were wyse, and temperate men, vnles it were in plaies, in the which thing, they were to vicious. We thinke my frend Pulio, that I aunswere the more ampelye then thou requyrest, or that my healte suffreth, the which is lytle: so that both thou shalte be troubled to reade it, and I here shal haue payne to wryte it. I wyl make the a brieue some of all the others, which now come

THE DIALL

come vnto my remembraunce; the whiche
in dyuerse thinges haue put their ioye, and
chiefe felicityes.

Of Crates the Phi- losopher.



Crates the philosopher put his
felicitye, to haue good fortune
in prosperous nauigacyons,
sayeng: that he whiche sayleth
by sea, can neuer haue perfecte ioye at hys
harte, so longe as he considereth, that be-
twene death and life there is but on board.
Wherfore the harte neuer feeleth so greate
ioy, as whē in the haven he remēbreth the
perrills, which he hath escaped in the sea.

Of Stilpho the philo- sopher.



Stilpho the philosopher
put all his felicitye to be
of greate power, sayeng
that the man, which can
doe litle, is worthe litle,
and he that hath litle, the
gods doe him wrong, to
let hym lyue so longe. For he onely is hap-
pye, which hath the power to oppresse hys
enemies, and hath wherewith al to succour
hym selfe, and rewarde his frendes.

Of Simonides the Phi- losopher.



Simonides the Philosopher
put al hys felicitye, to be wel
beloued of the people, sayeng:
that churlyshe men, and euyl
condytioned, should be sente
to the mountaines amongst brute beastes.
For there is no greater felicitye in this
lyfe, then to be beloued of all, in a common
wealthe.

Of Archita the Phi- losopher.



Archita the Philosopher
had all hys felicitye in
conquering a battayle,
sayeng that naturallye
man is so muche frende
to hym selfe, and desireth
so muche to come to the chiefe of hys enter-
pryse: that though for litle trifles he playd:
yet he woulde not be overcome.
For the harte wyllynglye suffereth all the
trauayles of the lyfe, in hope afterwarde
to wyne the victoerye.

Of Gorgias the Phi- losopher.



Gorgias the Philosopher
put all hys felicitye, to
heare a thinge whiche
pleased hym, sayeng that
the bodye feeleth not so
muche a greate wound,
as the harte dothe an euyl worde. For tru-
lye there is no musike that soundethe so
swete to the eares, as the pleasaunt wordes
are sauoury to the harte.

Of Crisippus the Phi- losopher.



Crisippus the Philoso-
pher had all his felicitye
in this worlde, in ma-
kyng great buildinges,
sayeng that those which
of them selues leste no
memorie, bothe in their lyfe, and after theire
death, deserued infamy. For great and
sumptuous buildynges, are perpetual mo-
numentes of noble courages.

Of Euripides the Philosopher.



Euripides the Philosopher had all his ioye, in keappng a faire womā, sayeng his tonge with wordes coulde not expresse the grieve whiche the harte endureth, that is accumbred with a foule woman: therfore of truthe he which happeneth of a goodlye and vertuous woman, oughte of ryghte in his lyfe, to desire no more pleasure.

Of Sophocles the Philosopher.



Sophocles had al his ioy in hauing chyldren, whiche shuld possesse the inheritance of their father: sayeng that the grasse of hym that hath no chyldren, surmounteth aboue all other sorowes. For the greatest felicitye in this lyfe is, to haue honoure and riches, and afterwarde to leaue chyldren, whiche shal inherite them.

Of Palemon the philosopher.



Palemon put the felicitye of man in eloquence, sayeng and swearng, that the man that cannot reason of all thynges, is not so like a reasonable man, as he is a brute beaste: For accordyng to the opinions of many, there is no greater felicitye in this wretched worlde, then to be a man of a pleasaunte tong, and of an honest lyfe.

Of themistocles the Philosopher.



Themistocles put all his felicitye, in descendyng from a noble linage, sayeng that the mā which is come of a meane stocke, is not bound to make him selfe of a renowned fame: For truly, the vertues and prowesses of them that are past, are not but an example, to moue them to take great enterpryses, which are present.

Of Aristides the Philosopher.



Aristides the philosopher put al his felicitye, in keappng temporall goods, sayeng that the man, whiche hath not wherewith to eate, nor to susteine his lyfe, it were better counsaile for him, of his free wyl to goe into the graue, then to doe anye other thinge: For he onely shalbe called happye in this worlde, who hath no neede to enter into another mans house.

Of Heraclitus the Philosopher.



Heraclitus put al his felicitye, in heaping by treasure, sayeng that the prodigall man, the more he getteth, the more he spendeth: but he hath the respecte of a wise man, who can keape a secrete treasure, for the necessities to come. Thou hast now sufficiently vnderstode my frend Pulio, how that .7. monethes since, I haue ben takē with the feuer quartaine, and I swere vnto the by the immortall gods, that at this present instant wyting vnto the, my hand shakerh, which is an evident tokē, that the cold doth take me. Therefore I am constrained to conclude this matter whiche thou demaundest me, althoughe not accordyng to my desier. For amongest true

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friends, though the workes do cease, where-
with they serue: yet therefore the inwarde
partes ought not to quaille, wherewith they
loue. If thou dost aske me my friend Pulio,
what I thinke of all that is aboue spoken,
and to whiche of those I doe sticke, I aun-
swere þ. That in this world I do not graunt
anye to be happye, and if there be anye, the
gods haue them with them: because on the
one syde, chosynge the playne and drye waye
withoute claye, and on the other syde, all
stonye and myrtye, we may rather cal this
lyfe the precipitacion of the euyl, then the
safegarde of the good. I wyll speake but on
worde onely, but marke wel what thereby
I meane, whiche is, that amongst the mis-
happes of fortune we dare say, that there is
no felicitye in the worlde, and he onely is
happye, from whome wysedome hath pluc-
ked enuious aduersitye, and that afterwar-
des is brought by wysedome, to the highest
felicitie. And though I woulde, I cannot
endure any lenger, but that the immortall
gods haue the in their custodie, and that
they preserue vs from euyl fortune. Sith
thou hast retired vnto Bethinie, I knowe
wel thou wouldest I should write the some
newes from Rome, and at this presēt there
are none, but that the carpentines and Lu-
sitaines, are in great strife and dissension in
Spayne. I receiued letters how that þ bar-
barous were quyet, though the hoste that
was in Illiria were in good case: yet not-
withstanding the army is somewhat feare-
ful and tmerous. For in all the coaste and
borders, ther hath ben a great plague. Par-
don me my frende Pulio, for that I am so
sickely, that yet I am not come to my selfe.
For the feuer quartayne is so cruel a dis-
ease, that he whiche hathe it, contenteth
hym selfe with nothinge, neyther taketh
pleasoure in anye thinge. I sende the. 2. of
the best horses, that can be founde in all
Spayne, and also. I sende the. 2. cuppes of
golde, of the rycheest that can be founde in
Alexandria. And by the lawe of a good

man I sweare vnto the, that I desire to
sende the. 2. 02. 3. howers of those, whiche
trouble me in my feauer quartayne.

By wyse Faustine saluterh the, and of
her parte and myne also, to Cassia thy olde
mother, and noble wydowe, we haue vs
commendyd. Marcus the Romayne Em-
perour, with his owne hande wyteth this,
and agayne comendeth him vnto his deere
frende Pulio.

The.xli. Chapter.

That princes and greate lordes
oughte not to esteeme them sel-
ues, for beinge fayre, and vvel
proportioned.



IN the time that Io-
sue triumphed amogest
the Hebrues, and that
Dardomus passed from
great Grece to Samos-
tratia, & whē the sonnes
of Agenor, were seeking their sister Euro-
pe, and in the time that Siculus reigned in
Trinacri (now called Scicil) in great Asia,
in þ realme of Egipt, was builded a great
citty called Thebes, the which king Busiris
built, of whome Diodorus Sicculus, at
large mencioneth. Plinie in the. 36. chapter
of hys natural hystorie, and Homere in the
seconde of his Iliade, and Statius in all the
booke of hys Thebiade, doe declare greate
meruelles of this citte of Thebes, whiche
thinge oughte greatelye to be esteemed: for
a man oughte not to thinke that fabled,
whiche so excellent auctours haue written.
For a truthe they saye, that Thebes was
in circuite. 40. myles, and that the walles
were 30. fadys hye, and in breadthe it con-
teyned. 6. They saye also, that the citie had
a hundreth gates verie sumptuous, and
stronge, and in euerye gate. 2. hundreth
horsesmen

horsemen watched. Through the middes of Thebes passed a great ryuer, the which by mylles and fshyd greatelye profite the cite. When Thebes was in hys prosperytie, they say that there were tow hundreth thousande fiers, and besydes all this, all the kyngez of Egypt were buried in that place. As Strabo sayeth, De situ orbis, when Thebes was destroyed with enemyes, they found therein 702. tombes of kynges, which there had bene buried. And heere is to be noted, that all those tombes were of vertuous kynges. For amonge the Egyptians, it was a law in violable, that the king whiche had bene wicked in hys lyfe, shoulde not be buried after hys deathe. Before the noble and worthy Numantia was founded in Europe, the ryche Carthage in Affrike, the hardy Rome in Italye, the goodly Capua in Campaigne, and the great Argentine in Germanie, and the holy Helia in Palestine: Thebes onelye was the moste renowned of all the worlde. For the Thebanes amongest al nacions were renowned, as wel for their riches, as for their buildynges, and also because in their lawes, and customes, they had many notable thynges, & sundry severe me (which though they would not) are knowe by their severe doynge. Homere sayeth that the Thebanes had 8. customes, wherein they were more extreme, then any other nacion.

The first was, that the chyldren drawyng to 5. yeares of age, were marked in the fore head, with a hoothe yron, because (in what places so ever they came) they shoulde be knowen for Thebanes by that marke.

The seconde was, that they shoulde accustome their chyldren to traualle alwaies one fote. And the occasyon why they dyd this, was because the Egyptians kept their beastes for their Gods: and therefore when so ever they traupled, they neuer rydde on horsebacke, because they shoulde not seme to sitte vpon their god.

The thirde was, that none of the Citty-

zens of Thebes shoulde marye with anye of straung nacions, but rather they caused them to marye parentes with parentes, because that frendes maryeng with frendes, they thoughte the frendeshyppe and loue shoulde be more sure.

The fourth custome was, that no Thebanes shoulde in anye wyse make a house for hym selfe to dwel in, but firste he shoulde make hys graue wherein he shoulde be buried. He thinketh that in this pointe the Thebanes were not to extreme, nor excessive, but that they did like sage and wise men: yea & by the lawe of veryte I sweare, that they were sager then we are. For if at the leasse we dyd imploye our thought, but 2. howers in hys weake to make oure graue: it is vnpossyble but that we shoulde correcte euery daye our lyfe.

The fift custome was, that al the male chyldren whiche were excedyng faire in their face, shoulde be by them strangeled in the cradell, and all the females, whiche were extreame foule, were by them kyllled and sacrificed to the Goddes, sayeng that the Gods forgotte them selues, when they made the men faire, and the women foule. For the man whiche is verie faire, is but a woman vnparfyt: and the woman whiche is foule, is but a sauage and vylde beaste. The greatest God, of the Thebanes was Isis, who was a red bull, nourysshed in the ryuer of Nile, and they had a custome, that al those which had red heere immediatly shuld be sacrificed. The contrarye they dyd to the beastes; for sithe their God was a bul of tawnye coloure, none durste be so bolde to kyl anye beastes of the same coloure; in suche fourme and maner, as it was lawefull to kyl both men and women, and not the brute beastes. I do not saye this was wel done of the Thebanes, to sleve their chyldren, nor yet I doe saye that it was wel done to sacrifice men and women, whiche had red or tawny heere, nor I thinke it a thyng reasonable,

o.iii.

that

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that they shoulde doe reuerence to the beauties of that coloure: but I wonder why they should so muche dyspise foule women, and faire men, sithe al the world is peopled both with faire and foule. Then sithe those barbarous (lyuing as the dyd vnder a false lawe) dyd put hym to deathe, whome the Gods had adozned with anye beautye & we then which are Chzistians by reason ought muche lesse to esteeme the beautye, of the bodye, knowyng that moste commonly ther, hypon ensueth the vncleennes of the soule. Under the chzistall stone lieth oftentimes a dangerous worme, in the faier wall, is nourysht the venemous coluber, within the myddell of the whyte tothe, is ingendered greate payne to the gummes, in the fyneste clothe, the moles doe moste hurte, and the moste fruiteful tree by wormes is sonest perysht. I meane, that vnder the cleane bodyes, and faire countenaunces, are hyd manye and abhomyable vices. Trulye, not onelye to chyldzen whiche are not wyse, but to all other, whiche are light and frayle, beauty is nothinge els, but the mother of manye vices, and the hinderer of all vertues. Let Princes and greate lordes beleue me; whiche thinke to be faire and wel dysposed, that where there is greate aboundaunce of corpozal goods and graces, there oughte to be great bones of vertues, to be able to beare them. For the moste highe trees by great wyndes are shaken, I saye, that it is vanyte to be vayne glorious, in anye thinge of this worlde, be it neuer so parsite: and also I saye, that it is a greate vanyte to be proude, of the corpozal beautye: for amonge all the acceptable gyftes that nature gaue to the mortalles, there is nothing moze superfluous in man, and lesse necessarye, then the beauty of the bodye. For trulye whether we be faire or foule, we are nothinge the better beloved of God, neyther thereby the moze hated of men. A blyndenes of h world, A life which neuer lyueth nor shal lyue, A deathe which

neuer hath ende, I knowe not why man through the accident of this beautie should or darst take vpon hym anye vaine glory or presumption: sithe he knoweth, that all the fairest, & most perfittest of flesh, must be sacrificed to the wormes in the graue. And know also, that al the propernes of h members shalbe forfeited to the hongry wormes which are in the yearth.

Let the great scozne the litle as much as they wyl, the faire mocke the foule at their pleasoure, the hole dysdayne the sicke, the well made, enuie the deformed; the white hate the blacke, and the Giantes dyspise the dwarfes: yet in the ende, all shal haue an ende. Trulye in mine opinion, the trees beare not the moze fruite, for that they are streight onelye, nor for being high, neyther for geuynge greate shadowe, nor for being beautifull, nor yet for being greate. By this compariso I meane, that though a noble and stout man, be proper of parson, and noble of linage, shadowing of fauour, comelye in countenance, in renowne very high, and in the common wealth puissaunte, that therfore he is not the better in life. For trulye the comon wealthes are not altered by the simple labourers, whiche trauallye in the fieldes, but by the vicious men, whiche take greate ease in their lyues. Unlesse I be deceiued; the swine and other beastes are fed vnder the oaks with the acornes, and amonge the prickinge bziers and thornes, the swete roses doe grow, the sharpe beeche giueth vs the sauoury chesnuttes. I meane, that the deformed and litle creatures, of tyme are moste profytable in the common wealth. For the lytle and sharpe countenaunces, are signes of balyaunte and stoute hartes. Let vs cease to speake of men whiche are fleshelye, being este stones rotten and gone, and let vs talke of sumptuous buildynges, which are of stone: which if we shoulde goe to see what they were, we may knowe the greatenes, and the heighte of them. Then we shal not knowe the maner

maner of these beauty: and that whiche seemed to be perpetual, in short space we see it end, & lose the renowne, in such sort, that there is neuer memory of them after. Let vs also leaue the aunciente buildinges, & come to the buildinges now a daies, and one shall see, that there is no man y maketh a house, be it neuer so strong nor so fayre, but (liuing a lytle while) he shall see the beautye therof decaye. For there are a greate nombze of auncient men, whiche haue sene bothe the toppes of famous and stronge buildinges made, and also the foundation and ground therof decayed. And that this is true, is appeareth manifestly; for that if the toppe decaye, or the walles fall, or els if the tymber be weeke, or the ioyntes open, or the wyndowes waxe rotten, or the gates do breake, the buildinges forthewith do decay. What shall we say of goodly haules, and galleries well appointed, the which within short space, by coles or candels of childezen, or by torches of pages, or smooke of chimneyes, by cobwebbes of spyders, become as dye and foule, as befoze they were freshe and faire. Then if that be true, whiche I haue sayd of these thinges, I woulde now gladly know; what hope man can haue of the continuance of his beautye, synce we see the lyke destruction of corporall beautye, as of stonnes, wood, bricke, and clay. Vnprofitable Princes, & childezen of vanitie to folow the hardye, do you not remember, that all your health is subiecte to sicknes, as in the payne of the stomack, in the heate of the liver, in the inflammation of the feete, in the distemperance of humours, the motions of the ayre in the coniunctions of the moone, in the Eclipse of the sunne: I saye doe not you know that you are subiecte to the tedious sommer, and vntollerable winter? Of a trouth, I can not tell howe you can be (among so many imperfectons and corrupti-
ons) so full of vayne glory, by your beautye, feinge and knowing that a litle feuer doth not onely deface and marre the beautye, but

also maketh, and couloureth the face al yelowe, be it neuer so wel fauoured. I haue marvelled at one thing, that is to wete, that all men are desirous to haue all thinges about their body cleane, their golwes brushed, their coates nette, the table handsome, and the bedde fine, & onely they suffer theyr soules to be foule, spotted, and filthy. I durst saye, and in the faith of a christian affirme, that it is a greate lacke of wisdom, and a superfluitie of folye, for a man to haue his house cleane, and to suffer his soule to be corrupted. I woulde knowe what preeminence they haue, whiche are sayre: above others, to whom nature hath denyed beautie: peradventure the beautifull man hath two soules, and the defourmed creature hath but one: peradventure the moste sayrest are the moste healthfull, and the moste defourmed are the moste sycklyest: Peradventure the moste sayreste are the wyldest, and the moste defourmed the most innocentes: peradventure the faireste are moste skoute, and the defourmed moste cowardes: peradventure the sayre are moste fortunate, and the foule moste vnluckyest: peradventure the sayre onely are excepted from vyce, and the foule depyued from vertue: peradventure those whiche are sayre, of ryghte haue perpetuall lyfe, and those whiche are foule, are bounde to replenyshe the graue: I say no certaynlye. Then if this be true, why doe the greate mocke the lytle, the sayre the soule, the right the crooked, and the whyte the blacke, since they knowe that the vayne glorye, whiche they haue and their beautye also, shall haue an end, to day or to morowe.

A man that is sayre and well proportioned, is therefore nothyng the moze vertuous: and he that is defourmed and euill shapen, is nothyng therefore the moze vicious: so that vertue depedeth not at al of the shape of the bodye, neyther yet vice proceedeth of the deformitie of the face. For dayly we

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we see the difformitie of the body, to be beautified with vertues of the minde, and the vertues of the minde, to be defaced with the vice of the body in his workes. For truely he that in the vsage of his life hath any botche or imperfection, is worse then he that hath foure botches in his shoulders. Also I saye, that though a man be great: yet it is not true, that therefore he is stronge: so that it is not a generall rule, that the bygge body hath alwayes a valyaunt and couragious harte, nor the man whiche is litle of parson, shoulde be of a vyle and false harte. For we se by experyence, the greatest men, the moste cowardes: and the leaste of personage, the moste skoute, and hardy of hart. The holye scriptures speake of kynge Dauid, that he was redde in his countenance, and not bygge of bodye, but of a meane stature, yet not withstandinge as he and the mighty Gyaunt Goliath were in camp, Dauid kylled Goliath with a sling, and with hys owne sworde cut of his head. We ought not marueyle, that a litle theoperd should slep so valyaunte and mightye a Gyaunte. For oft times of a litle sparke commeth a great lighte: and contrarywise by a great torch a man can scarcely see to doe any thing. Then king Dauid did more, that he being of body litle, & of yeares tender, kylled the Lions, & recovered hys lambes out of the Woulfes throttes, & besides this, in one day in a battayle with his own handes, he slew to hys nombre of 800mē. Though we can not finde the lyke in our time, we may well imagine, that of h. 300. which he slew, there were at least 300. of them as noble of linage as he, as riche in goodes, as faire in countenance, & as high of stature: but none of these had so much force & courage, since he escaped alyue, & they remayned in the field dead. Though Iulius Cesar was bigge enough of body, yet notwithstanding he was enyll proportioned: For he had his head all bald, his nose very sharpe, one hande more shorter then the other, And al-

beit he was yong, he had his face rymelled, his coulour somewhat yeallowe, & aboute al, he went somewhat crooked, & his girdel was halfe vndone. For mē of good wittes, donot employ the selues to the setting out of their bodies. Iulius Cesar was so vnhandesome in his body, that after the battayle of Pharsalique, a neighbour of Rome said vnto the great Oratour Tullius. Tell me Tullius, why haste thou folowed the parcialities of Pompeius, since that art so wise, knowest thou not that Iulius Cesar ought to be lord & monarche of all the world: Tullius then aunswered. I tell the true my frend, that I seing Iulius Cesar in his youth, so enyll and vnseemly girded, iudged neuer to haue sene that y is sene of him, and did neuer greatly regard him. The good Silla knew it better. For he seinge Iulius Cesar so vncomely, & so slouenly apparelled in his youthe, oftentimes saide vnto the Senate: beware of this yong man, so enyll marked. For if you doe not wathe wel his proceedings it is he, that shall hereafter destroy the Romaine people as Suetonius Tranquillus affirmeth in hys booke of Cesares. Albeit that Iulius Cesar was vncomely in his behauiour, yet in naming onely his name, he was so feared thorough the world, as if bechaunce any kinge or princes did talke of him at their table, as after supper, for feare they coulde not slepe that night, vntyll the next daye. As in Gallia, where Iulius Cesar gaue a battayle, by chaunce a Frenche knight tooke a Cesarian knyghte prysonnier, who beinge ledde prysonnier by the frenchemen, sayd Chaos Cesar, whiche is to saye: Let Cesar alone, whypche the Gaulloys hearing the name of Cesar, let the prysonnier escape, and wythout any other occasion, he fell besydes hys horse. Now then let princes, and great lordes see, howe litle it auayleth the valyaunte man to be faire or soule, like that Iulius Cesar beinge so defourmed, onely wyth namyng hys name caused all men for feare to chaunge their countenance. Hannibal the

the aduenturous Captaine of Carthage, is called monstuous, not onely for his deedes, he did in the world: but also for the euyl proportion of his bodye. For of his .2. eyes, he lacked the righte, and of the .2. feete, he had the lefte foote croked, and aboue all, he was lytle of bodye, and verye sperse and cruell of countenaunce. The deedes and conquestes whiche Hanniball did among the people of Rome, Titus Liuius declarereth at large: yet I wyll recyte one thyng whiche an hystorlographer declareth, and it is this. Frontine in the booke of the stoutnes of the Penians declareth, that in .17. yeares, that Hanniball warred with the Romaines, he slew so great a nombze, that yf the men had bene conuerted into keyne, and that the bloude whiche was shed had bene turned into wyne, it had bene sufficient to haue fylled, and satisfied, his hole armye, beinge .80. thousande foote men, and 10. thousande horse men in his campe.

I demaund now, what, and how manye were at that tyme faire and moze beautiful of their bodies, and countenaunce, then he was: whose beauty at this day is forgotten, where as his valyauntnes shall endure for euer. For there was neuer Prince that left of him eternall memozye, onely for beynge beautifull of countenaunce: but wyth the sword in the hande, for enterpyssing great thinges. The greate Alexander was no sayzer, nor better shapen, then an other mā. For the cronicles declare of him, that he had a lytle throte, a greate heade, a blacke face, his eyes somewhat troubled, the bodye litle, and the members not well proportioned, and wyth all hys deformatye, he destroyed Darius, kinge of the Perses and Meedes, and he subdued all the Tyrantes: he made him selfe Lorde of all the castles, and tooke many kinges, and disinherited and slew, mightie Lordes of greate estates, he seached all theyr rythes, and pylled all their treasours, and aboue all thynges, all the earthe trembled before him, not

hauinge the audactie to speake one word againste him,

The.xlii.Chapter.

¶ Of a letter vvhiche the Emperour Marcus Aurelius vvrot to his Nephew, vvorthy to be noted of all yong gentlemen.



EXTVS Cheronensis, in hys seconde booke of the life of Marcus Aurelius declared, that thys good Marcus had a sytter called Annia Milena, the which had a sonne named Epsip⁹, who was not onely nephew: but also discipule to Marcus Aurelius. And after he was created emperour, he sent his nephew into Grece, to studye the Greeke tonge, and to bannysh him from the vices of Rome. This yōg Epsipus was of a good & cleere iudgement, wel made of hys body, and sayze of countenaunce: and sicke in his youth, he esteemed his beauty moze then his learninge, the Emperour his vncke wrote him a letter into Grece, which said this. Marcus Aurelius the Romaine Emperour, firste tribune of the people, and Bishop, wyssheth to the Epsipus his nephew, & scoller, health & doctrine. In the third Calendes of December, came thy cosyn Annus Verus, at whose comming al our parentage reioysed, and so muche the moze, for y he broughte vs newes of Gretia. For truly, when the hart hath the absēce of that he loneth, it is no one minute of an houre withoute suspicion. After that thy cosyn Annus Verus had spoken ingenerally to al, bringing newes from their frendes and childezen, we talked together, and he gaue me a lētre of thine, whiche is contrarpe to that was written me out of Grece, because thou

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thou wryttest to me, that I shoulde sende the money to continue the in studie, and they wrote vnto me from thence, that thou arte more yowthfull and gotten to the pleasures of the worlde, than becommeth the. Thou arte my bloude, thou art my Nephew, thou wert my scoller, and thou shalt be my sone, if thou art good. But G O D wyll neuer, that thou be my Nephew, nor that I call the my sonne, duringe the tyme that thou shalt be younge, sonde, lighte, and fraple. For no good man shoulde haue parentage with the vicious. I can not denye, but that I loued the fro the botome of my stomacke, and so likewise thy vniuersitynes greaueth me with al my harte. For when I redde the letter of thy folyes, I let the know, that the teares ranne downe my cheekes: but I wil contente my selfe. For the sage and wyse men, thonghe (against their willes) they heare of suche thinges passe, yet it pleaseth them, to redresse other thinges that maye come here after. I know wel that thou canst not cal to mind, but also I know that y^e hast knowen, that when thy vnluckye mother, and my sister Annia Milena died, she was then yong enough, for she was no more but 18. yerres of age, and thou haddeste not then foure houres. For thou were bozne in the morninge, and she dyed at nonetyde: so that when the wycked childe possessed lyfe, the good mother tasted deathe. I can tell that thou hast losse such a mother, and I suche a syster, that I beleue there was no better in Rome. For she was sage, honest, and faire, the whiche thinges are seldone seene nowe a daies. For so muche as thy mother was my sister, and that I had broughte her vp and maryed her, I loued her tenderly, and when she dyed here at Rome, I redde then Rhetorick at Rhodes, because my povertie was so extreme, y^e I had no other thinge but that which by reading Rhetorike I did gette. Whē newes came vnto me of y^e death of thy mother, and my syster Annia Milena, all comforte layed on syde, sozowes

oppressed my harte, in suche wise, that all my membres trembled, the boones sheuered, myne eyes without reste did lamente, the heauy sighes ouercame me, at euery minute my hart vanished away: from the botome of my hart, I inwardely lamented, & bewayled, thy vertuous mother and my dere syster. Finallye, sozowe exccuting his priuiledge on me, the ioyfull company greued me, and onely with the louely care, I quyeted my selfe.

I knowe not, nor can not expresse vnto the, howe, and in what sorte, I tooke the death of my syster Annia Milena thy mother: for in sleapinge I dreamed of her, and dreaming I sawe her, when I was awake, she represented her selfe besyde me, remembringe then that she lyued, I was sozwe to remember her deathe. Lyfe was so greuous vnto me, that I woulde haue reioysed to haue bene put in the graue with her: For truly he feeleth assuredlye the deathe of an other, whiche alwaie is sozowefull, and lamentinge hys owne lyfe. Remembringe therefore the greate loue, whiche my sister Milena bare vnto me in her life, and thinkinge wherein I mighte requyte the same after her deathe: I imagined, that I could not by any meanes, doe any thinge more acceptable for her, then to byng the vp, thou whiche arte her chyld, and leste an orphane so yonge. For of all traouayles, to a woman this is chiefest: to leaue behind her children to nouryshe. My syster beinge deade, the firste thinge I dyd was, that I came to Rome, and the sent the to Capua, to be brought vp there, in the whiche place, harde at my nose, they gaue the sucke two yeaeres. For thou knowest right well, that the money, which by readinge Rhetorike I gate, scarcelye satisfied for thy daylye fynding: but that in the night I reade some extraordinary lecture, and wyth that I payed for the mylke, whiche thou suckedst on the dugge, so that thy byringe vp, depended vpon the labour of my life. After that
thou

thou were weyned, and broughte from the reate, I sente the to Bietro, to a frende and kynsman of myne named Lucius. Valerius, with whom thou remaynedst vntyll .5. yeares were fullye accomplyshed, where I founde both him and the all thinges necessarye: for he was in greate pouertie, and a great babler of his tonge, in such sorte, that he troubled al men, and angred me muche. For truly a man should as willingly gyue money to cause him to be silente, whiche is talkatyue: as to geue to a wise mā, to heare him speake. The .5. yeares accomplyshed, I sente the to Toringue, a citie of Campania, to a maister which taught childre ther, called Emilius Torquatus, of whom, to the end he should teache the to reade and wyte. 3. yeares: I toke a sone of his, whom he gaue me to reade to him greke. 4. yerres, so that thou couldest not haue any profyte in the, withoute the encrease of my greate trauaile, and augmentynge payne to my harte. After thou were .7. yerres olde, that thou couldest reade and wyte well: I sente the to study in þe famous city of Tarenthe, where I kepte the .4. yerres, payenge to the maisters a greate some of money. Because now a dayes thorough our euill fortunes, there is none that wyl teache withoute great sypende. Without lamentinge I doe not tell the, that in the tyme of the Cincinos (whiche were after the deathe of Quintus Cincinatus, vntyll Cyna and Catullus) the Whyllosophers and maysters of Rome dyd neuer receyue one peny, to teache sciences to any that woulde learne them. For all the Whyllosophers, and maisters were by the sacred Senate payed, and none ceased to studye for lacke of money. For in those dayes, they whiche woulde applye them selues to vertue and sciences, were by the cōmon treasure mainteyned. As our fathers were well ordered in their thynges: so they dyd not deuide offices by order onely, but also by order they payed their money in suche

sort, þ they paid the to the cōmon treasure.

First to the priestes of the Temples,

Secondarilye to the maisters of scholes and studies.

Thirldy to þe pooze widowes & orphanes.

Fozthly to the straunge knyghtes, which of their owne free willes voluntarily were made citizens.

Fifthly to al the old souldiours, whiche had serued .26. yeares continually in þe warres. For those which retyred home to theyr owne houses, were honozably fond of the cōmon wealth. The .12. yeares past, I my self was in Tarenthe, and caried the to Rome, wher I redde vnto the Rethorick, Logick, & Philosophie, and also þe Mathematicall sciences, keping the in my house, in my company, at my table, and in my bedde, & furthermore I had the in my harte, and in my minde. The whyche thinge thou shouldest esteeme moze, then if I gaue the my house, and al my goodes. For þe true benefite is þe onely, which wout any interesse or respecte of profite is done. I kept þe with me thus in this sort in Laurete, in Rhodes, in Partinoples, & in Capua, vntill such time as the gods created me emperour of Rome. And then I determined to sende the to Grece, because þe shouldest learne the greeke tong, and also, to the end thou shouldest accusome thy selfe to worke, that which true philosophy requirerh. For the true & vertuous philosophers ought to conforme their workes to that they say, & publishe their wordes to their deades. Ther is no thinge moze infamous, the to presume to be sage, & to be desirous to be counted vertuous: principally for him that speaketh much, & worketh litle. For the mā of a pleasant tong, & euil life, is he, which w impositiues vndoeth the cōmon wealth. When I sent the to Grece, and w drew the frō Rome, it was not to eryle þe out of my cōpany, so þe thou hauing tasted of my pouertie, shouldest not reioyce at my prosperitie: but it was that considering thy youthful disposicion & lightnes, I was afraid to

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to vnder the in the palace, chiefely leaſte thou wouldeſt haue preſumed to haue bene to holde and familiar, becauſe thou werſt my nephew. For truly princes which take pleaſure that their childre be familiar with them, they giue occaſion that men ſhall not counte them wiſe, and cauſe alſo the yonge men to be eſteemed for light. I haue ſhewed vnto the that, whiche in the, and for the, I did in Italye. I wil now let the know, what thou haſt done, and doeſt in Grece, ſo that I wyll ſhewe the to be notoriouſ, that is to knowe, that thou taking and eſteeming thy ſelfe to be well diſpoſed in thy youthe, thou haſte forſaken thy ſtudy, and deſpiſed my counſayles, thou arte accompanied with baſe and light men, and haſte victiouſly employed the money, whiche I had ſent the to bye bookes: all the which thinges to the being hurtfull, are to me no leſſe diſhonour and ſhame. For it is a generall rule, when the child is fooliſhe, & yll taught, the blame and fault is laied on the maſters neck, who hath taughte him, and brought him vp. It greueth me not for that I haue brought the vp, neyther for that I haue taughte the to reade, and cauſe the to ſtudy, neyther lyke wiſe to haue kept the in my houſe, to haue ſet the at my table, nor alſo to haue ſuffered the to lye with me in bedde, neyther it greueth me to haue conſumed ſo much money on the: but with al my harte it greueth me, that I haſt not geuen me occaſion to do the any good. For ther is nothing that greueth a noble Prince more, then not to find perſons able of capacite, to do them any good. They tell me that thou art wel made of thy bodye, and faire of countenaunce, and that thou preſumeſt alſo in thoſe thinges: wherefore to enioye the pleaſures of thy perſonne, thou haſt forſaken philoſophy, wherewith I am not contented. For in the ende, the cor-
 * porall becometh, earlye or late, perſheth in the graue: but vertue, and ſcience, maketh men to be of immortall memo-rye. The gods neuer commaund it, neyther the ſtudies and

vniverſities of Italye ſuffered it, to haue the body ſyne and trymme, the viſage faire and cleere, and the hart full of Philoſophy: for the true philoſopher, of al other thinges eſteemeth leſt, the ſettinge forth of the bodye. For I the true and perfect Philoſophie is ſhewed, knowne, and declared, in hauinge his eyes troubled, his eye-browes burnt, the head bald, the ball of his eyes ſonke into his heade, the face yellowe, the bodye leane and feeble, the fleſh drye, the feete vnholed, the garmente pooze, the eatinge litle, the watchinge great: Finally he ought to lyue as a Lacedemonian, & ſpeake as a Grecian. The tokens of a valiaunt captaine, are woundes of weapons: and the ſigne of a ſtudiouſ philoſopher, is the diſpyſing of the world. For the wiſe man ought to thinke him ſelfe as much diſhonoured, if they call him ſtout, and ſturdy: as a captaine: when they call him a coward and negligent. I lyke well that the philoſopher ſtudy the auncient antiquities of his forefathers, that wrote the profound thinges for the time to come, that he teache profitable and holeſom doctrines to thoſe, which are nowe alpye, that he diligently enquire of the motion of the ſtarres, that he conſider what cauſeth the alteration of the elementes: But I ſweare vnto the Epiphanius, that neuer ſage of Rome came to thoſe thinges, nor Philoſopher of Grece likewiſe, but in ſerching the quyetnes of the ſoule, and diſpyſing the pleaſures of the bodye. For truly the ſenſualitie maketh vs to be inferiour to beaſtes, and reaſon maketh vs ſuperiour vnto men. The worldly
 * malice and preſumptiō naturally deſireth, rather to mounte, then to diſcende: and to commaund, rather than to be commaunded. And ſynce it is ſo, why doe we by byces abaſe our ſelues to doe leſſe then beaſtes, beinge poſſible for vs by vertues, to doe more then men? Amongſt al the membres, which men can haue, there is nothing more tender to breake, nor any thing more eaſy to corrupte: then is the handſomnes of the body, wherof

mine opiniō, to esteeme him selfe to be handsome, & proper of persō, is no other thinge, but to esteeme our selues, that dreameing, we shal be ritche and mighty, and afterwardes awakinge, we finde our selues to be poore and miserable. And me thinketh this thing to be true, because I wil declare, what it is to se a yonge man in his firste age, the hed litle, the heres yallow, the browe long, the eyes grene, the chekes white, & nose sharpe, the lippes coloured, the bearde sooked, the face lively, the necke smal, the body of good proportion, the armes litle, the fingers long, and to conclude, so wel proportioned in his membres: that mens eyes shoulde alwayes desire to beholde him, & the hartes alwayes seke to loue him. If this yong man so faire, and wel proportioned, remayned long time in this beautye, and dysposytion, it were good to desire it, to procure it, to keape it, to prayse it, and to loue it wel: for in the ende, if we loue the beautye in beastes and buydenges, by greater reason we shoulde desire it in our selues. But what shal we say, that when we doe not watche this lytle floure, whiche yesterdaye florished on the tree faire and hole, without suspicion to be lost, one litle hozy frost wasteth and consumeth it, the vehement winde ouerthroweth it, the knife of enuye cutteth it, the water of the aduersitye vndoeth it, and the heate of the persecuciōs pyneth it: the putrefaction of death decateth it, and bringeth it downe to the ground. O mā's life, that art alwaies cursed, I counte fortune cruel, and the vnhappye, since she will & thou tarrest on her, whiche dreameynge gyueth the pleasours, and wakynge worketh the dyspleasours: whiche gyueth into the handes trauaile to taste, and suffreth the not only to lyffen after quyet: whiche wille thou proue aduersitye, and agre not that thou haue prosperitye, but at her wyl: fynally she gyueth the life by ounces, and death without measure. The wycked and vicious saye, that it is a greate pleasure to lyue in ease: but I pro-

test vnto them, that ye mortalles neuer had so much pleasour in vices, but that they remained in great paine, after that they were bannished. For the harte, whiche of longe tyme hath ben rooted in vice, incontinentlye is subiecte to some greate alteration. I would al woulde open their eyes to se, how we lyue deceived: for al the pleasures which delighte the body, make vs beleue that they come to abide with vs continually, but they banishe awaye with sorowe immediatlye. And on the contrary parte, the infirmities and sorowes that blindethe soule safe, that they come only to lodge as gesses, and remaine with vs continually as householders. I meruaile of the Episcopus, why thou doste not consyder what shal become of the beautye of thy bodye in tyme to come, and that thou doste not regarde what lyethe in the grave, and se those presētly, which are gone and departed this life. By the dyuersitye of fruites, man dothe knowe the diuersitye of trees in the orcharde, that is to wete, the oke by & acornes, the date tree by the dates, and & vines by & grapes: but whē the roote is dyed, the body cut, the fruite gathered, the leafe fallen, & when the tree is layed on the fire, & become ashes, I would now know, if this ashes could be knowen of what tree it is, or how a man myght knowe the dyfference of the one, frō the other. By this comparison I meane to saye, that forsomuche as the life of this deathe, and & death of this lyfe commethe: we are all as trees in the orcharde, whereby some are knowen by the rootes of their predecessours, others by the leanes of their wordes, others by the braunches of their frendes, some in the floures of their beautye, and other some by the barke of their soule skynne. The one in their mercifulnes, the other in their stoutnes, others in their hardynes beinge aged, others in the hastines of their yowthe, others in their baronnes by their pouertie, others by their fruitfulness in ryches, fynally in one onely thinge we are all alike,

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that is to wete that all bypversallye goe to the graue, not one remaining. I aske now, when death hath done his office, executing all earthelpe men in the later dayes, what difference is there then betwene the saye, and the soule, which lie both in the narrow graue: certeinlye there is none, and if there be anye dyfference, it shalbe in the making of the graues, which bayne men inuented. And I doe not repente me for calling them bayne. For there is no vanitie nor fondenes greater, nor to be compared to this: for they are not contented to be vaine in their lyues, in their sumptuous houses: but also wyl after their deathe maineteyne their vanities, in their depe graues. The coale of the Cedar in my opinion, is nothing moze whiter when it is burnt, then the coale of the oke, which is litle and croked. I meane, oftetymes the Gods doe permitte, that the bones of a poore Philosopher are moze honoured, then the bones of princes.

With deathe I wyl threaten the no lenger, for lithe thou arte geuen to the vices of this life, thou wouldest not as yet that with a worde it shoulde destroye the: but I wyl tel the one worde moze, though it greue the to heare it, whiche is, that the Gods created the to dye, men begot the to die, women bare the to dye, and thou camste into the worlde for to dye: and to conclude I saye, some are borne to dape, on condicion, that they dye to morowe, and gyue their places to others. When the greate, and fruitefull trees begyn to bud forth by the rootes, it signifieth, that tyme draweth one for them, to cut the dype and withered braunches. I meane, that to beare chyldren in the house, is no other, but to wyl the fathers to prepare them selues to the graue. If a man woulde aske me what deathe is, I woulde saye, a myserable lake wherein al worlde men are taken. For those that mosse safelye thynke to passe it ouer, remaine therein mosse subtyllye deceyued. I haue

haue seen of the yonge men presence, and I suppose, that the selfesame will be to come hereafter. That when lyfe most sweetest seemeth to anye man, then sodainely death entred in at their dozes. O immortall Gods, I cannot tell if I maye call you cruel; I knowe not if I maye call you merciful, because you gaue vs fleshe, bones, honour, goods, frendes, and also ye gyue vs pleasure: synallye ye gyue to men, al though they wante, saue onely the cuppe of lyfe, whiche to poure selues you dyd reserue.

Since I maye not that I woulde I wyl that I maye: but if it were referred to my wyl: I woulde rather one onely day of lyfe, then all the ryches of Rome. For what anaylethe it to toyle, and take paines to increase honour, and worldele goods: since lyfe dayle dymynyssheth. Returning therefore to my firste purpose, thou muste knowe, that thou esteimest thy selfe, and gloryfyst in thy dysposicion, and beautye: I woulde gladly knowe of the, and of others, whiche are yonge and faire, if you doe not remember that once ye muste come to be olde and rotten. For if you thinke you shal lyue but a lytle, then reason woulde you shoulde not esteime poure beauties muche: for by reason it is a straunge thinge, that lyfe shoulde abate vs, and solye trayne vs: If you thinke to become aged, ye ought to remember, and alwayes to thinke, that the steele of the knyfe, whiche dothe muche seruice decayeth, and is losse for lacke of lookinge to. Trulye the yonge man, is but a newe knyfe, the whiche in processe of tyme cankerethe in the edge: for on one dape he breakethe the poynthe of vnderstandynge, another he losethe the edge of cuttyng, and to morowe the ruste of dyscasses taketh him, and afterwardes by aduersitye he is wythen, and by infirmityes he is dyscassed, by ryches he is whetted, by pouertye he is dulled agayne: and synallye, oftentymes it chaunserthe, that the moze sharpe he is whetted, so muche the moze the lyfe is put in

in hysarde. It is a true thing, that the fete and handes are necessarye, to clyme to the vanytyes of youthe: and that afterwardees stumblinge a lytle, immediatly rotolinge the heade downewardes, we dyscende into the myserye of age. For (to oure seamyng) yesterdaye we knewe one, that was yonge and beautifull: and with in thorte tyme after, we heare that he is dead and rotten.

When I consyder manye men, aswell frendes as enemyes, whiche were (not long a goe) flozysshyng in beautye, and youth, and presentelye I see them to be olde and dye, sycke and foule, trulye I thinke, that as then, I dreamed of them, or that they be not now, as they were then.

What thinge is more fearefull, or more incredyble, then to see a man become myserable in thorte space, that the fashyon of hys bysage shoulde chaunge, the beautye of the face shoulde be losse, the beard ware whyte, the heade baulde, the cheekes and forheade full of wrynckelles, the teethe (as whyte as iuerye) become blacke, the lighte feete, by the goute to seme crepeled, and afterwarde wareth heauie, the palsey weake- neth the stronge arme, the fyne smothe throte, with wrynckelles is pleated, and the boode, that was streighte and byryghte, wareth weake and coked. Aboue all that I haue spoken, I say to the Episcopus which presumeth to be faire (that he which throughe hys propernes in youthe was the mirrour of all, becommeth to be suche a one, that he douteth whether he be the selfe same now in hys age, that he was in hys youth. Doe what thou wylte, prayse and gloryfy thy beautye, as muche as thou thinkest good, yet in the ende, the beautye of men is none other: but as a beele to couer their eyes, a paire of fetters for the fete, manacles for the handes, a lyne rodde for the winges, a thefe of tyme, an occasyon of daunger, a prouoker of trouble, a place of lecherye, a sinke of all euyl, and synallye, it is an inuentour of debates, and a scourge of the

affectioned man. Since thou haste forsaken thy studye, I am not bound to send the any thinge, chiefelye wastinge thy monye in childeythe, and youthful toyes: but notwithstandinge all those thinges, I sende the by Aulus Vegenus two thousand crotynes for thy apparalle, and trulye thou shalt be very vnthankful, if thou dost not knowe, the benefite done vnto the. For a man ought to giue more thākes, for that which is done by gentlenes: then for that, whiche is done of necessitie. I cannot tel, what to let the vnderstande in these partes, but that thy sister Annia Salaria is maryed, who sayeth she is contente. I praye God it be so, for with money men may be holpe to mariages: but it lyeth in the gods, to contente the parties. If thou wilt knowe of Toringa thy cosen, thou shalt vnderstande she is imbarcked in the fleete, whiche went to Spaine, & in dede I neuer thought otherwise on her, after she had bene .3. daies hydde in the waye of Salaria. For maydes that wyl betymes gather their grapes: it is a token that they wyl goe on warfare with souldyars. Of Annus Rufus, thy frend and companion, I certify the, that he is gon into the Ile of Helespōr, and he goeth by the authority of the senate, to vnderstand the gouernement therof: and albeit he be yong, yet he is wyse, and therefore I suppose he wil render a good accompt of his commission. For of these two extremities, the aged that do decline, or the yong that are wise: I had rather holde my selfe to the wysedom of the yong, then to the whete herdes of the aged. My wife Faustine salueth the, and be thou assured, that in thy affaires (at the least to my seming) she is very fauourable vnto the, & dayly she instauntly requyzeth me, not to be angrie with the, sayenge: that sage men oughte not to esleme the lyghtenes of youth, and that there is no olde man that is sage, but he whiche in all thinges, was lighte and youtheful. I say no more to the in this case, but if thou wylte be good, I cannot denaye, that thou art not

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my nepheue, my olde scoler, and seruante.
For if in the I leamendment, I wil with-
drawe mine ire. For trulye amonge the lo-
uing hartes, there is nothing that plucketh
bp the euyl wyl, vnles it be the good lyfe.
At the request of my wyfe Faustine, I haue
wrytten the this worde, and I saie no more,
but that of her parte and mine, thou com-
mende vs to al the vniuersitye. The Gods
haue the in their custodye, to whom it may
please, to gyue the amendemente of lyfe.
Marcus Aurelius y romaine emperoure,
to the Annus Epsipus, wryteth with his
downe hande.

The.xliii. Chapter.

* Hovv princes and greate
Lordes in olde tyme vvere
louers of Sages.



ONE of the chic-
fest thinges, y wanne
reputacion and eter-
nall memozye to the
auncientes, was that
they sought wyse me
to be alwayes cons-
uerfaunt about them, to counsaile them,
that theire realmes were obedyente to their
counsailes. It profiteth a king litle, to leade
with him a greate number of sages, to go-
uerne him, and his realme: if his subiectes
are armed w malice, not to obey hym. Let
princes know, which esteeme not the coun-
saile of sages, that their commaundement, of
other shall not be regarded. For the lawe
which by wil is made, and not of right or-
dered, deserueth not to be obeyed. We whi-
che turne and tolle the leaues of the auncien-
t hystories, cannot deny, but that the ro-
maines naturally were proud. Yet we must
cōfesse, that as they haue ben stout in thin-
ges touchyng warres: so they haue shewed
them selues temperate, in the affaires of the
publike weale. And trulye herein, some de-
clared her wysedome and myght, for as by

hardye and stoute captaynes the enemyes
were destroyed in warre: so by sages & wise
men, the comon wealth was gouerned and
mainteined in peace. Ofte tymes with my
selfe I muse, whereuppon al these discordes
grewe, betwene lordes & subiectes, princes
and bassalles: and my count being made, I
finde that they haue both reaso. For y sub-
iectes cōplaine, of the litle loue of their lord:
and the lordes complaine, of the great diso-
bedience of their subiectes. For to save the
truth, disobedience is so much augmented,
and the desier of cōmaundement is become
so licentious, that it semeth to the subiectes
that the waighte of a fether is lead: and on
the cōtrary, it semeth to princes, that for the
flieng of a flye, they shuld draw their swo-
des. Al this euil, and damage commeth not,
but because the princes haue not with them
wyse men, whiche maye counsaile them: for
there was neuer any good prince, that cre-
dited euil counsaile. There are two thinges
in princes and prelates, whiche gouerneth
the soule, thone is y dignitie of y office, and
the other, is the matter of the persō. It may
wel be, that on may be good in hys person,
and euyl in his gouernement: and the con-
trary, he may be euyl of his persō, and good
in gouernement. And therfore Tullius Ci-
cero saith, that there neuer was, nor shall
be, such a Iulius Cēsar in his person, nor so
euil a gouernour as he was, for the comon
wealth. It is a great grace in a man to be
good, but it is much more, that he be a good
prince: and for the contrary, it is a great e-
uil for a mā to be euil, but it is much worse,
for him to be an euil prince. For y euil man
is only euil to him selfe, but the euyl prince
indomageth al others: for the more y poison
is scatered through the bodye, in so muche
more daunger he is, of his life. I meane, the
more power a man hath ouer the comon
wealth: so much the more euil & domage he
doth, if his life be euyl. I maruel, why prin-
ces and great lordes shuld be so curious, to
serche y best medicines to cure their bodies:
and

and that they are so slacke and slowe in seeking sage persons, to gouerne their comon wealth: For without comparison, it is greater damage that the comon wealth be euil gouerned, then if the prince and gouernour therof shuld be sicke in his person. Hitherto we haue neither red, nor sene, y any prince haue perished for lacke of phisike: but for lacke of counsaillours, we haue seen and red of infinite kinges and realmes, y haue ben destroyed, and utterly vndone. The lacke of a physicion maye cause daunger in mans person: but the lacke of a wise man, may set discorde amogest the people. For where there is amogest the people reuolutions, a ripe counsaile of a wise mā profiteth more: then a hundreth purgacions of rubarbe. If odorius in the forth booke of his Etimologies affirmeth, y the romaynes were foure hundred yeaeres, without phisicians. For Esculapius the sonne of Apollo, was y laste phisician in Grece. And in the tēple of the Esculapius, they set the statua of Archabuto, a man verie notable in phisike. For the romaynes were so beneficous to vertuous parsones, y to euery on that exceded other, in any kind of vertue, they rewarded him with mony, they set vp a statua of him for memory, or els they made him fre in the comon wealth. And then when the surgian Archabuto was become auncient, & very riche, & when by occasiō of great and dangerous woundes he dyd cutte of the armes and legges of certayne Romaynes, they thought him a cruel, & an vnnatural man. Wherefore they droue him out of his house, and killed hym with stones in the fiede of Mars. And let no man maruel thereat, for oftentimes they suffered lesse harme in enduring the paines, then to tary for y cruel remedies, whiche the surgians did there vnto apply. Some men wil say, that when rome was without surgians, the romaynes were discōfatted, & halfe lost. To this I wyl answer, y they neuer had a more prosperous time, then in that 400. yeaeres, when they

were without surgians. For rome was vndone when they receiued surgions, for then they droue philosophers out of rome. I doe not speake this, as a prejudice to any surgiaunt, for me thinketh that princes cannot be without some among them. For as the fleche is feble, and delicate, so dayly nedeth it remedies to comforte it. The sage surgeons geneth vs none but good and healthful counsailes. For they do not perswade vs to any other thinge, but that we be sober and continent, in eating, drynking, sleapinge, traauiling, and working: & that in all thinges, we shoulde be temperate. The end why I speake these thinges is, to perswade princes, prelates, and great lordes, that y great diligence, they haue to seke surgeans, & the somme of money they waste to mainteyne and content them, they shuld spend parte of that, to seke wise men to counsaile their personnes. For if men knew what it were to keape a wyse man, to commaunde in their house, they would giue for on only wise mā al their goods. We ought to haue pitye, and compassion vpon those princes, and great lordes, which lose so many daies in the moneth, & so many houres in the daye, in speaking of warres, buildinges, weapons, meares, beastes, of huntinges, & medicines, and oftentimes of other mens doinges, & of other vaine thinges, not necessary for mans lyfe. And this comunicatiō they vse with those, that are neither vertuous, nor wise: the which can neither wisely talke, nor yet answer directly vnto that which is asked. Oftentimes it chaūseth, that a prince moueth a matter, whiche they neuer sawe wyrtten before, nor w their eares they neuer harde the like, neyther in all their lyfe tyme, they had knowledge thereof, and afterwardes they began to determine it (or better to say) to cōtend with it, as if all the daies of their lyfe they had studyed it, which thing procedeth of great shame, and euil bringinge by. For the priuy counsaile may speake before their princes, but be they neuer so priuy,

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With licence or without licence, it is not law-
ful for them to contend. Helius Spartianus
in the lyfe of Alexander Severus, sayeth
that y^e emperour Severus was demaunded
once by an embassatoure of Greece, what
thing was most painefull to hym in rome:
wherunto the emperour answered. There
is nothing greuereth me more, then when I
am mery, that my seruauntes should rayse
anye strife or debate: I am not dyspleased,
that matters shuld be debated, but this gre-
uereth me, when on wyl obstinatelye strue,
that hath no grounde of y^e he speaketh. For
the mā whiche giueth reasoⁿ of that he spea-
keth, cannot be called obstinate. Theodo-
sius the Emperoure was once demaunded
what a p^rince ought to do to be good, wher-
unto he answered. When the sage p^rince
shal go on walking, he ought to haue with
him wise men, resoning when he shal eate,
how he shuld order his lyfe, and hys comon
wealthe: and finally at al vacant tymes, he
ought to be founde with sage men counsa-
linge. For the knight whiche entred into
battaille without weapons, is as hardye, as
the p^rince which wil gouerne the common
wealthe, without the counsaile of wyse men.
Lampridius in the booke of the Romayne
gestes, saith, y^e the emperour Marcus Au-
relius at hys meate, at hys going to bed, at
his byrthing, in his trauaile, openly, no^r se-
cretely, suffered at any time, y^e fooles shuld
sing or communicate with him, but only wise
and vertuous men, whom alwaies he most
intierely loued. Of truthe he had reason, for
there is nothinge, be it in test or in earnest,
but is better liked of a wise man, then of a
foole. If a p^rince be sad, cannot a wise man
peraduenture by y^e sayenges of y^e holy scrip-
ture counsel him better, the a foole by folish
wordes. If a p^rince be prosperous, shall it
not be better (to kepe him in y^e same prospe-
rity) to associate him selfe to a wyse mā, ra-
ther then to put his trust in a foole & mali-
cious persō. If a p^rince be destitute of mo-
ney, cannot perchaunce a wise man find him

better meanes to get it, then a foole whiche
doth nothing but aske. If a p^rince wil passe
the time away, shal not he be more comfort-
ed with a wise man, y^e rekeneth vnto hym
the sauoy^r histories done in times past, then
harkening a foole speaking folishely, & des-
claring thiges dishonestly, wth the sayenges
of the malicious of the time present. That
that I speake of surgiens, the selfe same I
speake of fooles. For I do not say that they
keape them for their pastime, though truly
we might better saye, to loose their tyme,
the to passe their time. For y^e maye iustly be
called tyme losse, which is spent without the
seruice of God, and profite of their neigh-
bours. That whiche I mosse marvel at is,
not so much for y^e greate authorite y^e fooles
haue in the pallaces of p^rinces & great lord-
des, as for the litle succour & credite which
wise mē haue amōg them. For it is a greate
iniury, y^e fooles shuld enter into y^e palace of
p^rinces vnto their bed side, & that one wise
man maye not, no^r dare not, enter into the
halle. So y^e to the on, there is no gate shut:
and to the other, there is no gate open. We
whiche are at this present, of right do com-
mend those y^e were before vs, for no other
cause, but that in times past, though the sa-
ges were few in number, & the world was
replenished wth barbarous people: yet the sa-
ges of those barbarous people were greatly
esteemed, and had in reuerence. And this
custome endured long tyme in Greece, that
when a philosopher passed by a Greke, he
rose and spake vnto hym, and he might not
sitte: for the contrary, all those whiche shall
lyue here after, wyl reprove vs whiche are
at this presente.

Forasmuch as we haue so greate a multi-
tude of sages, & do not liue amōgest barba-
rous, but amōgest Christians: and it is
a grefe to see, and shame to write, howe ly-
tle wyse men are esteemed. For at this day,
(throughe oure offences) not those whiche
haue mosse sciences: but those whiche haue
mosse ryches, in the common wealthe doe
command

command. I know not whether the deu-
ne wisdom hath depriued the, or that the
worldly malice hath losse the tast of them.
For now a daies, there is no sage, that liueth
all alone to be wise, but it is necessarie for
him to trauaile, how to gaine his liuing: for
necessitie enforceth him, to violare the rules
of true philosophy. O world, world, I know
not how to escape thy handes, nor how the
simple man and ideote defendeth him selfe
out of thy snares, when the sage and wise
men, yea with all their wisdom, can scar-
cely set their foote sure on the earth. For al
that wise men of this world knowe, is lytle
ynough to defend them from the malicious.
Readinge that which I read of times past,
and seeing that which I see of time present:
I am in doute which was greater, the care
that vertuous princes had in seekinge out
sages to counsell the, or the great couetous-
nes that others haue at this present, to dis-
couer mynes and treasures. Speaking there-
fore in this matter as I thinke, I desire that
those whiche haue the charge of gouernes-
ment (whether he be prince, prelate, or pri-
uate, I passe not) that they once maye haue
about them sage men, that be wise in dede,
and that they would loue him aboue all the
treasure they had heaped. For in the end of
good counsaile, there cometh profyte: and
much treasure, is a token of great daunger.
In the olde time when vertuous Princes
died, and that they lefte their children for
successours in their Realmes, and besydes
that, forasmuche as they saw their children
yong, and euill instructed in the affaires of
their realmes, they committed them to tu-
tours, that shoulde teache them good wor-
kes, and doctrine: rather than they woulde
giue them surueyours, whiche shoulde en-
crease and augmente their ryches and ren-
tes. For truly if the common wealth be de-
fended with great treasures, it is not gouer-
ned w good counsailes. The princes which
are yong, accustomedly are giuen to vices:
for in the one parte youth reigne, and on

the other part honestly wateth. And to such,
truly vices are very dangerous, specially
if they want sages to counsaile the, to keape
them from euyl company. For the couragi-
ous youth will not be bydeled, nor they
greate libertie can be chastysed. Princes
without dout haue more nede of wise men
about them, to profyte them in their coun-
sailes: then any of all their other subiectes.
For sence they are in the viewe of all, they
haue lesse licence to commit vice, than any
of all. For if they doe beholde all, and that
they haue auctoritie to iudge all, whether
they will or no, they are beholden, and iud-
ged of all. Princes ought to be circumspect
whom they trust with the gouernement of
their realmes, and to whom they committe
the leading of their armies, whom they send
as embassatours into straunge countreys,
and whom they trust to receiue and keape
their treasures: but much more they oughte
to be circumspect, in examininge of those,
whom they choose to be their counsaillers.
For looke what he is that counsaileth the
Prince at home in his palace: so likewyse
shal his renoune be in straunge countreis,
and in his owne common wealth. Why
shoulde they not then willingly examine, and
correct their owne proper palace: Let princes
know, if they doe not knowe, that of the ho-
nestie of their seruantes, of the prouidence
of their counsaillers, of the sages of theyr
personnes, and of the order of their house,
depēdeth the welfare of the comon wealth.
For it is impossible that the braunches of
that tree, whose rootes are dyed vp, shoulde
be sette to beare grene leaues.

The. xliiii. Chapter.

How the Emperour prouided,
at the houre of his death, for the
education of his 2. sonnes.

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NGNATVS the
Hystoryan in the booke
that he made of the .2.
Theodoses, of the .3.
Archadij, and of the
4. Honorij declareth,
that the firste and great Theodoses, being
fiftie yeares old, and hauing gouerned the
empyre, 11. yeares, lyenge on his death bed,
called Archadius and Honorius, hys .2.
sonnes, and committed them to Estilcon^s
and Ruffinus, to be instructed, and ordey-
ned them lykeWISE for gouerners of theyr
estates, and segnoyses. Before that hys father
died he had now created his chyldren Ce-
sars, beinge then of the age of, 17. yeares.
Therfore the father seinge them not as yet
rype, nor able to gouerne their Realmes,
and segnoyses: he committed them vnto
maisters and tutours. It is not alwaies a
general rule, though one be of, 25. yeares of
age, that he hath moze discretion to gouer-
ne realmes, & segnoyses then another of, 17.
For dayly we see, that we allow and com-
mend the, 10. yeares of one, and reprove the
40. yeares of an other. Ther are many prin-
ces tender of yeres, but rype in counsailes:
and for the contrary, there are other prin-
ces old in yeares, and yong in counsailes.
When the good Emperour Vespasian
died, then he determined to put his sonne
Titus in the gouernement of the empire, &
an other aged Senatour, because they saide
Titus was to yong. And as they were in
controuersye of the matter, the Senatour
Rogerus Patroclus said vnto hys Senate.
For my parte, I requyre rather a Prince
which is yong, and sage: then I do a prince
which is old and foolyshe. Therfore now as
touchinge the chyldren of Theodose, one
day Estilconus the tutour of Archadius,
speaking to a great philosopher, very sage,
whose name was Epimundus, sayde thus
vnto him. Thou, & I longe time haue bene
acquainted together in the palace of hys em-
perour Theodose, my lord, who is deade,

and we are aloue: thou knowest it had bene
better, that we .2. had died, & that he had ly-
ued. For there be many to be seruantes of
princes, but there are fewe good princes. I
feele no greater grieve in this worlde: than to
know many princes in one realme. For the
man, which hath sene many princes in hys
lyfe: hath sene many noueltes and altera-
tions, in the comon wealth. Thou knowest
well, that when Theodosius my mayster
died, he spake to me these wordes, hys whiche
were not spoken without great sighes, and
multiplieng of teares. O Estilconus I
dye, and am goynge into an other worlde,
wherein I shall giue a streight accompte
of the Realmes, and segnoyses, whiche I
had vnder my charge: And therfore, when
I thinke of myne offences, I am merue-
lously abashed. But when I remember the
mercy of G D D, then I receyue some co-
forte and hope. As it is but mete we should
trust in the greatnes of hys mercy: so lyke-
wise is it reason we shoulde feare the ri-
gour of his iustice: For truly, in the christi-
an lawe, they are not suffred to liue (as they
doe in this worlde) and afterward without
repentaunce, to goe streight to Paradyse.
Then when I thinke of the great benefittes
whiche I haue receiued of G D D, and of the
great offences, whiche I haue committed,
and when I thinke of the longe tyme, I
haue lyued, and of the litle, whiche I haue
profyred, and also that vnprofitably I haue
spent my time: On the one part, I am loath
to dye, for that I am afrayed: and on the o-
ther part, I would gladly lyue lenger, since
this doth not profyt. The man of an euyl
lyfe, why doth he desire to lyue any longer?
My life is now finished, & the time is shorte
to make amendes. And sicke god demaun-
deth nought els but a contrite harte, wyth
all my harte I doe repente, and appeale to
his iustice, of mercye, because it maye
please hym to receyue me into hys house,
and to giue me the glozve of the confus-
sion of all my synnes. And I proteste
I dye

I dye in the holy catholyke faith, & comende my soule to god, & my body to the earth, & to you Estilconus & Ruffinus, my faithfull seruantes, I recomende my dere beloued childe. For hereby the loue of the childe is seene, in that the father forgetteth them not at the houre of his death. In this case, of one onely thing I doe warne you, one onely thing I require you, one onely thing I desire you, & one onely thing I commaund you, and that is, that you occupye not your mindes, in augmentinge the Realnes and seignories of my childe: but onely that you haue respecte, to giue them good seruantes to that purpose. For it was onely the wyse men, which I had about me, that thus long haue mainteyned me, in this great auctoritie. It is a goodly thing for a prince to haue skilful captaynes for the warres: but without comparison, it is better to keape and haue wisemen in his palace. For in the end, the victorie of the battayle consisteth, in the force of many: but the gouernement of the common weale, oftentimes is put vnder the aduise of one alone. These so dolefull, and pittifull wordes, Theodose my mayster spake vnto me: nowe tell me Epimundus what I should doe at this present, to fulfill his commaundement: For at his harte he had nothinge that troubled him so much, as to thinke whether his childe would vndo, or encrease the common wealthe. Thou Epimundus, thou art a Grecian, thou art a philosopher, thou hast vnderstanding, thou art an old seruant, thou arte my faithfull frende, therefore for all these thinges, thou art bound to giue me good and healthfull counsaile. For many times I haue hearde Theodosius my maister say, that he is not accepted sage, whiche hath turned & leaues of many booke: but he whiche knoweth, and can geue, good & healthfull counsailes. Epimundus the philosopher answered to these wordes. Thou knowest well Lorde Estilconus, that the auncientes and great Philosophers, ought to be briefe in wordes,

and very perfect in their woorkes. For other wise, to speake muche, & worke litle, semeth rather to be done like a tyrant: then lyke a greeke philosopher. The Emperour Theodosius, was thy Lord and my frend, I say frende, because it is the libertie of a greeke Philosopher, to acknowledge no homage nor seruice to any supertour. For he in his harte can haue no true science: that to rebuke the vicious, kepeth his mouth shutte. In one thinge I content my selfe in Theodose aboue all other princes, whiche were in the Romaine empyre, and that is, that he knewe and talked wisely of all his affaires, and also was verie dyligent, to execute the same.

For all the fault of Princes is, that they are prompte and holde to talke of vertues: and in executing them, they are very slacke and fearefull. For suche Princes can not contynue in the vertue, whiche they doe commende: nor yet resiste the vyce, whiche they doe dispraise. I graunte that Theodosius was an executour of iustice, mercifull, skilful, sober, valiaunt, true, longynge, thankfull, and vertuous: and finally, in all thinges, and at all times, he was fortunate. For fortune oftentimes bringeth that to Princes, whiche they wyll and desyre: yea many times better, than they looke.

Presuppose it to be true (as it is most true) that the tyme was alwayes prosperous to the Emperour Theodosius: yet I doute, whether this prosperitie wyll contynue in the succession of his childe. For worldely prosperitie is so mutable, that with one onely man, in a moment, she maketh a thousande shewde turnes: and so muche the more it is harde to contynue stedfast, in the seconde heyre.

Of slowe, and dull horses, come oftentimes couragious, and syerle coltes: and euyn so, of vertuous fathers, come chyldren euill brought vp. For the wicked chyldren, inherite the worst of the father, whiche is ryches: and are dysenherited

of

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of the beste, which are vertues. That which I perceyue in this matter, as wel of the father which is dead, as of the children, which are alpye, is that Theodose was vertuous in deede, and the children are capable to folowe both good and euyl, and therefore it is requisite that you now goe aboute it. For the prince whiche is yonge, is in greate peryll, when in his youth he beginneth not to folowe the steppes of vertue. To speake particularly of Archadius, and Honorius, I let the know Estilcon, that it is a thing superfluous to talke of it, for I should lose my time: because the thinges of Princes are very delicate, and though we haue licence to praise their vertues, yet we are bound to dissemble their fautes. As a sage father, Theodose desired the to gyue his children good doctrine, and alwayes to accompany them: But I as a friend doe counsaile the, that thou kepe them from euyl. For in the end, all is euyl, to accompany with the euyl, and forsake the good: but the worse euill pursueth vs, rather by the presence of the euyl, than by the absence of the good. It maye well be, that one beyng alone, and without the company of the good, maye yet notwithstandinge be good: but for one that is accompanied with euyl men, to be good, of this I greatly doute. For the same cause, that a man accompanyeth him selfe wyth the vicious: the selfe same day he is bounde to be subiecte to vice. Estilconus, synce thou so muche desireste to accomplyshe the commaundemente of thy lord and maister Theodose, if thou canst not cause that Archadius and Honorius (whiche are yonge princes) doe accompany with the good: yet at the leaste withdrawe them from the company of the euyl. For in the courtes of princes, vicious men are none other, but solicitors in this worlde, to attempte others to be vicious. Howe manye, and what solicitors haue we seene (thou and I in Rome) the whiche, forgettinge the affayres of their Lordes, did sollicite for them selues, byces

and pleasures. I wyll not tell what seruantes of princes haue bene in times past: but what they were, & what they are, euery man may easely see. I wyll tell the onely, not of those whiche oughte to be counsellours of princes: but also of those, whiche ought not to liue in their courtes. For the counsellors and officers of princes ought to be so iust, that theyares can not finde what to cutte awaye in their lyues, nor yther neadeth any nedle or thred to amend their same. If thou Estilconus haste hard what I haue sayde: marke now what I wyll saye, and keape it in memory, for peraduenture it may profite the one day.

In the courtes of princes, proude men ought to haue no familiaritie nor enter-tenement. For it is vnseemely, that those whiche are not gentle in wordes, shuld commaund: & those y haue not their hartes readye to obey, shuld be familiar wth the prince.

In the courtes of princes, ther ought not to be of counsaile, & much lesse familiar, enuious men: for if enuie reigne amongeste Princes and counsaillours, there shall alwayes be discentions in the comon wealthe.

In the courts of princes, hasty men ought not to haue familiaritie: for oftentimes it chaunceth, that the impacience of the counsellors, causeth the people to be euyl content with their princes.

In the courtes of princes, ther ought not to be familiar, nor of counsaile, greadye nor couetous men: for the Princes giue greate occasion to the people, to be hated, because their seruantes haue alwayes their handes open, to receyue bribes.

In the courtes of princes, ther ought not to be familiar fleshelye men: for the vice of the fleshe hath in it so litle profite, y he that is therewith ouercome, is, or ought to be, to the prince alwaie suspected. In y palace of a king, ther ought not to be, neither drunkardes, nor gluttons: for wheras the familiers ought principallye to serue the princes wth good counsaile, in mine opiniō, after y a man

is fol and cloyde, he is more lyke to bealche after his surfette: the able to giue any profitable counsaile in the common wealth.

In the palace of princes, they ought not to dwell, nor to be familiar. blasphemers: for the man which is a seruaunt, and openly dare blasphemie his creator: wyl not spare in secret to speake euyl of his lord.

In the palace of princes, they ought not to be of counsaile, nor familiar, the neglygent and delicate persons: For there is nothing (next vnto the deuine prouidence) that healeth princes more to be puissaunt, and mightie, then when their seruauntes are saythfull and diligent.

In the palace of princes, defamed men ought not to haue familiaritie: for the prince can not excuse him selfe, when they doe rebuke him, if (in his house) he mainteyne seruauntes, which openly are defamed.

In the palace of princes they ought not to suffer ideotes and fooles: for the realmes are not loast, for that the princes are yong, berre vncircumspette, and vitious: but for that their counsaylours are simple and malicious. Wo, wo, wo, be to the lande, where the lord is vitious, the subiect seblous, the seruaunte couetous, and the counsaylour simple and malicious. For the common wealth perissheth, when ignorance & malice reigne in the Prince, and gouernour therof.

These wordes passed betwene the noble knight Estilconus, and the wise Philosopher Epimundus, vpon the bytynginge by of those .2. princes Archadius, and Honorius. And because that princes and prelates might see (whiche now haue the charge to gouerne people) how much the auncientes dyd desire, to haue sage men aboute them: (notwithstandinge that I haue spoken), I will shewe you here some notable and auncient examples.

The .xlv. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche Cresus king of Lydia vvrote, to the Philosopher Anacharsis.



IN the yeare of the creation of the worlde, 4355, and in the thyrde age, Sardanapalus beinge kinge of the Assyrians, Ogias kinge of the Hebryues, and Elchias beinge hygh byshop of the holy temple, at that time when Rea, the mother of Romulus lyued, in the seconde yeare of the firste Olimpiade, the great and renowned realme of Lydes, had beginninge: as Plinie in the firste booke of the naturall hystory saith. Lidia is in Asia Minor, and first was called Meonia, and afterwarde was called Lidia, and now is called Morea. This Realme of Lydes had many worthy cities, that is to wete, Ephese, Colose, Aclasma, and Phorea.

The first kinge of Lydes was Ardis, a man of great courage, & a Greeke bozne, and reigned .36. yeares.

The second was Aliaces, who reigned 14. yeares.

The thirde was Candale, and he reigned .4. yeares.

The fourth was Gingio and reigned .5. yeares.

The fiftie was Cefus, and reigned .6. yeares.

The syxte was Hadates, and reigned .15. yeares.

The .vii. was Aliates, and reigned .4. yeares.

The .viii. was Cresus, whom Xenophos declareth to be more ballaunte in feates of war: the comely of personage. For though he was lame of one foote, blind of one eye, lackynge one eare, and of bodye not much bigger than a dwarfe: yet for al this he

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he was a iuste man, very constant, stoute, mercyfull, couragious, and aboue all, he was a great enemy to the ignorant, and a specyall frende to the sage. Of thys kynge **C**resus, Seneca speaketh in hys booke of clemencye, and sayeth, that the sages were so entierly beloued of him, that the greekes (which had the fountaine of eloquence) dyd not call hym a louer, but enticled hym the loue of sages. For neuer no louer did so much to attayne to the loue of his ladye, as he dyd to draw to him, and to hys countrey, sage men. This kynge Cresus therfore being lord of many Barbarous nations (the whiche loued better to drinke the bloude of the innocent: then to learne the sciences of the wise) lyke an excellent Prince determined for the comfort of his person, and remedye of his common wealth, to searche oute the greatest sages, that were in Grece. At that tyme flourished the famous & renowned philosopher Anacharsis, who though he was bozne and brought vp amonges the Scythies: yet he was alwaies resident notwithstanding in Athens. For the vniuersitie of Athens did not despyse those, that were Barbarians: but those, that were vicious. The king Cresus sent an embassatour in great auctoritie with riches, to the Philosopher Anacharsis, to perswade and desyre him, and with those giftes and presentes to present him, to the end it might please him, to come and see his person, and to set an order in his commo wealth. Cresus not contented to send him giftes which the embassatour caried, but for to let him vnderstand, why he did so, wrote him a letter with his owne hand, as hereafter foloweth.

✱ The letter of kinge Cresus, to
Anacharsis the Philosopher.



Cresus kynge of Lydes, writeth to the Anacharsis great Philosopher, which remaineth in Athens, heath to thy pers-

son, and encrease of vertue. Thou shalt see howe well I loue the, in that I neuer sawe the, nor knewe the, to write vnto the a letter. For the thinges, whiche with the eyes haue neuer bene sene: seldome times with the hart are truly beloued. Thou doest esteeme litle (as truth is) these my small giftes, and presentes, which I send the: yet I praye the greatly esteeme the wyl, and hart, wherewith I doe visite the. For noble hartes receyue more thankesfully, that which a man desireth to giue them: then that which they doe giue them in dede. I desyre to correde this my Realme, and to see amendement in the common wealth. I desire some good order for my person, & to take order touching the gouernement of my palace. I desire to communicate with a sage some thinges of my lyfe, and none of these thinges can be done without thy presence. For there was neuer any good thinge made, but by the meane of wisdom. I am lame, I am crooked, I am balde, I am a counterfeyte, I am black, & also I am broken, finally amongest all other men, I am a monster. But al these imperfections are nothinge to those, that remaine, that is to wete, I am so infortunate, that I haue not a Philosopher with me. For in the world, ther is no greater shame: than not to haue a wise man about him, to be conuersant withall. I count my selfe to be dead, though to the simple fooles I seme to be aloue. And the cause of my deathe is, because I haue not with me some wise person. For truly he is onely aloue amongest the lyuinge: who is accompanied with the sages. I desire the greatly to come, and by the immortall gods I coniure the, that thou make no excuse: and if thou wilt not at my desire, doe it for that thou art bounde. For many men ostentymes condescende to doe that, whiche they would not: more for vertues sake, then to satisfie the demaunde of any other. Thou shalt take that whiche my embassatour shall giue the, and beleue that which he shal tell in my behalfe, and by this my

my letter I do promyse the, that when thou shalt arriue here, I wyl make the treasourer of my coffers, only counsaillour of mine affaires, secretary of my counsaile, father of my children, resourmer of my realmes, master of my person, and gouernoure of my common wealthe: finally, Anacharsis shall be Cresus, because Cresus maye be Anacharsis. I saye no more, but the gods haue the in their custodie, to whome I pray, that they maye hasten thy commyng. The imbassatour departed to goe to Athens, bearyng with hym this letter, and many iewels and bagges of golde: and by chaunce, Anacharsis was reading in thuniuersity, at the arriuall of the imbassatoure to Athens. Who openly saide and dyd his message to Anacharsis, presenting vnto hym the giftes and the letter. Of which thing, all those of the vniuersitye marueyled: for the barbarous princes were not accustomed to seke philosophers, to gouerne their comon wealth, but to put them to death, and take from them their liues. After the great philosopher Anacharsis had hard the embassage, sene the giftes, and receiued the letter, without alterynge his countenaunce, or elacion of hys person, impedymente in hys tong, or desire of the ryches: immediatly before al the philosophers, saide these wordes, which heare after are wryten.

2. The letter of the Philosopher
Anacharsis to the king Cresus.

Anacharsis the leaste of the philosophers, wissheth to the Cresus, moste myghty and puiſſaunt king of Lides, the healthe whiche thou wisshest hym, and the increase of vertue which thou sendest hym. They haue tolde vs manye thinges, here in these parties, as wel of thy realme, as of thy person, and there in those parties, they saye many thinges, as wel of our vniuersity, as of my selfe. For the harte

taketh greate pleasoure, to knowe the conditions and lyues of all those in the world. It is wel done to desier, and to procure to knowe al the liues of the euil, for to amend ours it is wel done, to procure and knowe the liues of the good, for to followe them: but what shall we do, since now a dayes, the euyl doe not desire to knowe the liues of the euil, but for to couer them, and kepe them secrete, and do not desier to knowe the liues of the good, for to followe them. I let the knowe (kinge Cresus) that the philosophers of Greece felte not so muche payne to be vertuous, as they selte in defendinge them from the vicious. For if a man behold vertue, immediatly he suffereth to be taken: but the euyl for anye good that a man can doe vnto them, neuer suffereth them selues to be vanquished. I beleue well, that the tyrannye of thy Realme is not so greate, as they talke of here, neyther oughtest thou lyke wyse to beleue, that I am so vertuous, as they repozte me to be there. For in mine opinion, those whiche declare netwes of straunge countries, are as the poore, which were their garmentes all to patched, and pced, whereof the peces that were solwen on of new, are in more quantity of clothe: then the olde whiche before they had, when they were first made. Beware (king Cresus) and be not as the barbarous princes are, which vse good wordes, and euyl dedes. For they goe aboute with faire wordes, to couer the infamye of their cruel dedes. Veruel not though we philosophers, readers in scholes, desyre not to lyue with you Princes, gouernours of Realmes. For euyl Princes, for none other intente seke the company of wyse men, but onely because they woulde throughe them excuse their faultes. For doinge as thou doest (of wyll, and not of ryghte) you wyll that the vulger people thincke, you doe it by the counsaile of a wyse man. I let the vnderstande (kinge Cresus) that the Prince whiche desyrez to gouerne hys people wel, oughte not to be

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* contente to haue one onelye sage in his palace. For it is not mete, that the gouernemente of manye, doe consist in the aduise of one alone. Thy imbassadour hath sayde by worde, and the selfe same thy letter testifyeth, that thou arte certyfied, that I am counted for sage throughtout al Grece, and that this presupposed, I woulde come to the, to gouerne thy common wealthe. And for the contrarpe, thou doinge thus (as thou doest) condemnest me to be an Idiot, for thou, thinkinge that I woulde take thy golde, is nothing els, but for to rayle vpon me as a foole.

The chiefe poynte wherein true philosophie is knowen, is when he dyspyleth the thinges of the worlde: for there neuer agreeth together the libertie of the soule, and the care of goods in this lyfe. O kynge Cresus, I let the vnderstand, that he which knoweth mooste the course of the elemente, is not called sage; but it is he, whiche leaste knoweth the vices of this worlde. For the true Philosopher profyteth moze by not knowynge the euyl, then by learnynge the good. I let the vnderstand, I am 67. yeares old, & yet neuer before this time, of thy imbassage was presented before me gold, nor y at my feate was laied any such riches. For vpon this dede, I gather, that either wylsome lacketh in the, or that great couetousnes aboundeth in me. I do send the thy gold againe, which thou sendest me, and thy imbassadour shal declare as witnes of syghte, howe greatlye it haue sciaundered all Grece. For it was neuer seen, nor hard of, that in any wise they should suffer gold to enter into the vniuersitye of Athens. For * it shoulde not onelye be a dyshonour to the philosophers of Grece, to haue riches: but also it would turne them to great infamye, to desire them. O king Cresus, if thou knowest it not, it is but reason thou knowe it, that in the scoles of Grece we learne not to commaunde, but to obey: not to speake, but to be silent: not to resist, but to humble our

selues: not to get muche, but to content vs with lytle: not to reuenge offences, but to pardon iniuries: not to take fro others, but to giue oure owne: not to be honoied, but to trauayle to be vertuous: synally we learne to dyspyle that, which other men loue: and to loue that, which other men dispise, which is pouerty. Thou thoughtest that I would receiue thy golde, or els that I would not receiue it at al: If thou thoughtest I would haue receyued it, then thou haddest had reason not to haue receiued me afterwardes, into thy palace. For it is a greate infamye, that the couetous man shoulde be acceptable to a Prince. If thou thoughtest that I would not receiue it, thou woudest wyle to take the paynes to sende it: for Princes oughte neuer to take vpon them thinges: wherein (as they thinke) the subiectes shuld lose their honestie in receiuyng them. Se, kynge Cresus, and behold, that by diligence it lytle auayleth to serche for the phisition, and afterwardes to doe nothings of that, which by him is ordeyned. I meane, that it shal not profyte, but rather it shal beharme, that I come into thy common wealth, and that afterwardes thou wyldest not doe that, which I shal ordeine therein, for great daungers ensue, to alter the humours with sicropes: vnlesse they take afterwardes a purgacion, to purge away the same. For to redresse thy barbarous realme, and to satisfie thy good desier, I am determined, to descend vnto thy request, and to accomplish thy commaundement, vpon condicion, that thou shalt ensue me of these thinges following. For the labourer ought not to sowe hys sede, before the ground be plowed, and tilled.

The firste, thou shalt forsake the euyl custome whiche ye barbarous kynges doe vse, that is to wete, to heape vp treasures, and not to spend them. For euerye Prince, which is couitous of treasures, is scarcely of capacity to receiue good counsaile.

The seconde, thou shalt not only banishe oute

out of thy palace, but also out of thy court, al flaterers: for the prince that is a friend of flaterers: of necessity muste be an enemye of the truth.

The thirde, thou shalt end the warres, which thou (at this present) doest mainteine against the people of Corinthe: for euery prince that loneth foraine warres, must needs hate the peace of his common wealthe.

The fourth, thou shalt banne from thy house al those Jugglers, and minstrels: for the Prince whiche occuppeth hym selfe to here bayne, and tryflynge thinges, in time of necessitye shal not applye hym selfe to those, whiche be of weight & importaunce.

Fiftelpe, thou shalt prouide, that all loyterers and vacabondes, be expelled from thy person, and banysed thy palace: for sloelnes and neglygence are cruel enemies of wysedome.

Sixtely, thou shalt banish from thy court, and palace, al lyers and sedicious men: for whē lyers are suffered in the palace of princes, it is a sygne that the kyng and the realme falleth into vtter destruction.

The seuench, thou shalt promise that in al the daies of thy life, thou shalt not importune me to receiue any thing of the: for the day that thou shalt corrupt me with giftes, it is necessary that I corrupte the with euil counsailes. For there is no counsel that is good, but that whiche procedeth from the man that is not couetous.

If on these condicions, the king Cresus desireth the philosopher Anacharsis, the philosopher Anacharsis desireth the kyng Cresus: and if not, I had rather be a discypule of sage philosophers, then a kyng of the barbarous people. Vale felix rex.

With this letter dothe declare it, it is needles for my penne to wryte it, that is to wete, what was y^e humanity, & goodnes of kyng Cresus, to wryte vnto a poore philosopher, and helpe greate the courage of the philosopher was, to dyspyse the golde, and to save (as he dyd) in this behalfe.

Therefore let princes note here, that such ought the sages to be, as they should chose, and let sages note heare vppon, with what condicions they oughte to enter, into the pallace of princes. For this is a winde that seldome tymes chaunserh, but that one of the parties are deceiued.

The. xlii. Chapter.

Of the wysedome, and sentences of Phalaris the Tiraunt,



In the laste yeare of the Latines, and in the first yeare of the romaynes, Ezechias beinge king of the Jewes, and Azarias greate Bysshop of the holy temple, Abacuck prophet in Jewry, and Merodach being kyng in Babilon, and when the Lacedemonians builde Bizaunce (which now is Constantinople) Phalaris the famous tiraunt was the liuing. Of this Phalaris Ouide saith, that he was deformed in hys face, spode blinde of his eyes, and excedding couetous of ryches, and neuer obserued anye thinge that he promised. He was vnthankfull to hys frendes, and cruel to his enemyes: finally he was such a one, that the tyrannies whiche seuerally were scatered in others, in him alone were al together assembled. Amongest all the iniquities, that he inuented, and amongest al the tyrannies that he commytted, he had one vertue verie greate, which was, that euē as he was onely head of all tyrannies: so was he chiefe loue and frende of all Philosophers and sage men. And in all those. 35. yeares which he gouerned the Realme by tyrannye, they neuer founde that anye man touched hys

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hearde, nor that any man satte at the table with hym, spake vnto hym, or slepte in hys bed, nor that any man satte in hys countenaunce anye mirth, vnles it were some philosopher or sage man, with whome, and to whome, he lyberallye put hys bodie in truste. And they sayde that this Phalaris sayde oftentimes. The Prince that absenteth hym selfe from sage men, and accompanieth with fooles: I saye vnto hym, though he be a Prince of hys common wealth, he is a cruel tiraunt of hys person. For it is a greater payne to lyue amonge fooles, then to dye amonges sages. Pulio in the sage booke De gestis romanoru saith, that a worthy and excellent painter presented a table to Octavian the Emperoure, wherein were drawen all the vertuous princes, and for their chesetaine, Octavian the emperour was drawen: at the foote of this table, were all the tiranous princes painted, of the whiche, Phalaris was chese and captaine. This table blessed by Octavian the emperour, he comended the worke, but he disallowed the intention thereof, saing: me thinketh it not mete, that I (being aliue) should be set chese, and principall of all the vertuous men, that are deade. For duringe the tyme of this wycked lyfe, we are all subiecte to the vices, of weake, and feble fleshe. Also it seemeth vnto me an vnjuste thinge, that they shoulde put Phalaris for principal, and captaine of all the tirauntes: since he was a scourge, and enemye, to fooles, and ignorant men: and so earnest a louer and frende of Sages, and wyse Philosophers. All the fame of this tiraunte Phalaris was knowen, and came throughe the cruelties he vsed.

A neighbour of Athens called Perillus (a man very excellent in mettalles, and a greate worker in workes of fountaines) came to Phalaris the Tiraunte, sayeng that he woulde make suche a kynde of tormente, that hys hearte shoulde remayne reuenged, and the offender wel punished.

The matter was, that this workeman made a bull of brasse, wherein there was a gate, by the which they put the offender, and in puttyng the syer vnder the bull, it roared, and cryed, in maner as it had ben alyue: whiche thyng was not onely a horryble, and cruel torment, to the miserable creature that endured it, but also it was terryble, to hym or those that sawe it. Let vs not maruell, neyther at the one, nor at the other: for trulye the pytefull hart (whiche is not fleshed in crueltye) hath as muche pitye to see another man suffer, as of the sorowe and torment, which he hym selfe feeleth. Phalaris therefore seing the inuencion of this torment (wherof the inuentoure hoped greate rewarde) prouyded, that the inuentoure of the same shoulde be put within the bull, and that the crueltye of the torment shoulde be experimented in none, saue onely on the inuentour. Trulye in this case, Phalaris shewed hym selfe not a cruel tiraunte, but rather a merciful Prince, and a sage Philosopher: for nothinge can be more iuste, then that the inuencion of the malice be executed, on the fragile fleshe of the inuentoure. Nowe because Phalaris was a great frend of sages, the philosophers of Grece came oftentimes to see him, which were very gently receiued of hym.

Though to save the truthe, they profited more with hys goods, then he dyd with their philosophie. This tiraunte Phalaris was not onely a frende of sages: but also he was very well learned, and depelye send in moral philosophy. The which thing appeareth wel in the epistels, whiche he wrote with his owne hande. I cannot tel wherin he shewed hym selfe greater, either in the sentences, and doctrynes whiche he wrote with hys penna: or in the slaughter and cruelties, which he did with his sword.

Howe manye companions had Phalaris the tiraunte, in this case in times past: and that (as I wold) there were none also

at this tyme presente, whiche in their pleasure wordes dyd not resemble the emperor Nero. I neither reade other thinge of those that are gone, neyther haue I seen other wyse of those that are present, but manye are they that blase vertues, and infinite are they which runne after vices. For of truthe we are verye lyghte of tonge, and to feble of fleshe. The Epistles which this Phalaris wrote are knowen to all men, I meane of those whiche knowe Greke, or laten: and for those that know them not, I was wyllynge to drawe these that are presente, and to put them in our vulgar tonge for two causes.

The one to the ende Princes, myghte see howe good a thing it is to be sage, and how strauntes were praysed for beinge Sages, and geuyng good counsailes.

The other, to the ende the people might see, howe easie it is to speake wel, and how hearde it is to worke wel. For there is no thinge better cheape in the worlde, then counsaile. The sentences therefore of the Epistles of Phalaris are these whiche folowe, in such sorte as I could most brefely gather them, to reduce them in good and profytable stile to write them.

The particuler loue whiche princes shew to one, more then another, breedeth oftentimes muche enuye in their realmes. For the one beinge lewde, and the other hated, of this cometh hatred, and of hatred cometh euyl thoughtes, and of euyl thoughtes, procedeth malyce, of malice cometh euyl wordes, the whiche breake oute into worse deades.

Finallye when a Prince sheweth to all vertuous, his fauoure indifferentlye, he setteth fire in his comyn wealthe.

Princes oughte to forbid, and sages ought not to consente, that the quarellers should trouble those whiche are peace makers: for when the people ryse, immediatlye contentiousnes is awaked. When the couetousnes groweth, iustyce falleth, force and violence

ruleth, snatchinge reigne, lecherie is at libertie, the euyl haue power, and the good are oppressed: synallye all doe reioyse one to lyue to the presydye of another, & every man to seke his owne pryuate commoditye.

Manye vaine men doe rayse dissensions, and quarels amongst people, thinkynge that in troubled water, they shoulde augmente their estates, who in shorte space doe not only lose the hope of that they sought: but also are put oute of that, they possessed. For it is not onely reasonable, but also moste iuste, that those by experyence fele that, whiche their blynde malyce wyl not suffer them to knowe.

It is muche good for the people, that the gouernours be not vnfortunate, but that of their nature they were happye. For to luckye Princes, fortune gyueth manye thinges euen as they demaunde, yea and gyueth them better then they loke for.

The noble and valyaunte princes, when they see them selues with other Princes, or that they are present in greate actes, ought to shewe the freenes of their harte, the greatenes of their realme, the prehemynence of their person, the loue of their comyn wealthe, and aboue all, the dyscipline of their courte, and the grauity of their counsaile, and palace. For the sage and curious men should not beholde the Prince in the appareyle, whiche he weareth: but the men whiche he hath to counsaile hym.

The sage men, and those that be not covetous yf they doe employe their forces to heape by treasures, oughte to remember in their hartes, howe to employe them selues, to spende their money wel.

Sith fortune is maystres in al thinges, and that to her they doe impute, both good and euyl workes, he alone maye be called a Princely man, who for no contrariety of fortune is overcome. For tralye that man is of a stout courage, whose harte is not banquysshed by the force of fortune.

Thoughe we prayse one, for valyaunte

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With the sword: we wyl not therefore praise hym for excellent with the penne. Although he be excellent with hys penne, he is not therefore excellent with hys tonge.

Though he haue a good tonge, he is not therefore wel learned. And though he be learned, he hathe not therefore good renowne. And though he hathe good renowne, he is not therefore of a good lyfe. For we are bounde to receyue the doctrynes of manye whiche write: but we are not bounde to folowe the lyues whiche they doe leade.

There is no worse office amongest men, then to take the charge to punish the vices of another, and therefore men oughte to flye from it, as from the pestylence: for in correctyng vices, hatred is more sure to the correctour, then amendement of lyfe is to the offender.

He hath, and possesseth much, that hath good frendes. For manye ayde their frendes, when they woulde haue holpen them more, if they could. For the true loue is not wteried to loue, nor ceaseth not to profite.

Though sage men haue losse muche, they oughte not therefore to dyspaire: but that they shall come to it agayne in tyme. For in the ende, tyme dorhe not cease to doe hys accustomed alteracions, nor perfecte frendes cease not to doe, that whiche they oughte.

The proude and dysdeynesfull man (for the mooste parte) alwayes falleth into some euyl chaunce, therefore it is a commendable medecyne, some tymes to be persecuted: for the aduersitye maketh a wyse man liue more merie, and to walke in lesse daunger. For so muche as we doe excuse him, whiche commytte the faulte, there is neither the offender, nor the offence, but deserueth paine. For suche a one that comitteth the faulte throughe sodaine anger, dyd euyl: and if he dyd commit it by deliberation, he dyd muche worse.

To desper to doe all thinges by reason,

is good, and lykelyse to laye them al in order is good, but it is verie harde: For temperate men haue suche respecte in compassyng their doinges, and by weight so cast all the inconueniences, that scarselye they euer determyn to goe aboute it.

To the man whiche hath gouernement, two thinges are dangerous, that is to wete, to sone, or to late: But of those. 2. the worse is to sone. For if by determynynge late, a man loseth that whiche he myghte haue gotten: by determynynge to sone, that is losse, whiche is now gayned, and that which a man mighte haue gayned.

To men whiche are to hastye, chaunce daylye manye euyls, and daungers. For the man being vnpatient, and hauing his vnderstandynge highe, afterwarde come quarels, and brawlynges, displeasures, varietyes, and also vanyties, whiche looseth their goods, and putteth their persons in daunger.

Suche all naturallie desire to be happie, he alone amongest all others maye be called happye, of whome they maye truly say: he gaue good doctrine to lyue, and left good example to dye.

The letter of Phalaris to Popharce the Philosopher.



Phalaris Agrigentine, wyssheth vnto the Popharce the Philosopher, helthe, and consolation throughe the comfortable gods. I receyued thy letter here, in Agrigentine, and though it sauoured somewhat Satirike, I was not agreued therewith: for of philosophers & sages (as thou art) we shuld not be greaued

greaued with the sharpe wordes you tel vs, but to cōsider the intention wherupon you speake thē. Quatellers and malicious personnes, wyll haue the wordes by weyght, & measure: but the vertuous and pacient mē, doe not regarde, but the intentions. For yf we should go about, to cramyn every word they speake vnto vs: we shoulde gyue out selues to muche paine, and we shoulde alwaies set in the common wealch debate. I am a tyrant, & as yet am in tyranny: but I sweare vnto the immortall gods, whether the worde were good, or badde, I neuer altered it. For if a good man tell it me, I take it for my pastime. Thou wyprasse vnto me, that al Grece is offended with me ther: but I let the vnderstand, that al Agrigentyne is all edified with the here. And therof thou maiste praise me. For if the tirauntes were not so muche dispraised the Philosopher should not be so well loued. Thou art counted for good, and art good: and I am counted for euill, and am euill.

But in myne opinion, thou shouldest not be proude for the one, neither I shoulde dispeyre for the other. For the daye of the lyfe is longe, and therein fortune doth many thinges, and it may wel be, that from a tyrant I shalbe a philosopher: and thou from a Philosopher shalte be a tyrante. See my frende, that the longe tyme, maketh oftentimes the earth to be turned to siluer: and the siluer and golde, becominerh nothyng worth. I meane, that there neuer was a tyrante in any Realme, but that firste he had ben brought vp in the studies of Grece. I wyll not denye, that al the renowned tyrantes haue not ben nourished in Seicle: but also thou shalt not denye me, that they were not bozne in Grece. Therfore see and beholde, to whom the fault is: from the mother whiche bare them, or from the nurse whiche gaue them sucke. I dee not say that it shalbe, but I saye that it may wel be, that if I were there in Grece, I should be a better philosopher than thou: and if thou were

here in Agrigentine, I wouldeste be a worse tyrant than I. I would thou shouldest thinke, that thou mightest be better in Grece, where thou art: and that I myghte be worse in Agrigentine, wher I am. For thou doste not so much good, as thou mightest doe: and I doe not so muche euill, as I may doe. The conning man Perillus, came into these partes, and hath made a Bull, wherein he hath put a kind of tozmente, the most fearefullest in the world: and trulye I caused, that y whiche his malice had inuented, should be of none other, than of him experimented. For there is no iusser law, that when any workmen haue inuēred engins, to make other men dye: then to put them to the tozmentes by them inuēred, to knowe the experience in them selues. I beseeche the hartely to come and see me, and be thou assured thou shalt make me good. For it is a good signe for the sicke, when he acknowledgeth his sickness to the Physitian. I saye no moze to the, but that once againe I returne to sollicite the, that thou sayest not to come to see me. For in the ende, yf I do not profite of the, I am sure thou shalt profite by me: and if thou winneste, I can not lose.

The.xlvii.Chapter.

¶ Howe Philippe kynge of Macedonia the greate, and the kynge Ptolomeus, the kyng Antigonus, the king Archelaus, and Pirrus kinge of the Epirotes, vvere all greate louers, and frendes of the sages.

If Quintus



LF Quintus Curtius deceyue me not, & greate Alexander, sonne to kinge Philippe of Macedonie, did not deserue to be called greate, for y he was accompanied wth thousandes of men of warre: but he wanne the renoune of greate, for that he had moze philosophers on his counsaile, then al other p^rinces had.

This great p^rince neuer toke vpon him warres, but that firste the order of executinge the same, shoulde before his presence be examined of the sages, and wyse philosophers. And truly he had reason. For in affaires, where good counsaile haue proceded, they may alwaies looke for a good end. These Historiographers whyche wrote of great Alexander (as well the Gretians as the Latines) knowe not, whether the fierenes, wherewith he stroke his enemies was greater, or the humanitie wherewith he embraced his counsaile. Though the sage philosophers which accompanied the great Alexander were many in nomb^r: yet notwithstanding amogest al those, Aristotle, Anacharsis, and Onosichrates were hys moste familiars. And herein Alexander shewed him selfe very wise. For wise p^rinces ought to take the counsaile of many, but they ought to determyne and conclude vpon the opⁱnion of fewe. The greate Alexander did not content him selfe to haue sages with him, neyther to sende onely to visite those, which were not his: but oftentimes him selfe in personne woulde goe see them, visite them, & counsaile with them, sayinge that the P^rinces whyche are the seruantes of sages, come to be made masters and Lordes ouer all.

In the tyme of kinge Alexander, Diogenes the Philosopher, neyther for entreatye nor yet for any promisses made, would come, to see Alexander the great.

Wherefore the great Alexander wente to see him, and when he had desired him to

goe with him, and accompany hym, Diogenes answered.

¶ Alexander, synce thou wilt winne honour in keapinge of men in thy compaignye: it is not reason that I shoulde lose it, to forsake my studie: For in folowinge the I shall not folow my selfe: and beyng thine, I shall cease to be myne.

Thou arte come to haue the name of the greate Alexander for conquerynge the worlde, and I haue attayned to come to the renoune of a good Philosopher, in flyenge the worlde: and if thou doste imagine that thou haste gotten, and wonne, I thynke that I haue not erred nor losse. And synce thou wylt be no lesse in auctorytie, then a kinge, doe not thynke, that I wyl lose the estimacion of a Philosopher. For in the worlde there is no greater losse vnto a man, then when he looseth hys propre lybertie.

¶ When he hadde spoken these wordes, Alexander saide vnto them that were aboute him with a loude voice. By the immortal gods I sweare, and as godd Mars rule my handes in battayle, if I were not Alexander the greate, I woulde be Diogenes the Philosopher. And he sayde further, in myne opinion, there is no other felicity vpon the earth, then to be Alexander kinge, who commaundeth all, or to be Diogenes to commaunde Alexander, who commaundeth al. As kinge Alexander was moze familiar with some Philosophers, the with others: so he esteemed some, bookes moze, then others. And they say he reade oftentimes in y^e Iliades of Homere, whiche is a booke where the storie of the destruction of Troye is, and that when he slepte, he layde vnder his heade vpon a bolster, his sword, and also his booke. ¶ When the greate kinge Alexander was borne, hys father kinge of Macedonie, dyd two notable thinges. The one was, that he sente manye and bette ryche gyftes into the Ile of Delphos, where the Oracle

of Apollo was, to the end to present them vnto him, and to praye him, that it woulde please him to preserve his sonne. The other thinge that he did was, that immediately he wrote a letter to the greates Philosopher Aristotel, wherein he saide these wordes.

Philippe kinge of Macedonie, wylsheth health, and peace, to the Philosopher Aristotel, whiche readeth in the vniuersitie of Grece. I let the vnderstande, that Olimpias my wife, is brought to bedde of a goodly man childe, wherof, bothe she and I, and all Macedonie, doe reioyce. For kinges and realmes oughte to haue greatesoye, when there is bozne any sonne, succesfour of the naturall prince of the prouince. I render thanks vnto the immortal gods, and haue sente many greates gistes, to the Temples, and it was not somuch for that I haue a sonne, as for that they haue giuen him vnto me, in the tyme of so great and excellent a philosopher. I hope that thou wilt bringe him vp, and teache him in such sort, that by heritage, he shalbe Lorde of my patrimonie of Macedonie, and by desert, he shalbe Lorde of all Asia: so that they shal cal him my sonne, and the his father. Vale foelix, iterumque vale.

Ptolomeus father in lawe, who was the 8. kinge of the Egyptians, did greatlye loue the sages, as well of Caldea, as of Grece, and this thinge was esteemed for a great vertue in kinge Ptolome.

For there was as much enuye betwene the Philosophers of Grece, and the sages of Egipte: as betwene the captaynes of Rome, and the captaynes of Carthage.

This Ptolome was very wise, and did desire greatly to be accompanied with philosophers: and after this, he learned the letters of the Latynes, Caldes, and Hebrewes. For the whiche cause, though the kinges named Ptolomei, were.ii. in nombre, and all warrelke men: yet they put this for the chiefe, and captayne of all, not for the battayles whiche he wanne, but for

the sentences whiche he learned. This kinge Ptolomeus, had for his samplar, a philosopher called Estalphe Megarenses, who was so enterlye beloued of this Prince that (leyinge aside the gentlenes and benefytes, whiche he shewed hym) he dyd not onelye eate with the kyng at his table: but oftentimes the kyng made hym drinke of his one cuppe. And as the fauours whiche the Princes shew to their seruantes, are but as a watche to proue the maslyctous: it chanced, that when this kyng gaue the Philosopher to drinke that whiche remained in his cuppe, an Egyptian knyght moued with enuye, saide vnto kinge Ptolome. I thinke Lorde how that thou arte neuer satisfied with drynkinge, to leaue that whiche remaineth in the cuppe; for the philosopher to drinke after the.

To whom the kinge answered. Thou sayest wel, that the Philosopher Estalphe is neuer fylled with that whych I doe giue him. For that whiche remaineth in my cuppe, dothe not profyte him somuche to drynke: as the philosophye whiche remaineth in hym shoulde profyte the, yf thou wouldeste take it.

The kinge Antigonus was one of the moste renowned seruantes, that kyng Alexander the great euer had, who after his death enherited a greates parte of his empyre. For howe muche happie the kinge Alexander was in his lyfe, so muche he was, unhappie at the tyme of his death: because he had no children, whiche mighte enherite his goodes, and that he had suche seruantes, as spoyled him of his renowne. This kinge Antigonus was an vnrhyfist, and excessive in all byces: But for all that, he loued greatly the philosophers, whiche thinge remaineth vnto hym from kinge Alexander, whose palace was a schole of all the good Philosophers of the world. Of this ensample, they may see what greates profyte ensueth of bringinge vp of them that be yonge, for there is none that
euer

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ener was so wycked or enclined vnto ryl:
but that in longe contynuaunce maye pro-
fite somewhat in his pouthe. This kinge
Antigonus loued .2. philosophers greatly,
the which flourished in that time, that is to
wete Amenedius, and Abio, of whiche .2.
Abio was well learned, and very pooze.

✿ For in that time, no philosopher durst open-
ly reade philosophie, if he were worthe any
thinge in temporall goodes. As Laertius
sayeth, and as Pulio declareth it better, in
the booke of the rulers and noble men of
the Greeces. The scholes of the vniuersitye
were so corrette, that the Philosophers,
whiche knewe moste, had leaste goodes: so
that they did not glorisie of any thinge els:
but to haue pouertie, and to knowe much of
philosophie. The case was suche, that the
philosopher Abio, was speke, & wyth that
spekenes he was so vexed, that they myghte
almoste see the bones of hys weake bodye.
The kinge Antigonus sent to visite hym,
by his owne sonne, by whom he sente hym
muche money, to healepe him with all. For
he lyued in extreme pouertie, as it beheuod
the professours of philosophy. Abio was so
sicke, beinge aged, and crooked, & though he
had made him selfe so leane with spekenes:
yet notwithstandinge he burned allwayes
vpon the weeke of good lyfe. I meane that
he had no lesse courage to dispise those gyf-
tes: then the kinge Antigonus had noble-
nes to send them. This philosopher not con-
tented to haue despised these gyftes in such
sorte, saide vnto the sonne of Antigonus,
who brought them. Tell king Antigonus,
that I gyue him great thakes, for the good
entertainment he gaue me allwaies in my
lyfe, and for the giftes he sended me nowe
at my death. For one frend can do no more
✿ to an other, than to offer him his personne,
and to depart with his propre goodes. And
tell the kinge thy father, that I maruaile
what he shoulde meane, that I now beinge
80. yeaeres of age, and haue walked all my
lyfe tyme naked in this world, shoulde now

be laden with bestures and money, since
I muste passe so strenghte a goulfe in the
sea, to goe out of this worlde. The Egypti-
ans haue a custome to lyghen the burden
of their camels, when they passe the deser-
tes of Arabia, which is much better, then
to ouercharge them. I meane, that he ones-
ly passeth withoute trauaile the daungers
of the lyfe, which bannisseth frov him, the
thought of temporall goodes, of this world.
Thirdey thou shalt say to thy king thy father,
that from henceforth when any man wyll
dye, he doe not succour him, nor healepe him
with money, gold, nor riches, but to good &
rype counsaile. For the gold wil make hym
leane his lyfe with sorowe, and the good
counsaile will moue him to take his deathe
with patience. The first king of the Mace-
donians was called Archelaus, who they
say to be the grandfather of king Phillip,
father of the great Alexander. This king
boasteth him selfe to descende from Menelaus,
king of the Cretians, and principal captai-
ne, which was at the destruction of Troye.
This kinge Archelaus, was a great frend
to the sages, and amongeste others, there
was a Poete with him called Euripides,
who at that time had no lesse gloze in hys
kinde of Poetrie: then Archelaus in hys
kingdome beinge kinge of Macedonia.

For nowe a dayes, we esteeme more the
sages, for the bookes whiche they wrote:
then we doe exalte kinges: for the realmes
whiche they ruled, or the battayles whiche
they ouercame. The familiaritie whiche
Euripides had with the king Archelaus,
was so freight, & his credite w Archelaus
was so great, that in the realme of Mace-
donie, nothing was done, but firste it was
examined by the hâdes of this philosopher.
And as simples woulde not naturallie be
subiectes to the sages: it chaunced that one
nyghte Euripides was talkinge a longe
tyme with thy king, declaring vnto hym the
auncient histories, & when the pooze Poete
woulde depart to goe home to his house, his
enemies

enemies espied him, and let hungry dogges flye vpon him: the whiche did not onely teare him in pieces, but eate him euery morsell. So that h̄ intraylles of the dogges, were the wofull graue of h̄ miserable poete. The kinge Archelaus beinge certified of this wofull case, immediatlye (as sone as they told him) was so chafed, that almost he was bereft of his senses. And here at merueyle not at al. For gentle hartes doe alter greatlye, when they are aduertysed of any sodayne mishappe. As the loue whyche the kynge had to Euripides in hys lyfe was much, so likewise h̄ sorow whiche he felt for his death was very great. For he shed many teares from his eyes, he cut the haire of his head, he rounded his bearde, he chaunged the apparail which he weare, & aboue all, he made as solempne a funerall to Euripides, as yf they had buried Vlysses.

And not contented wth all these thinges, he was neuer merueyle vntyll suche tyme, he had done cruell execution of the malefactors. For truly the iniury whych is done vnto him whom we loue, is no other but as a token of our owne good willes.

After iustice was executed of those homycides, & that some of the bones (all knowen of h̄ dogges) were buried, a Gretian knight saide vnto king Archelaus. I let the know excellent kinge, that all Macedonia is offended wth the, because that for so smal a losse, thou hast shewed so great sorow.

To whom kinge Archelaus answered. Among sages it is a thing sufficiently tried, that noble hartes ought not to shew themselves sadde, for mishappes & sodayne chaunces: For the king beinge sadde, his Realme can not (and though it might, it ought not) shewe it selfe merueyle. I haue hearde my father say once, that Princes shoulde neuer shewe teares, vnlesse it were for one of these causes.

The fyrste, the Prince shoulde bewaile the losse and daunger of his comon wealth: for the good Prince oughte to pardon the

injuries done to hys personne: but to reuenge the leaste acte done to the comon wealth: he ought to hasard him selfe.

The seconde, the good Prince oughte to lamente, yf any man haue touched hys honour in any wyse: for the Prince, which wepeth not dropes of bloude for h̄ thinges touching his honour, deserueth to be buried quicke in his graue.

The thyrde, the good Prince oughte to bewaile those whiche can lytle, and suffer muche: For the Prince whyche betwyleth not the calamities of the poore, in bayne and wythoute profite lyueth on the yearth.

The fourthe, the good Prince oughte to bewaile the glozy, and prosperitie wher in the Trauntes are: For that prince, whiche wyth tyrannye of the enyll is not displeased, wth the hartes of the good is vnworthye to be beloued.

The fyfte, the good Prince oughte to bewaile the death of wyse men: For to a Prince there can come no greater losse, then when a wyse man dyeth in his comon wealth.

These were the wordes, whyche the kynge Archelaus answered the Gretian knyght, who reproued hym because he had wepte for the death of Euripides the philosopher.

The auncient Historiographers can saye no more, of the estimation whiche the Philosophers and wyse men had, as well the Greekes as the Latynes: but I wyll tell you one thyng worthy of notinge.

It is well knowen throughe all the worlde, that Scipio the Ethnicke was, one of the worthiest, that euer was in Rome: for by hys name, and by hys occasion, Rome gotte suche a memozye, as shall euermore endure. And thys was not onely for that he conquered Affryke, but for the greate worthynes of hys personne. Men ought not to esteeme a litle these two giftes in one man, that is to wete, to be happye, and

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and aduenturous: For many of the auncy-
entes in times passe wanne glory by theyr
swozdes, and after losse it by their euill ly-
nes. The Romaine hystoryographers saye,
that the first that wrot in herioicall meeter
in the Latin tonge, was Ennius the poete,
the woakes of whom were so esteemed of
Scipio the Ethenicke, that when this ad-
uenturous and so lucky Romaine dyed, he
commaunded in his wyll, and testamente,
that they shoulde hange the image of this
Ennius the Poete ouer his graue. By that
the great Scipio did at his death, we maye
well coniecture, how great a frend he was
of sages in his lyfe: since he had rather for
his honour, set the statue of Ennius on his
graue: than the banner, wherwith he wanne
and conquered Affryke. In the tyme of
Pyrrus (which was king of the Epirotes,
and great enemy of the Romaines) flour-
ished a philosopher named Cinas, borne in
Thessale, who (as they saye) was the disci-
ple of demosthenes. The hystoryographers
at y tyme did so muche esteeme this Cinas,
that they said he was the maister and mea-
sure of all mans eloquence. For he was ve-
ry pleasaunt in woordes, and profounde in
sentences. This Cinas serued for, 3, offices
in the palace of king Pyrrus.

First he made at his table pastime, in
that he dyd declare: for he had a good grace
in thinges of laughter.

Secondarily, he wrote the ballaunt des-
des of his hystoie: for in his style he had
great eloquence, and to wyre the truth, he
was a wirtues of sight.

Thirde, he went for embassatour in af-

fares of great importaunce: for he was na-
turallye subtile and wittie, and in dispat-
chinge busines, he was very fortunate. He
vled so many meanes in his busynes, and
had so great perswasion in his woordes, that
he neuer tooke vpon him to speake of thin-
ges of warre: but either he set a long truce,
or els he made a perpetual peace. The king
Pyrrus saide to this Cinas. O Cinas, for
3. thinges I thanke the immortall gods.

The first, for that they created me a king,
and not a seruaunt: for the greatestte good,
that mortall men haue, is to haue libertye
to commaund many, and not to be bounde
to obey any.

The secod, I thanke the immortall gods,
for y they naturally made me skoute of hart:
for the ma which in euery trifle is abashed,
it were better for him to leaue his lyfe.

The thirde, I glue the immortall gods
thanks, for that in the gouernement of my
common wealthe, and for the great affaires,
and busines of my realme (as well in war-
res, as in other thinges) they gaue me such
a man (as thou arte) in my company: For
by thy gentle speche, I haue conquered, and
obteyned many Cittes, which by my cruell
swozde, I coulde neuer wyne nor attaine.
These were the woordes which Pyrrus said
to his frende Cinas the Poete. Let euerye
Prince know now, howe greates louers of
wise men those were in tymes past: and as
vpon a sodeine I haue recyted these selwe
eramples, so with small study, I coulde haue
heaped infynite Hystories.

FINIS.

The ende of the
first Booke.

The seconde Booke of the

DIAL OF PRINCES, VVHERIN THE

Auctoure treateth, howe Princes and

great Lorde, shoulde behaue them selues to-

warde theyr wyues. And howe they

ought to noryssh, and

bringe vp their

Chyldren.

The firste Chapter.

Of vvhath excellencie maryage
is, and vvhetheras comen people
marie of free vvyll, Princes and
noble men oughte to marie of
necessitytie.



Amonge al the frend-
ships and companyes of
this lyfe, there is none so
naturall, as that, betwe-
ne the husbände and the
wife, liuing in on house:

for all other compagnies are caused by free
wyll onlpe, but this procedeth, both by wyll,
and necessitye. There is at this day no lion
so fierce, no serpent so venomous, no viper
so infectiue, no aspicke so mortall, neyther
anye beast so terrible, but at the least, both
male, and female, do once in the yeare mete
and conioine: and though that in brute bea-
stes their lacketh reason, yet notwithstanding
they haue a natural instinctiō to as-
semble them selues, for the conseruation of
their kynde. In this case, men deserue no
lesse reproche, then beastes merite prayse:
for after that the females by generacion are
bigge, they neuer agre, that h ma'es should
accompanie with them. Accordynge to the
differētye of nacions, so amonge them sel-
ues, they dyffer the one from the other, in
lawes, languages, ceremonies, and custo-
mes: but in the end, al agre in one thing, for

that they inforce them selues to celebrate
marriage. As the deuine letters teacheth vs,
Since the worlde was created, there hath
nothing ben moze auncient, then the sacra-
mente of maryage: for that daye that man
was formed, the selfe same day he celebrated
marriage with a woman, in the terrestriall
paradise. The aunciente historiographers
(aswel Grekes as latins) wrote many great
thinges in the prayse of maryage: but they
could not saye nor write so much, as conti-
nual experience dothe shewe vs. Therefore
leauinge the superfluous, and takynge the
most necessary, we say, that seuen commo-
dities folow the sage man, who hath taken
the yoke of matrimonye.

The first is, the memory which remaineth
to the children, as successours, and heires of
their fathers. For as the philosopher pitha-
goras sayeth, when a father passeth oute of
this present life, and leauith behinde hym a
child being hys heire, they cannot say vnto
him that he dieth: but that he wareth yonge
in hys chyld, since the chyld dothe inherite
the fleshe, the goods, and the memory of the
father. Amonge the auncientes it was a
common prouerbe, that the taste of al tastes
is breade, the sauour of sauours is salte, and
the greatest loue of all loues, is from the
fathers, to the chyldren. And though per-
chance we see the fathers shewe some ry-
gor to their chyldren, we oughte not there-
fore to saye that they hate them, and despise
them:

them: for the tender loue of the father to the sonne is suche, that he cannot endure hym to doe anye thinge amysse, or worthy of rebuke. Not onely men of reason, and brute beastes, but also the hege, & gardeine trees, to their possybilite, procure to contynue their kynde: and it is playnely sene in that, befoze the frutes and herbes were formed to be eaten, the seades and kirkelles were made to be kepte. Men naturallie desyre honoure in their lyfe, and memozye after their deathe: therefore I saye, that they come to honoure by hyghe, noble, and heroidal factes, but the memozye is lesse, by the good and legittimate chyldren: for the chylden whiche are bozne in adulterye, are begotten in sinne, and with greace care are nourysched.

The seconde benefite of maryage is, that they auoyde adulterye, and it is no small matter to auoyde this vyce. For the adulterers are not onely taken in the chystian religion for offendours: but also amongst the gentiles, they are counted infamous. The sage Solon in the lawes that he gatte to the Athenians, commaunded vpon straighe preceptes, that they should mary, to auoyde adulterye vppon payne, that the chyldre that shoulde be bozne in adulterye, shoulde be made the common slave of the cite. The romaynes (as men for leing all thinges) ordeyned in the tables of their lawes, that the chyldren, whiche were bozne in adulterye, shoulde not be heires, of the goods of their fathers. When the oratoure Eschines was banysched oute of Athens, as he came by the Rhodes, he toke no such paynes in anye one thing, as he dyd in perswadyng the Rhodians to marye them selues, and not to liue in adulterye: for amonge those barbarous, matrimony was not common: but onely among them, which were officers of the common wealthe. Cicero in a samplier epistle sayeth, that the greate Romayne Marcus Porcio, being gouernour in the common wealthe, neuer agreed,

that an vnckle of hys, shoulde be master of the Romayne chenalrye, vnlesse he were maryed: whiche office was promysed hym by the senate. Hys name was Rufus, a stout and valyaunte man in warre: this notwithstandinge, Marcus Porcio sayde, that y prayse which Rufus deserued for being valyaunte and hardye: he losse agayne for lyuynge in adultery: and that he would neuer graunte hys voyce, nor be in place, where they commytted anye charge in the warres, to a man that had not a lawfull wyfe. I saye therefore, that if the gentiles, and infideles, esteemed mariages so muche, and despyse the dedes of the adulterers so greatlye: muche moze Chyistians shoulde be in this case ware and circumspecte. For the gentyles feared nothinge, but onely infamy: but the Chyistians oughte to feare, bothe infamy, and also paine. Since that of necessity mans seede must increase, and that we see men suffer them selues to be overcome with the fleshe: it were much better they shoulde maynteine a householde, and lyue vprightely with a wyfe: then to wasse their goods, and burden their conscience, with a concubyne. For it is oftentimes seen, that that whiche a gentylman consumeth abrode vppon an harlotte with shame, woulde keape his wyfe and chyldren at home with honestye.

The thirde commodite of mariage is, the landable and lounge compaignye, the whiche is, or oughte to be, betwene them, that are maryed. The aunciente Philosophers, defining what man was, sayed, that he was a creature, the whiche by nature was sociable, communycable, and risyble; whereof it foloweth, that the man being solitary and close in hys conditions, cannot be in hys stomacke but enuyous. Wee that are men looe the good inclynation, and doe also commende the same in beastes: for all that the sedycious man and the restye horse eate, we thinke it euyl spente. A sad man, a sole man, a man shut in, and solitary, what profite

prosperite can he doe to the people: for if every man shoulde be locked by in his house, the common wealth would forthwith perishe. My intention is to speake agaynst the bacabondes, whiche withoute takynge vpon them anye crafte, or state, passe the age of fortye, or fiftye yeres, and would not, nor wyl not, marye as yet: because they woulde be vntions, all the dayes of their lyfe. It is a greate shame, and consyens to manye men, that neuer determyne with them selues, to take vpon them anye estate, neyther to be married, chaste, secular, or ecclesiastycall: but as the corke vpon the water, they swyme, whether their sensualitye leade them. One of the moste laudable, and holyc compaignes, whiche is in this lyfe, is the compaignye of the man and the woman, in especialle, if the woman be vertuous: for the noble and vertuous wyfe, withdraweth al the sorowes from the harte of her husbände, and accomplisheth his desires, whereby he lyueth at rest. When the wyfe is vertuous, and the husbände sage, we ought to beleue, that betwene them two is the trewe loue: for the one not being suspecte with the other, and haung each by other in the myddest, it is impossible but that they should lyue in conorde. For al that I haue red, and sene, I woulde say, that if the man and the wyfe doe lyue quyetlye together, a man maye not onelye call them good married folkes, but also holyc personnes: for to speake the treweth, the yoke of matrimony is so greate, that it cannot be accomplished withoute muche merite. The contrarie oughte, and maye be sayed of those, whiche are euyl married, whome we wyl not call a compaignye of sayntes: but rather a house of deuylles. For the wyfe that hath an euyl husbände, maye saye she hath a deuyl in her house: and the husbände that hath an euyl wyfe, let hym make accompte, that he hath hel it selfe in his house. For the euyl wyues are woyle, then the infernal furyes. For in hell there are none tormented, but

the euil onli: but the euil womā tormenteth, bothe the good, and the euyl. Concludynge therefore this matter, I saye also, and affirme, that betwixte the husbände and the wyfe, whiche are wel married, is the true and verry loue: and they onelye, and no others, maye be called perfitte and perpetual frendes. The other parentes and frendes, if they doe loue and prayse vs in oure presence, they hate vs and despyse vs in oure absence. If they giue vs faire wordes, they beare vs euyl hartes: finallye they loue vs in oure prosperite, and forsake vs in our aduersite: but it is not so amongst the noble and vertuous married personnes. For they loue, bothe within, and withoute the house, in prosperite, and in aduersite, in pouertie, and in ryches, in absence, and in presence, seing the selues merry, and perceauing them selues sad, and if they do it not, trulye they oughte to doe it: for when the husbände is troubled in his fote, the wyfe oughte to be grieved at her harte.

The fourth commodyte of marriage is, that the men and women married haue more auctorite and graunte, then the others. The lawes which were made in olde tyme in the fauoure of marriage, were manye, & diuers. For Chapharoneus, in the lawes that he gaue to the Egyprians, commaunded, and ordeyned vpon greuous paines, that the mā y was not married, shuld not haue any office of gouernement in the common wealth. And he sayde furdre, that he that hath not learned to gouerne his house, can euyl gouerne a common wealth. According to the lawes that he gaue to the Athenians, he perswaded all those of the common wealth, to marye them selues voluntarilye: but to the heddes and capytaynes, whiche gouerne the affaires of warre, he commaunded to marye of necessitye, sayeng that to men, whiche are lecherous, God seldome gryneth victories. Licurgus, the renowned gouernour, and gener of the lawes of the Macedonians,

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commanded, that all Capytaynes of the armyes, and the priestes of the Temples shoulde be maried: sayeng that the sacrefices of maried men were moze acceptable to the Gods, then those of any other. As Plinie sayeth, in an epylle that he sente to Falconius hys frende, rebukynge hym for that he was not maried, where he declareth that the Romaynes in olde tyme hadde a lawe, that the dyctatoure, and the Pretor, the Censour, and the Questor, and all the knyghtes shoulde of necessitye be maried: for the man that hath not a wyfe, and children legitymate in hys house, cannot haue nor holde greate auctorite in the common wealthe. Plutarche, in the booke that he made of the prayse of marriage sayeth, that the priestes of the Romaynes dyd not agree to them that were vnmariied, to come and sytte downe in the temples: so that the yonge maydes prayed withoute, at the church doore, & the yong mē prayed one their knees, in the temple, onely the maried men were permytted, to sitte, or stande. Plinie in an epylle that he wrote to Fabatus hys father in lawe sayeth, that the Emperoure Augustus had a custome, that he neuer suffered anye yonge man in his presence to sitte, nor permytted anye man maried, to tel hys tale on fote. Plutarche in the booke that he made in the prasse of women saith, that since the realme of Corinthe was peopled moze with Bachelours, then with maried men they ordeyned, that the man or woman, that had not bene maried (if they lyued after a certayne age) after their death should not be buryed.

The.ii. Chapter.

✱ The auetour folowving his purpose, declareth that by meanes of maryages, manye mortall enemyes haue bene made good and perfite frendes.

BY the sundry examples that we haue declared, and by all that whiche remaineth to declare, a mā may know well enough, of what excellente matrimony is, not only for the charge of conscience, but also for þe thinges suching honoz: for to say þe truth, the men that in the comon wealch are maried, giue smale occasiō to be flattered, & haue more cause to be honozed. We cannot deny, but that matrimonye is troublesome, and chargeable to them that be maried, for two causes. The one is in bringynge vp their chyldren, and the other in suffering the importunities of their mothers. Yet in fine we cannot deny, but that the good and vertuous wyfe, is she that setteth a staye in the house, and keepeth her husbāde in estimacyō in the common wealche: for in the piblyke affayres, they giue moze faith and credite vnto those, that are charged with chyldren, then vnto others, that are laden with yeares. The fiftie commodity that ensteth in matrimonye, is the peace and reconciliations that are made betwix the enemyes, by meanes of mariage. Men in this age are so capricious, so importune, & malicious, that there are verie fewe, but haue enemyes, whereby groweth contention and debate: for by our weakenes, we fall daylye into a thousand occasiōs of enimities, & scarcely we can finde one, to bringe vs againe into frendshipp. Considering what men deserue, what thinges they procure, and wherunto they aspire, I marueile not, that they haue so few frendes: but I much muse, that they haue no moe enemyes. For in thinges of weight, they marke not who haue ben their frendes, they consider not they are their neighbours, neither they regarde that they are christians: but their conscience layde a parte, and honesty set a side, euery man seeketh for hym selfe, and hys owne affayres, though it be to þe prejudice of all his neighbours. What frendshipp can there be amongest

gett proud men, since the one wil go befoze, and the other disdaineth to come behinde. What frendship can their be amongst enuious men, since the one purchaseth, & the other possesseth: what loue can their be betwene two couetous men, since y one date not spend, and the other is neuer satisfied, to houre, and heape by. For all that we can reade, se, go, and trauaile, and for al that we may do, we shal neuer se, nor here tel of me, that haue lacked enemies: for either they be vitious, or vertuous. If they be euyl and vicious, they are alwaies hated of the good: and if they be good and vertuous, they are continually persecuted, of the euyl. Many of the aunciet philosophers spent a great parte of their time, & lost much of their goods, to serche for remedies & meanes, to reconcile them y were at debate, & contention, and to make them by gentlenes good frendes & louers. Some said y it was good & profitable, to forget the enimities for a time: for many things are pardoned in time, which by reason could neuer take end. Others said, y for to appease y enemyes, it was good to offer money, because money doth not only breake the seminate and tender hartes, but also the hard and ctaggy rockes. Others said, y the best remedy was, to let good men to be mediators betwene them, inespially, if they were sage & wise me: for y honest faces, and stout hartes, are ashamed, whe they are proffered money, & the good do humble the selues by intreaty. These meanes wel considered, and the remedies wel sought out, to make frendes, their are none so ready, & so true, as mariages: for y mariage doe sacramentallie, is of such, & so great excellency, that betwene some it causeth perfite frendshipp, & betwene others it appeaseth great iniuries. During the time y Iulius Cesar keppe hym selfe as father in law to y great Popeius, and that Popeius helde him selfe his sonne in lawe, their was neuer yuel will, nor quarels betwene the: but after y Popeius was deuorced fro the house of Cesar hatred, enny, and

enimities, ingedered betwene them in such sorte, y they contended in suche & so cruel warres, that Popeius against his will losse his hed, & also Iulius Cesar shortened his life. When those y dwelled in rome ransshed, and robbed y daughters of y Sabines, if after they had not chainged their counsel, & of theues to become husbands, without doute, the romaines had ben all destroyed: for the Sabines had made an othe, to aduenture bothe their goods and their lyues, for to reuenge the iniuries done vnto them, their daughters, and wyues: but by the meanes of maryage, they were confedered in great amitye and loue. For the romaines receiued in mariage the daughters of the Sabines, whome befoze they had ransshed. Greater enimity their cannot be, then that of god towards men, though the sinne of Adam, notwithstanding ther neuer was, nor neuer shalbe, greater frendship then y, whiche was made by the godly maryage: and for greater auctoristy to confirme the mariage, the sonne of god would, y his mother should be married, & afterward, he hym selfe was present at a mariage, where he touned y water into wyne, though now a daies the euil married men do turne the wine into water. He dothe not speake here of relygious personnes, nor men of the churche, neither of those whiche are closed in deuoute places: for these (fleing the occasions of the world, and chosinge the wayes lesse dangerous) haue offered their soules to God, and with their bodies haue done hym acceptable sacrifices. For there is dyfference betwene the holye relygion of Christ, and the sinful Synagoge of the Iewes: for they offered kyddes and mortons, but here are not offered, but teares and sighes. Leauynge therfore all those secretes aparte, whiche men oughte to leaue to God: I saye and affirme, that it is a holy and commendable counsel, to vse his profyte with the Sacramente of maryage: the whiche, though it be taken of all voluntarye, yet Princes and great

* lordes, oughte to take it necessarylye . For the Prince that hath no wyfe nor children, shall haue in hys realme, muche grudgyng and dyspleasure . Plutarke in the booke whiche he made of marpage, sayeth, that amongst the Lidians there was a lawe well obserued and kepte, that of necessitye their kynges and gouernours shoulde be maryed: and they had suche respecte to this thinge, and were so circumspecte in this matter, that if a Prince dyed, and leste hys heire an infante, they woulde not suffer hym to gouerne the realme, vntyl he were maryed . And they greatlye lamented, the daye of the departyng of their Quene, out of this lyfe: for with her deathe, the gouernement ceased, the royal auctoritey remained voyde, and the common wealthe withoute gouernement, so longe tyme as the kyng deferred to take another wyfe, and so they were some tymes, without kyng, or gouernement. For Princes are, or oughte to be, the mirrour and cexemple of al, to liue honest, and temperate, the whiche cannot wel be done, vnlesse they be maryed, or that they see them selues to be conquerors of the fleshe, and being so, they are satisfied: but if they be not maryed, and the fleshe doeth assaulte them, then they remayne immediatelye conquered . Wherefore of necessitye they must goe by their neighbours houses, or els by some other dysonest places, scattered abrode, to the reproche, and dishonour of them, and their kindred: and oftentimes to the greate peryll and daunger of their parsonnes.

The.iii. Chapter.

* Of sondry and dyuerse lawes, whiche the auncientes had in contracting matrimony, not onely in the choise of vvomen, but also in the maner of celebrating maryage.



Nal nations, and in all the realmes of the world, mariage hath alwayes bene accepted, and meruelously commended: for otherwyse, the world had not bene peopled, nor yet the number of men multiplyed. The auncientes neuer dysagreed one from another, in the approbation and acceptation of marpage: but there was amongst them great difference, and strife, vpon the contractes, ceremonies, & vsages of the same. For they vsed asynuche difference in contractyng matrimonye, and chosyng their wyues: as these Epicures do desyre, the variety of sundry delicate meates.

The deuyn Plato, in the booke that he made of the common wealth, dyd counsell, that all thynges shoulde be common, & that not only in brute beastes, in mouables, and herytages, but also that women shoulde be common: for he saide, that if these two worldes, thine, and myne, were abdisshed, and oute of vse, there shoulde not be debates, nor quarells in this world. They cal Plato deuyn, for manye good thynges whiche he spake: but nowe they maye call hym worldelye, for the counsell profane whiche he gaue. I cannot tell what beasellynes it maye be called, nor what greater rewdenes maye be thoughte, that the apparrell shoulde be proper, and the wyues common.

The brute beaste dothe not knowe that, which came oute of her bellye, longer then it sucketh of her breastes.

And in this sorte it woulde chauce to men, yea and worse to, if women were common in the common wealthe.

For though one shoulde knowe the mother, which hath borne him: he shoulde not knowe the father, that hath begotten him. The

Tharentines

Tharentines (which were well renowned amongst the ancients, & not a litle feared of the Romans) had in their Citie of Tharente, a law and custome, to marie the selues with a legitimate wife, and to begette children: but besides her, a man mighte yet chose. 2. others, for his secret pleasures.

Spartianus said, that the Emperour Helius Verus, as touching women, was verie dissolute: and since his wife was yong and fayre, and that she did complaine of him, because he ledde no honeste lyfe with her, he spake these wordes vnto her. My wife, thou hast no cause to complayne of me, sence I remayne with the vntill suche tyme, as thou art quicke with chylde: For the residue of the time, we husbandes haue licence, and priuilege, to seke oure pastimes with other women. For this name of a wife, conteyneth in it honour: but for the residue, it is a greuous burden, and painefull office.

The like matter came to Ptolomeus king of Egypt, of whom, the quene his wife dyd greatly complaine. Admyt that al the Grekes haue bene esteemed to be verie wyse, amongst al those, the Athenians were esteemed of most excellent vertue: for the sages that gouerned the common wealth, remained in Athens with the philosophers, which taught the sciences. The sages of Athens ordeined, that al the neyghbours and inhabitants shoulde, and might kepe. 2. lawfull wyues, and furthermoze, vpon paine of greuous punishmentes did commaunde, y none shoulde presume, nor be so hardye, to mainteine any Concubynes: for they sayde, when men haunte the companys of lyghte women, commonly they misuse their lawfull wyues. As Plutarke saith in his polittiques, that the cause why the Grekes made this law was, considering that man could not, nor ought not to liue without the company of a womā: and therfore they would, that man shuld marie with. 2. For though one were diseased, yet the other mighte serue in bedde, waite at the table, & do other

busynes in the house. Those of Athens, had an other great respect, and consideration to make this lawe, whiche was this, that yf it chaunced the one to be barrayne, the other shoulde brynge forth the children in the common wealth: and in suche case, she that brought forth chylde, shoulde be esteemed for maistres, and the other that was barrayne, shoulde be taken for a seruaunt. When this law was made, Socrates was married with Xantippa, & to accomplishe the lawe, he tooke an other called Myia, which was the daughter of the philosopher Aristides: and sith those. 2. womē had great quarrels, and debates together, and that therby they flattered their neyghbours, Socrates saide vnto them. My wyues, you see righte well, that my eyes are holow, my legges are withered, my handes are wyndled, my head is balde, the bodye is lytell, and the heares are white: why do ye then that are so fayre, stande in contentions, and stryfes, for me that am so desourmed? though Socrates saide these wordes (as it were in ieste) yet suche wordes were occasion, that the quarrelles and stryfes betwene them ceased.

The Lacedemonians (that in tyme of peace and warre, were alwayes contrarie to the Athenians) obserued it for an inuiolate lawe, not that one man shoulde marie with two wyues, but that one woman shoulde marie with two husbandes: and the reason was, that when one husbande shoulde goe to the warres, the other shoulde tarpe at home. For they sayde, that a man in no wyse shoulde agree, to leue his wife alone in the common wealth.

Plinie wyrtynge an Epistle to his frend Locratius, and saint Hierome writinge to a frende called Rusticus sayeth, that the Athenians dyd vse to marie the bretherne with the sisters: but they dyd not permytte the Auntes to marie with theyr nephewes, neither y vnckles w their neices. For they saide, that brothers and sisters to marie

THE DIAL

marrye together, was to marrye wth their fe-
blable: but for vnckles, to marrye nteces, and
auntes wth nephewes, was, as of fathers to
doughters, & of mothers to sonnes. Mel-
ciades which was a man of great renowne
amongest the Greecians, had a sonne called
Cymonius who was married to his syster
called Pirricea, & being demaunded of one,
why he took his sister in marriage, he aun-
swered: my sister is fayre, sage, rich, & made
to my appetite, and her father & mine, dyd
recommaunde her vnto me, and since by the
commaundement of the gods, a mā ought
to accōplyshe the cōmaundementes and re-
questes of fathers: I haue determined (since
nature hath geuen her me for my syster)
willingly to take her for my lawfull wyfe.
Diodorus Siculus saith, y^e before the E-
gyptians receiued any lawes, euery mā had
as many wyues as he would: and this was
at the libertie of both parties, forasmuch as
if she would go, she went liberally, and for-
sooke the man: and likewise he left her, whē
she displeased him. For they saide, y^e it was
impossible for men, & women, to liue longe
together, without much trouble, contenti-
ons, & brawlinges. Diodorus Siculus said
one thing, speaking of this matter, y^e I ne-
uer red in any booke, nor hard of y^e annūci-
entes past, whiche was, that amongest the
Egyptians ther was no differēce in childre:
for they accepted the al legitimate, though
they were children of slaues. For they said,
that y^e principal doer of the generatiō, was
the father, & not the mother, and that ther-
fore the children which were borne amonge
them, toke onely the flesh of the mother, but
they did inherite the honour and dignity of
the pate of the father. Iulius Cesar in his
cōmentaries saith, y^e (in the great Britain,
called now Englande) the Wytons had an
vse, that one woman was married vnto fīue
mē, the which beastlines is not red, to haue
bene in any nation of times past: for if it be
sclander for one man to haue diuers wy-
ues, why should it not also be a slaūderous

and shamefull thing, for one womā to haue
many husbandes. The noble and vertuous
women ought to be married for .2. causes.
The first, to the end God should giue them
children, and benedictiō, to whom they may
leauē their goodes, and their memory.
The seconde, to the ende that they shoulde
come euery one into her house, accompani-
ed and honoured with their husbandes. For
otherwile, I say for a truth, that the womā
that is not contented, and satisfied with her
owne proppr husbande, will not be conten-
ted nor satisfied, with all men in the world.
Plutarche in hys apothemes sayeth,
that the Cymbres did vse to marrye wth
their proppr and naturall doughters: the
which custome was takē from them, by the
Consul Marius, after that he did ouercom
them in Germany, and that of them he had
triumphed at Rome. For the childe whiche
was borne of suche marriage, was sonne of
the doughter of one sole father, and was
sonne and brother of one only mother, and
they were also Cousins, Nephewes, and bro-
thers, of one only father, and brother. Tru-
ly suche custome proceeded rather of wyld
beastes, then of reasonable creatures: For
many, or the mosse part of female beastes,
disdayne to take them for their husbandes,
whiche the laste yeare were their sonnes.
Stabo in the situation of the worlde, and
Seneca in an Epistle saye, that the Lydes
and the Armenians had a custome, to send
their doughters to the Ryuers and hauens
of the sea, to gette their marriages, sellinge
their owne bodyes to straungers: so that
those whiche woulde marrye, were f^{yr}st
forced to sell their virginite, to purchase
them frendshyppe. The Romaynes (whiche
in all theyr affayres and busynesses, were
more sage and modeste, then other natio-
ons) vsed much circumspection in all theyr
marriages: For they kepte it as an auni-
cyente lawe, and vse accustomed, that e-
uerie Romayne shoulde marrye with one
woman, & no mo, for euen as to kepe two
wyues

wiues among the christians, is a great sci-
 ence: so was it demed amongst the Ro-
 maines much infancy. Amongest the auncient
 and renowned oratours of Rome, one
 was called Metellus Numidicus, & which
 one day making his oration to the Senat, sayd
 these wordes. *Worthy Senators, I let*
 you vnderstand, that I haue greatly stud-
 ed, what the counsellors should be, & I ought
 to giue ye, touching marriage: For the coun-
 sell rashe and sodeyne, oftentimes is not
 profitable. I do not perswade you at all to
 mary, neither do say that ye shal not mary:
 but it is true, that if ye can liue withoute a
 woman, ye shal be free from many troubles.
 But what shal we do, O ye Romans, since
 that nature hath made vs such, that to kepe
 women, it is a greate trouble: and to lyue
 without the, it is more daunger. I dare say
 (if in this case my opinion might be accep-
 ted) & it should not be euyl done to resyst the
 luste, since it cometh by fytes: and not to
 take wiues, which are continual troubles.
 These were the wordes, whiche Metellus
 Numidicus spake, the which were not be-
 ry acceptable, nor pleasaunte to the fathers
 beinge in the Senate: for they would not &
 he should haue spokē such wordes against
 marriage. For there is no estate in this life,
 wherein fortune sheweth her force more: the
 in this state of matrimony. A man maye
 proue them in this sorte, that if the fashions
 and blages of the auncientes were diuerse,
 as concerning ordinaunce: truly ther was
 no lesse contrariety, in their contrades, & ce-
 remonies. Boccase & florentine, in a booke
 that he made of the marriages of the auncien-
 tes, reciteth many & sodeyne customes, that
 they vsed in making the marriages, wherof
 he telleth some, not for to allow, nor main-
 teyne them: but to reprove and condemne
 them. For the wyters did neuer wyte the
 vices of some, but onely to make & vertues
 of others, more clerely to be knownen.

The Cymbres had a custome, that whē
 they would marie (after the marriage was

now agreed vpon) he that was made sure,
 shoulde pare his nayles, and send the to his
 wife that shoulde be: and she in like sorte, sent
 hers vnto him. And then, when she of hym,
 & he of her, had receiued the nayles the one
 of the other, they tooke them selues married
 for euer: and did afterwarde lyue toge-
 ther, as man and wyfe.

The Theutoniens had a ceremony, that
 the man that was sure, rounded the herte
 of her, to whom he was made sure, and she
 did the lyke vnto him: when the one suffer-
 ed the other to do so, immediately they cele-
 brated marriage.

The Armeniens had a lawe, that the
 bydegrome shoulde pinche the right eare of
 the byde, & the byde shoulde likewise pinche
 the leafe eare of the bydegrome: and then,
 they tooke them selues married for euer.

The Blamytes had a custome, that both
 parties which were made sure, pricked one
 the other s lytel synger vntyll they bled: the
 which bloud they did sucke naturally, and
 thys done, they were married.

The Numidians vsed, & the bydegrome
 and the byde shoulde gather together a peece
 of yearth, & with their spertell they repared
 it, and therewith the one annointed the sores
 head of the other: so & the marriage betwene
 them, was to annointe the one & the other,
 w a liuel clay. When those of Dace would
 be married, the bydegrome & the byde, echo
 one by them selues, were brought in Cha-
 rriottes, the one meeting the other: whē they
 came together, & bydegrome gaue a new
 name to the byde, & she likewise to him, &
 from y tyme forwarde, they liued as in law-
 full matrimony. When those of Hungarie
 would marie, the one sent vnto the other, a
 familer god made of siluer, whom they cal-
 led Lares, and when they had receyued the
 God of eche other, the marriage was finis-
 shed, and they lyued as man and wyfe.

The Siconians hadde a custome and
 lawe, that when they shoulde marie, the
 one sente to the other a shoe: and that
 receiued

receyued of both, they agreed to þ marriage.

The Tharentyns had a custome, that when they did marye, they sette them selues at the table to eate, & the one byd seade the other: so that if by mishappe the one should chaunce to seade him selfe, that marriage was not esteemed for constant, nor good.

The Scithes had a custome, and they kept it as a law, that when men and womē should marye, as now they touche the handes, the one of þ other: so did they the touche with their seete, after wardes they set together their knees, then they touched wyth their handes, and then they sette their buttockes together, and so their heades, and in the end, they embraced the one the other. All these ceremonies done, the marriages were assured, and sufficiently confyrmed: & so we mighte say of many others, but to a uoide tediousnes, we wil folow our matter.

The.iiii. Chapter.

How the Princessys and great Dames ought to loue their husbandes, if vvith the they vvill liue quietly, and such loue ought not by cōiuraciōs, and enchātemētes to be procured, but by vvisedō, honesty, and vertue desired.



ALL men that desyre to achteue and obtayne any woꝝ, thy thing in this life, inuente and serche many meanes, to come therunto: for men by good prouision and circumspectiō, compasse sodꝝ thinges, whiche otherwise they should loose, onlesse they woulde by force take them. As in the marriages of our christian religion, wherin we do not suffre, that the man & the wyfe be parentes, and nigh of bloud, that the one is a man & the other a woman, that the one

is strong, & the other weak: so ofte tymes it chaunceth, that there is betwene the man & the wife, moze contrarictie in condicions, then diuersitie in linage. I would say therfore (for healthful counsel, and necessary aduice) to the great dames, & Princessys, and to all other wyues (spnce that necessarily they ought to eate, to drinke with their husbandes, & that they ought to sleape, to create, to be conuersant, to talke, and finally, to liue and die with their husbandes) that they should vse much diligence to beare w theyꝝ cōditiōs: for to say the truth, the wife ought in al thinges to folow the condicions of her husband, and the husband in some thing, to beare with the condicions of his wife. So that she by her patience, ought to suffer the imperfections of him, and he likewise by his wisdom, ought to dissemble the importunities of her: & in suche sorte they ought to agree, and loue together, that all those of the cōmon wealth shuld reioice, at their behauiours. For married men, which are quarrellers, and seditious personnes, the neighbours, in steade of weeping & wailing, for the depꝛiuaciō of their life, demaund giftes the one of the other, for byrting netwes of their death. Admyt that the husband be couetous, & vniust, that he be deformed in his bodye, that he be rewde in condicion, base of linage, rathe in his speache, in aduersities fearefull, in prosperities carelesse, in the end being (as he is) husbāde, we can not denye, but in the house he oughte to be chiefe master. For the whiche it is also necessary, & we giue notice vnto the wyues some helthfull counsell, wherby they maye beare & suffer quietly suche great troubles. For at this daye, ther is no husbāde so loving, nor so vertuous, in whom þ wife shal not finde some euyl condicions.

Firste of all, wyues oughte to endeuour them selues, to loue their husbandes vnfailedly, yf they desyre theyꝝ husbandes shoulde loue them without dissimulation: For as we see by experyence, maryage

is seldome broken throughe pouertie, nor
 yet continued with riches. For the euill
 married folkes, thozough debate, and strife,
 be separated in one weeke, whereas by good
 and true loue, they are preserved al y^e daies
 of their lyfe. For to eate dye and vnsauory
 meates, they vse to take salte for to amende
 it. I meane, that the burdens of matrimony
 are many, and troublesome, the whiche all
 with loue onelye maye be endured. For as
 Plato the deuyne Philosopher sayeth, one
 thinge ought not to be called moze paineful
 then an other, for the labour, we thereunto
 employe: but for the great or smal loue that
 thereunto we haue. Though some sondrye
 thinges be troublesome and tedious, yet
 when with loue it is begonne, it is easelye
 folowed, and ioyfullye achiened: for that
 trauayle is nothynge noysome, where loue
 is the mediatour. I knowe right well and
 doe confesse that the counsell which I gyue
 to women is sharpe, that is: for an honeste
 woman to loue a dissolute man, for a sage
 wyfe, to loue a foolyshe husbände, for a ver-
 tuous wyfe, to loue a vitious husband. For
 as dayly experience sheweth, ther are some
 men of so foolyshe condicions, and other
 women of so noble conuersation, that by
 reason apparant, they ought to take them
 for mistresses, rather then they shoulde ac-
 cepte them for husbādes. Although this, in
 some particuler cases is true, I say and af-
 firme, that generally all women are bound
 to loue their husbādes, since that willing-
 lye, and not by compulsion, they were not
 enforced to take them: for in like manner,
 if the marriage pleased not the woman, she
 hath not so muche cause to complayne of
 her husbāde, for askynge her: as she hath
 reason to complayne of her owne self, that
 accepted him. For the mistokynnes that by
 our follye do chaunce, yf we haue cause to
 lament them, we ought also to haue reason
 to dissemble them. Be the man neuer so wild,
 and euyl brought vp, it is impossible, if the
 wyfe loue him, but he muste needs loue her

again. And though perchance he can
 not force his euill condicion to loue her,
 yet at the leasse he shall haue no occasion to
 hate her. The which ought not to be litel e-
 stemed, for there are many wyues, not ones-
 ly of the Plebians, but also of the noble Da-
 mes, that coulde be content to forgiethe their
 husbādes al that, that hereafter they shoulde
 doe, and also al the loue that they ought to
 shew: yf they woulde refraine their tonges,
 from speaking insuruous wordes, and kepe
 their handes, from dealinge lothsome stry-
 pes. We haue manye notable examples in
 histories, of many noble and stoute Dames
 (aswel Grekes, as Romaines) whych after
 they were married, had so great faithfulness,
 and bare such loyaltye to their husbādes:
 that they not onely folowed them in theyr
 trauayles, but also deliuered them in their
 dangers. Plutarke in the booke of no-
 ble women declareth, that the Lacedemo-
 nians, keepng many nobles of the Atheni-
 ans prisoners, betwene who at y^e tyme were
 cruell and mortall enemies, and beyng
 Iudged to dye: their wyues concluded, to go
 to the prysonne, where they laye, and in the
 ende, they obtrayned of the Capteyn thereof,
 that they myghte goe in, and talke wyth
 their husbādes: For in dede the teares
 were manye, that before them were shed,
 and the gyftes were not fewe, whiche vnto
 them were offered. The wyues therefore
 entred into the prysonne dyd not onelye
 chaunge their apparell wyth their husbā-
 des, but also the libertie of their personnes:
 for they wente out as women, and the wo-
 men in their steades remained there as me.
 And when they brought out these innocent
 wyues fro prysonne, to execute iustice, sup-
 posing they were men, the Lacedemoni-
 ans vnderstandinge the faythfulness of the
 women, determyned that they shoulde not
 onely be pardoned: but also y^e they shoulde be
 greatlye rewarded, and honoured, for the
 good examples of other women, to whom
 they were married.

The

The auncient, and great renowned Portia, when newes was broughte her, that her husbände was dead in the battayle, she her owne selfe determined to goe seke him out, with hope, that as yet he was not utterly dead: and sendinge him deade, wyth the bloud of him she washed all her body, & likewise her face. Strykinge with a knife her selfe to the heart, and imbracinge her husbände, she yelded the ghost, and so together they were caried to the grane. Porcia, the daughter of Marcus Porcia the great, when she harde that her husbände Brutus was taken, and slayne, she felte for that newes so great sorow, & all her frendes seing her take the matter so greivously, hyd from her all Ironie, wherewith she myghte kyll her selfe: and did laboure to kepe and preserve her from daungers, wherein she might fal and shorten her life. For she was so excellent a Romaine, and so necessary to the common wealth, that if they had lamented the death of Brutus her husband, wyth teares of their eyes: they ought to bewaile the losse of his wyfe Porcia, with droppes of bloude in their hartes. Porcia therefore feelinge in her selfe a wofull and afflicted harte, for the death of her enterye beloved husbände, to declare that that which she did was not fained, nor for to please the people, but to satisfie her greate and marvellous loue: synce she founde neyther sworde, nor knyfe to kyll her selfe, nor corde to hang her selfe, neyther welle to drowne her in, she went to the fyre, and with as greate pleasure did eate the hote fyre coles, as an other woulde haue eate any delicate meates. Wee maye say, that suche kynde of deathe was verie straunge and newe, whiche the Romaine found to encrease, augment, and manifest her loue: Yet we can not deny, but that she wanne to the posteritie of her name, a perpetuall memozye. For as a noble Dame she woulde quenche with coles of fyre her burninge harte, that enflamed was with fyre brondes of loue. As Dio-

dorus Siculus sayeth, it was a lawe and custome amongeste the Indians, to marye them selues with many wyues: and whan by chaunce their husbādes died, the wyues which they had, met together, and fought in some plaine place. And the women whiche remained onelye alpye, and of the conflycte had the victozye, caste them selues into the grane of their husbādes: so that those women then fought for to dye, as men nowe fyght for to lyue.

The.v.Chapter.

Of the reuengement that a woman of Grecia toke of him, that had killed her husband, in hope to haue her in mariage.



Dutarche in the Booke that he made of the noble and worthy women; declareth a thinge worthy of reherfall, and to be had in memozye.

In the Citie of Galacia were two renowned cytezens, whose names were, Sinatus, and Synoris, whiche were by blood Cousins, and in familiaritie frendes: and for the loue of a Grekes daughter, being very noble, beautifull, and exceeding gracious, they both stryued to haue her in mariage, and for to attaine to their desires, they both serued her, they both folowed her, they both loued her, and for her, bothe of them desired to dye. For y^e date of loue, is as a stroke with a clodde of yearth: the whiche beinge throwen amongeste a company, doth hurte the one, and blynde the others. And as the fatal destinyes had ordeyned it, Sinatus serued this lady, called Camma, in suche sorte, that in the end, he obtained her in mariage for his lawfull wife: whiche thinge when Synoris perceyued, he was ashamed of his doynges, and was also wounded in

his harte. For he lost not only that, whiche of so longe time he had soughte, loued, and serued: but also the hope to attayne to that, whiche cheselye in hys lyfe he desired. Sinatus therfore seing that his wyfe Camma was noble, meke, gracious, faire, and lounge, and that in all thinges she was comely and wel taught: decreed to offer her to the goddesse Diana, to the ende that she woulde preserue her from peril, and keape hym from infamy. Trulye we cannot repute the knyghte Sinatus, for that he dyd, nor we oughte to note him, for rashe in his counsell: for he sawe that hys wyfe was very faire, and therfore much desired. For with greate dyfficultye that is kepte, whiche of manye is desired. Thoughe Camma was nowe maryed, and that she was in the protection of the goddesse Diana: yet notwithstandinge, her olde frend Sinoris, dyed for her sake, and by all meanes possyble he serued her, continuallye he importuned her, daylye he folowed her, and howlerly he requyred her. And all this he dyd, vppon certeine hope he had, that suche dylygent seruice shuld suffice, to make her chaunge her sacred mynde: and as she had chosen Sinatus for her husbande openlye, so he thought she should take hym, for her frende secretly. For manye women, are as men withoute taste throughe sickenes, the which eate more of that that is hurtful and forbidden: then of that, which is healthsome, and commaunded. Not withoute a cause, Camma was greatlye renowned, througheoute all Galatia for her beautye: and muche more amonge the vertuous esteamed, for her honestye. The whiche evidentlye in this was sene, that after she was maryed, Sinoris could neuer cause her to receiue any felow, or other gifte, nor that she woulde here him speake any worde, nor that she woulde shewe her selfe in the wyndowe, either to hym, or to anye other, to the ende to be sene in the face. For it is not sufficient for Ladies, to be pure good: but also to gyue no occasi-

syn for men, to iudge (that if they durste) they woulde be euyl. At it is trewe in dede, that the harte whiche is intangled with loue, dare boldelye aduenture hym selfe in many kynde of daungers, to accomplyshe that whiche he desireth: so Sinoris, seing that with faire wordes he coulde not flatter her, nor with anye gyftes wyne her, determyned to kyll Sinatus her husbande, vppon hope, that when she shoulde be wydowe, he myghte easelye obteyne her in matrimony. For he thoughte, althoughe Camma was not euyl, it was not for that she wanted desyer to doe it: but because she had no commodious place, to accomplyshe it.

And to be shorte, Sinoris would neade execute, and bring to effecte, his deuellyshe and damnable intente: so that sone after, he vplye slewe hys sayde compaignyon Sinatus. After whose death, the noble ladye Camma was of Sinoris greatlye despyred, and by hys parentes muche importuned, that she woulde condescende to take and marie hym, and that she woulde forgyue hym the death of her husbande Sinatus, whiche then was buried. And as she was in all her doinges such a princely woman, she imaged with her selfe, that vnder the pretence of mariage, she might haue opportunitye to accomplyshe her desires: wherefore she answered vnto his parentes, that she dyd accepte their counsell, and saied to Sinoris, that she dyd choose hym for her husbande, speakinge these wordes more for to comforte hym, then with intente for to pardon hym. And as amongest those of Galatia there was a custome, that the new maryed folkes shoulde eate togethers in one dyshe, and drinke in one cuppe: the day that the maryage was celebrated, Camma determyned to prepare a cuppe with poyson, and also a lute, wherewith she began to play, and singe with her proper voyce, before the Goddesse Diana in this maner.

THE DIAL

To the Dian, whose endles reigne doth stretch
 About the boundes, of all the heauenly route
 And eke whose aide, with royall hande to reteine
 Chiefe of all gods, is most proclaimed oute.

¶ I sweare, and with vnspotted faith protest
 That though yett nowe, I haue reserved my breath
 For no intent it was, but thus distressed
 With vvailefull ende, to vvreke Sinatus death.

¶ And yf in mynde, I had not thus decreed
 Whereto shoulde I, my penysse daies haue spent
 With longer doubt: for that firepassed dedde
 Whose ofte recorde, nowe sorowes styll hath bent.

¶ But oh synce him, their kindled spite hath slaine
 With tender loue, whom I haue vvaide so dere
 Synce he by fate, is rest from fortunes rayne
 For whose decaye, I dredelesse perisse here:

¶ Synce him by whom, my onely lyfe I leede
 Throughe wretched handes, the gaping earth nowe haue
 Ought I by wysshe, to lye in euery steede
 But close with him, together in the graue

¶ O bright Dian, synce senteles him I see
 And makeles I, here to remaine alone,
 Synce he is graued, where greedy wormes nowe bee
 And I suruiue, surmounted with my sone,

¶ Synce he is prest, with lumpes of wretched soyle
 And I thus charged, with flame of frosen care:
 Thou knowest Dian, howe harde with restles toyle
 Of boote abhorringe mynde, my lyfe I spare.

¶ For howe can this, vnquiet brest resartie
 The faintinge breth, that strues to drawe his last
 Synce that euen then, my dysenge harte thyd starut
 When my dead phere, in swallowinge earth was cast.

¶ That fyrst blacke day, my husbände slept in graue
 By cruell vvorde, my lyfe I thought to spende
 And synce a thousande tymes, I sought to haue
 A stretching corde, my sorowes vvarth to ende:

¶ And yf till nowe, to vvaite my pininge daies,
 I haue deferde, by slaughter of my hande
 It is but loe, a fitter cause to raise
 Whereon his sharpe reuenge, might iustly stande.

¶ And since I may in full suffisinge wise
 Redeme his breath, (if vva yvuarde vwill vould let)
 More depe offence, by not reuenge might rise
 Then Sinoris erst, by gileles blod did get

¶ The therefore mightie loue, I iustlie craue
 And eke thy daughter chaste in thankefull sorte
 That loe the offeringe, whiche of my selfe ye haue
 Ye will vouchesafe, into your heauenly sorte.

¶ Synce Sinatus, with soone enflamed eyes
 Amongst the Achaian routes me chiefly rewed
 And eke amidst the prease of Greekes lykewise
 Chose for his phere, when surely he had sewed.

¶ Synce at my will, the froth of wasfinge welib
 With glad some mynde, he trained was to spende
 Synce that his youth, whiche slippeth loe by scith
 To waite on me, he freely did commende.

¶ Since he suche heapes, of bynginge harmes did wast
 Aye to contente, my wanton youthly will
 And that his breath, to fate did passe so fast
 To glut their thrust, that thus his blod did spill.

¶ Though great the dutie be, whiche that I owe
 Vnto his graued ghost, and cindred mould
 Yet loe me seames, my duetie well I shoue
 Performinge that, my feeble power coule.

¶ For synce for me, vnrined was his threede
 Of gileles lyfe, that ought to purchase breath
 Can reasons doome conclude, I ought to drede
 For his decaye, to chyme the steppes of death.

¶ In wretched earth, my father graued lies
 My deere mother, hath vonne her case of lyfe
 The pride of loue, no more can dawnt mine eyes
 My wasted goodes, ar shronke by fortunes strife.

¶ My honours sone, eclipsed is by fate
 My yonge delight, is loe forlone by chaunce
 My broken lyfe, these passed happes so hate
 As can my graued harte no more aduance.

¶ And nowe remaines, to duetie with my phere
 No mote but refuse loe, my ykesome lyfe
 With willinge minde, folowed eke with dret
 Whiche I resigne, as fitteth for a wife.

¶ And thou Sinoris, whiche Iunus yoke dost craue
 To presse my corpe, to feede thy liking lust
 The route of Homers gods, the graunt to haue
 Insteade of roiall seates, a throne of dust.

¶ In chaunge of coslie robes, and riche arate
 A simple windinge sheete, they deigne the giue
 And eke in steade of honest wedlockes state
 They singe thy dirge, and not vouchsafe the lue.

*In place of himens hie miled bedde
They laie the vp, in closure of thy graue,
In steed with precious meates, for to be fedde
They make the wormes, for fittie praie the haue*

*In steed of songe, and musikes tuned soone
They waste on the, with loude lamentinge voise.
In chaunge of ioyfull life, and hie renoune
Thy cruell deeth, may spreade with wretched noife.*

*For you, great gods, that shalld be on hie
Shoulde not be iust, ne yet suche titles clame
Vnles this wretche, ye ruthles cause to die
That liueth nowe, to sleaude of your name.*

*And thou Dian, that haunted Coortes doost shonn
Knowst, with what great delight, this life I leane
And when the race, of spendinge breth is donn
Will perse the soile, that did my phere receaue.*

*And if perchaunce, the paled ghostes despise
Suche fatal fine, with grudge of thankeles minde
Yet at the least, the shamefast luyng eies
Shall haue a glasse, rare wisely gifies to synde
Wherein I will, that Lucres seete shall gaze
But none that lyue, lyke Helens lyne in blase.*



ND when the prayer was ended, that this faire and vertuous Camma made, the dzanke, and gaue to drinke to Sinoris, of this cuppe of poison, who thought to drinke no other but good wine and water: and the case was suche, that he dyed at none dayes, and she lykelwyse in the eueninge after. And trulye her death of al Grece, with as great sorow was lamented: as her lyfe of all men was desired.

The Princesse and great Ladies, may mooste euydentlye perceiue, by the exam-
ples herein conteyned, how honest, and ho-
nourable it is for them to loue, and ende-
uoure them selues, to be beloued of their
husbandes: and that not onely in their life,
but also after their deathe. For the wyfe to
serue her husband in hys lyfe, seameth ofte
tymes to proceade of feare: but to loue

hym, and honoure hym in hys graue, pro-
ceadeth of loue. The Princesse and great
ladyes oughte not to doe that, which many
other women of the common people doe,
that is to wete, to seke some drinke, and
inuent some shamefull sozceris, to be be-
loued of their husbandes: for albeit it is a
greate burden of consceps, and lacke of
shame in lyke maner, to vse suche supersti-
tions, yet it shoulde be a thinge to vnjuste
and veraye slaunderous, that for to be be-
loued of their husbandes, they should pro-
cure to be hated of God.

Trulye to loue, to serue, and contente
God, it is not hurtefull to the woman, for
that she shoulde be the better beloued of her
husbande: but yet god hath suffered, and
dothe permytte ofte tymes, that the wo-
men beinge feble, deformed, pooze, and nee-
lygente, shoulde be better beloued of their
husbandes, then the dyligente, faire, and
ryche. And this is not for the seruyces they
doe to their husbandes, but for the good in-
tention they haue, to serue, and loue God,
whiche sheweth them this especyal fauour:
for otherwyse God dothe not suffer, that he
beinge with her dyspleased, she should lyue
with her husbande contented. If women
woulde take this counceyl that I gyue them
in this case, I wyl teache them furthemoze
a notable enchauntemente, to obtaine the
loue of their husbandes, whiche is: that
they be quyet, meke, payente, solytarye,
and honest, with the whiche fine herbes,
they maye make a confection, the whiche
neyther sene, nor tasted of their husbandes,
shall not onely cause them to be beloued,
but also honoured. For women oughte to
knowe, that for their beautye they are de-
syred: but for their vertue onely, they are
beloued.

The.xi. Chapter.

l.ii.

That

THE DIAL

That princes and greate Ladies oughte to be obedient to their husbandes, and that it is a great shame to the husbande, vwhen the vvyfe speaketh vnto hym thinges not decenre.



Any auncient historiographers trauesled greatlve, and consumed longe tyme in wryttinge, to declare what aucthority the man ought to haue o-
 uer the woman, and what seruitude the woman oweth to the man: and some for to auance the dignity of the man, and others to excuse the frailtye of the woman, alleged suche vayne thinges, that it had bene moze honour for them not to haue wryten at all, then in such sorte, as they dyd. For it is not possyble, but the wryters should erre, which wryte not as reason teacheth, but rather as their fantasie leadeth. Those that defende the frailtye of the women saied, that the woman hath a bodye as a man, she hath a soule as a man, she hath reason as a man, dieth as a man, and was as necessarye for generation as man, she lyueth as a man, and therefore they thought it not mete, that she shoulde be no moze subiecte to man, then man to her: for it is not reason, that that whiche nature hath made free, shoulde by anye lawes of man be made bonde. They sayde furthermoze, that god created not the creatours, but for to augmente the generation of mankynde, and that in this case the woman was moze necessarye, then the man: for the man engendereth without paine, or tranayle, but the woman is deliuered with peryll and daunger, and wryth payne and tranayle, nozysseth by the chyld. Wherefoze it seemeth greate unkyndnes and cru-

eltye, that the women (which are deliuered wryth peryll, and daunger of their lyues, and byinge by their chyldren with labour, and toyle of their bodyes) shoulde be bled of their husbandes as slaues. They sayed further, that men are those that curste, that moue sedytions, that make warres, that maynteyne enmytye, that weare weapons, that sheade mans bludde, and commit sundrye other myscheaffes, whiche the women doe not: but in steade of kyllyng men, shea- dyng bludde, and other notorious euylles that men doe, they imploie them selues to increace men. And since it is so, then women, rather then men, oughte to haue domynyon, and commaunde in the common wealthe: for women increace the common wealthe, and men dymynyshe it. For neyther deuine, nor humayne lawe commaundet, that the foolyshe man shoulde be free, and gouerne: and that the wyse woman shoulde be bonde, and serue.

Those of Achaia affirmed this opynion, and groundeth them selues vppon this reason, and obserued it as a custome: that the husbandes shoulde obey, and the wyues commaunde. And so they dyd, as Plutarche sayeth in the booke of consolation: for the husband swept and made cleane the house, made the bedde, washed the bucke, couered the table, dyessed the dynner, and went for water. And of the contrarye parte, his wyfe gouerned the goods, answered the affaires, kepte the money, and if she were angrie, she gaue hym not onely soule wordes: but also ofte tymes, layed her handes on hym, to reuenge her anger. And hereof came this aunciente ppozuerbe, the which of manye is redde, and of fewe vnderstanded: that is to wete, Vita Achaia, the lyfe of an Achayan.

When in Rome the husbande suffered, to be reuolued, and commaunded of his wyfe, the neyghbours woulde saye vnto hym in maner of a reproche, Vita Achaia: whiche is as muche, as if a man woulde say, goe goe as

as thou arte, since thou lyuest after the lawe of Achaya, where men haue so lytell discretioun, that they suffer them selues to be gouerned (be it well or euill) of their wyues, and that euery woman commaundeth her husbände.

Plinie in an epytelle that he wrote, reprooued greatlye hys frende Fabatus, for that he kepte in his house a wyfe, the which in all hys doinges ruled and commaunded hym: where in he tolde hym, that he durst do nothyng, withoute her commaundement. And to make the matter seme more heynous, in the latter ende of hys Epytelle he sayde these wordes, *Me valde poenitet quod tu solus romepolles ista achaiæ*: whiche is, it greeueth me much, & thou alone in rome shuldest leade the lyfe of one of Achaiæ, Iulius Capitolinus sayeth, that Anthonius Caracalla, beinge in loue wyth a faire Ladye of Persia, and seinge that he could not entoye her, nor obteyne hys desyre, promysed to marye her, accordyng to the lawe of Achaiæ: and trulye, she shewed her selfe more wyse in her aunswere, then he dyd in hys demaunde, tellynge hym, that she woulde not, nor myghte not marye, for because she had promysed her selfe to the Goddesse Vesta, and that she had rather be a seruauant of the Gods, then a mistresse of men.

The Parthes had a lawe contrarye to them, and lykewyse those of Thrace, the whiche so lytel esteemed women, that their husbandes vsed them none other wyse, then lyke seruantes.

And in this case, men had so greate lybertye, or to saye better, lyghtenes: that after a woman had bozne and brought forth the twelue chyldren, the chyldren remayned in the house, and the husbandes solde their wyues to them that woulde gyue moste, or els they chaunged them, for others, that were more yonge.

And the chyldren agreed to the sellying of their owne mother, to thintent that their

father myghte refreshe him selfe, with another that was more yonge: and the olde and baron woman, shoulde eyther be buryed quicke, or els serue as a slaue.

Dionisius Halicarnaseus sayeth, that the Lides had a lawe, and the Numidians in like maner, that the women shoulde commaund thinges wythout the house, and the man shuld prouide for those y were within. But accordyng to my poore iugemente, I cannot tell, howe this lawe was kepte, nor howe they coulde fulfyll it, for by reason, the wyfe shoulde not goe oute of the house but verye lytell, and therefore me thinketh, that they oughte not to commaunde any thinge abroad, nor the husbände shuld enter into another mans house, for to commaunde there.

Ligurgus in the lawes that he gaue to the Lacedemonians sayeth, that the husbandes shoulde prouide abroad, see al thinges necessarye for the house, and that the wyues shoulde keape and dyspose them with in: so that this good Philosopher denyed the traual betweene the mā, and the woman, but yet notwithstandinge he reserved the rule and aucthorytte to the man. For to saye the trueth, it is a mosterous thinge, that the wyfe shoulde commaunde the husbände in hys house.

Under oure Chyistian relygion, there is neyther denyne, nor humayne lawes, but wyll preferre man aboue al other thinges: and though some Philosophers woulde dyspute to the contrarye, and that manye men woulde haue folowed hym, yet me thinketh, that a man shoulde not prayse nor commende them for their oppynyons. For there can be nothyng more bayne, nor lyghter: then by mans lawe to gyue that aucthorytte to a woman, which by nature is denyed her.

We see by experyence, that women of nature are all weake, frayle, fearefull, and tender: and synallye, in matters of weicht,

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not deraye wyse. Then if matters of gouernement requyre not onely science, and experyence, but also strengthe, and cozage, to enterpyse doubrefull thynges, wyse doine for to knowe them, force to execute them, dyligence for to folowe them, pacyence to suffer them, meanes to endure them, and aboue all, greate strengthe, and hope to compasse them: why then wil they take from man the gouernement, in whom all these thynges abounde, and gyue it to the woman, in whome all these thynges do wante? The ende why I spake these thynges before, is to requyre, to counsell, to admonyche, and to perswade Pryncesses, and greate Ladies, that they thinke it spoken (if they wyl be happye in maryage) to thend they shoulde be obedyente to their husbandes: for speakyng the trewthe, in that house where the wife commaundeth the husband, we maye call her a masculyne woman, and hym a feminine man.

Manye women are deceyued, in thynkyng that in commaundyng their husbandes, they lyue more honozablye, and be better esteamed: but trewlye it is not so, for all those that see, and perceyue it, accomplissh the women for bayne, and the men in lyke maner for folye.

I knowe, and can tell ryghte well, that there are some husbandes, so excessyue in spendyng, and so wanton in lyuynge, that it were not onelye good that their wyues shoulde rule them, but also chastyce them: but yet in the ende I saye, that notwithstandinge all this, it is better, and more tollerable, that all the goods be losse, then betwene them, anye malyce, hate, or dysfencion shoulde ryse.

If a womans chyldren dye, she maye byrynge for the others, if she loose her goods, she maye gette them agayne, if her seruantes goeth from her, she maye fynde others, if she see her selfe sad, God maye comforte her, if she be sycke, she maye be healed, but

if she be at debate with her husband, I can not tell what she shall doe: for the wyse that forsaketh the frendshyp of her husbande, gyueth to all men occasyon, to speake of her follye. Sith women naturallye are all gelouse, and that of gelousye proceedeth suspition, I counsel them, if they wyl not that their husbandes commit a faulte, that they do not anger, nor chafe them: for if in gage she haue hys harte, no other woman shall haue hys bodye, bycause from that whiche he woulde not absteyne for conscience, he wyl restryne for shame. Ofte tymes the husbandes come home, chafed, troubled, wothfull, angrie, and bereed: and then women oughte to take hede, that they ouerthwarte them not, for (if they doe) it can not be otherwyse, but that they shal haue either euyl wordes with hys tonge, or els suffer sore blowes with hys fyfles. Truly it is not mete, neyther in anye case profytable, that the Pryncesses and greate dames shoulde ouerthwarte their husbandes with froward wordes, nor that they shoulde vse to crye against them, but rather that the wife in all cases shoulde be obedyent, and lonyng to her husband: for it maye happen, and daylye it doth chaunce, that they begin to argwe in iesse, and afterwarde they ende in earnest. The woman whiche is sage, wyse, and vertuous, oughte to wepe with her selfe, that eyther her husbande hath occasyon so to taunte her, or els peraduenture he dothe it of a wyll.

I saye, that in this case if he hath occasyon, she ought to suffer, and endure him: if he doeth it of wyll, she ought to dyssemble with hym.

For otherwyse, it myghte so take her in the hed, that she woulde burden hym with manye euyl wordes: so that he begynnynge then the debate shoulde remayne excused, and she beinge wythoute faulte at the begynnynge, myghte in the ende be condemned.

Thera

There is nothinge, whereth a woman sheweth her wysedome more, then to endure a rashe husbände. A woman in nothinge sheweth her sagenes more, then to dissemble wyth a foolyshe husbände. Her honestye in nothinge can be shewed more, then in sufferynge a wanton husbände. She can shew her worthines in nothing so much, as in bearynge wyth an vntworthye husbände. I meane, though she vnderstoode that her husbände hath litel, that he knoweth lytell, and that he were worthe lytell: yet she shoulde make men beleue, that he hath muche, that he knoweth enoughe, and can doe muche. For all the honour whiche she shall gyue so to her husbände, shall holpe agayne redounde on her selfe. It is an euill thinge (me thynketh) that women shoulde be so bolde, to speake against their husbändes: for they can not save euyl of them, but that they muste witnesse dyshonour of them selues.

For if her husbände be a dronkard, they wyll saye that she is a dronkardes wyfe, and yf he be a foole, that she is the wyfe of a foole, and what more: when the husbände shall come to amende, and to moderate him selfe, the woman in the ende shalbe blamed. For yf she burden hym wyth euyl wordes, he requyeth her wyth sharpe strykes: but if she toucheth his honour, it maye chaunce he taketh awaye her lyfe.

If perhappes the husbände shoulde commaunde the wyfe any vntysse thyng, I woulde be of opinion, that she shoulde obey hym, but not resyste hym: and after that his ragynge furye were passe, and his coler qualified, then she myghte saye vnto him, that he was verie rashe to commaunde, and she very wyse so to obey.

For yf she be quicke of tonge, to aunswere to euery worde that he shall speake, withoute doubte, they wyll not lyue one daye in concord. Readinge therefore that whiche I haue redde, hearinge that which I haue hearde, and hauinge sene also that

I haue sene, I woulde counsell women, that they shoulde not presume to commaunde their husbändes: and I woulde admonyshe the husbändes, that they woulde not suffer their wyues to rule them. For in doyng the contrarie, it is none otherwyse, then to bate wyth the feete, and traunple wyth the handes, to goe wyth the syngers, and to feede them selues wyth their toes. My mynde is not here to speake agaynste the women, nor agaynste the Pryncesses and greate Ladies, whiche of their patrimonye and herpage possesse many Townes, and Cyties: for to such, I wyll not take awaye the seruices, whiche are due vnto them by their subiectes, but I do perswade them to the obedience, whiche they ought to haue to their husbändes.

It is no marueyle, though that women of meane estate haue some tymes quarrelled wyth their husbändes: for they haue small ryches to loose, and litte honour to aduerture, then the Pryncesses and greate Dames haue, the whiche synce they do aduerture to commaunde manye, why wyll they not humble them selues to obey one, speakinge with due reuerence, It is for aboundaunce of follye, and wante of wysedome: that a woman shoulde haue presumption to gouerne a whole Realme, and that she hath not grace to obeye one husbände. Seneca in a Tragedye sayeth, that in the tyme of the warre of Mithridates, it chaunced in Rome, that the Consulles sente to the olde knyghtes, and commaunded that they shoulde all be in a redynes, to goe wyth Sylla the Consull into the watres. And it happened, that when they came to one house in Rome, to warne them to be redye, and askynge for the man, the wyfe answered, and sayde: that her husbände was nowe olde, and that he coulde not, nor shoulde not goe to the warres.

Wyth this aunswere, those that hearde it, were greatlye abashed, and the whole

hole senate no lesse offended: wherfore they commaunded them to be banished, and her to be imprisoned, not for that she excused her selfe, but bycause she commaunded her husband, and bycause he suffered him selfe to be commaunded of her. The Senate dyd this to that ende, that from that time forwards, no woman should presume to commaunde, or contende with her husbande, and that no husbande shoulde giue any occasion to do the same,

The.vii. Chapter.

That vvomen, and especiallye Pryncestes and greate Ladies should be very circumspecte in goinge abroad oute of their houses, and that throughe the resort of them that cometh to their houses, they be not euill spoken of.



Mong all the coun-
celles, that maye or
oughte to be gyuen to
Pryncestes, and greate
Ladies, this is the first:
that they doe what they
can, to haue rest in their owne houses, and
that they goe not as straves, to the mansi-
ons of other men: For if suche Ladies are
good, they get much reputacion, and if per-
chaunce they be euill, they take from men
all occasions. Whether the husband be pre-
sent, or he be absente, it is a necessarye, & an
honest thing, that the wife be the most part
in the house: For by this meanes, the hous-
holde shalbe well gouerned, and from the
harte of the husbandes shalbe withdrauen
all kynde of suspitions. Sythens the offyce
of the husbande is to gather goodes and ri-
ches, and the offyce of a wyfe to kepe and

preserue them: the houre that she goeth out
of the house, she oughte to thynke, that the
handmaydes will straye abroad, the childe-
ren wyll roune out to playe, the varlettes
and seruantes wyll be oute of order, the
neyghbours wyll take occasions, to speake
euill, and that whyche is worst of all, some
wyll steale the goodes oute of the house,
and the others wyll speake euill of the re-
notune of the wife. Oh, god giueth a goodly
giste and grace to the man, whiche hathe
suche and so good a wife, that of her owne
nature loneth to kepe her selfe within the
house. And truly I say, that such one dothe
erense many griefes, and sauerh much mo-
nye. For she spendeth not the goodes in ap-
parell, nor giueth occasion to men, to iudge
euill of her persone.

The greatestte debate that is betwene
man and wife, is for that he desireth to get
and kepe his goodes to bringe by his child-
ren, and to mainteine his family: and on
the other parte, that she desireth to spende
all vpon apparell. For women in this case
are so curious in louing of them selues, that
they woulde absteyne from meates, that
shoulde mainteyne their lyfe, onelye to bye
a newe gowne to set oute their pryde.

Women naturally doe lone to kepe, and
wyl not spende any thinge, excepte it be in
apparell: For euerye houre (that is in the
daye and the nighte) they desyre to haue a
newe gowne to chaunge.

My entencion is not to speake of ap-
parell onelye: but to perswade the Pryn-
cestes and greate Ladies, that they woulde
kepe them selues in theyr houses, and in so
doynge, they shoulde ercuse these super-
fluous wastes and expenses.

For her neyghbour seynge her better
apparelled, then she is, loketh vpon her hus-
bande, as she were a Lyon. It chaunceth
often tymes (I woulde to God I had
no cause to speake it) that yf by chaunce
there cometh any greate or solempne
feaste, or maypage, she wyll neuer looke
louingly

louingly on his face, before he hath geuen her a newe gowne to her backe: and when the poore gentelman hath no money to pay, of necessitie he muste runne in credyt.

And when the banicle of the woman is passe, then the time of paymente draweth nere, and they come to arest all his goodes: so that they haue cause to lamente one hole yere, for that whiche they haue spent in one houre. Women seldome contende, for that one is fairer, more nobler of lynage, better married, or more vertuous then an other: but onely for that an other goeth better appa-
 * railed then she. For touching apparell, there is no woman can endure, that an other meaner woman should make compa-
 * rison with her, nor that in like maner, her equall should excell her. Lyncurgus in the lawes that he gaue to the Lacedemonians, commaunded that their wiues should not go out of their houses, but at diuers solempne feastes in the yere. For he saide, that the women ought to be making their prayers,
 * in the Temples to the gods, or els in their houses, noythinge their children. For it is not honest, nor commendable, that the wife should passe her time abroade, trottinge from strete to strete, as common women. I saye, that the Princesses and greate Ladies, are muche more bounde to kepe them selues at home in their houses, then other women of meaner degree: & without a cause I speake it not, for thereby they shall get them more reputation. For there is no vertue, wher-
 * by the woman winneth more reputacion in the commē wealth, then alwaies to be sene resident in her house. I say also, that a wyfe ought the most part of her time to kepe her house, because she hath lesse occasion then other haue, to goe abroade. For if the poore wife, the plebeyan, goe out of her house, she
 * goeth for no other cause, but for to seeke meate: but if the riche, and noble woman goeth out of her house, it is for nothing, but to take her pleasure. Let not princesses meruell, nor let not great ladies wonder, if

they dispose their feete to trotte, and occupy their eyes to behold, though their enemies and neyghbours with cankered hartes doth iudge them, & with euill tonges defame the: for the sonde dedes that women do, maketh men to be rashe of iudgement. I like it wel,
 * that the husbands should loue their wiues, that they should comfort them, & make much of them, and that they should put their trust in them: but I do discōmend, that the womē should goe gadding a broode in visitacion, from house to house, & that their husbandes dare not gaine say the. For admyt, y they be good in their personnes: yet in this doing, they giue occasion for men, to esteeme them vaine & light. Seneca saith in an epistell, y the great Romaine Cato the censor ordey-
 * ned, y no woman should go out of her house beinge alone, & if perhappes it were in the night, she should not go alone without com-
 * pany, & that the company should not be such as she would choose, but such as her hus-
 * band or parent would assigne: so that with the same countenaunce we behold now a com-
 * men woman, with the selfe same lookes the we beheld her, y went oft out of her house. Noble ladies, the which loue their honour,
 * ought greatly to consider, & way the greate in-
 * cōueniēces that may ensue, by often gad-
 * ding abroade: for they spend much to appa-
 * rill the, they loose much time in trimming them, they kepe gentiwomen to wayte vpon them, they will strue with their husbandes to goe, and whiles she is oute of the doores, the house shalbe euill kept, and all the ene-
 * mies & frendes therby haue matter wher-
 * upon to talke: finallye I saye, that the woman that goeth oute of her house, dothe not wey the losse of her honour so muche, as she doth the pleasure she taketh abroade.

Presuminge (as I presume) to wyte wyth grauntie, I saye, that I am ashamed to speake it, yet for all that, I wyll not re-
 * frayne to write of y walkes of these dames that visite, & desire to be visited: amongest whom, there is moued oftentymes sache
 vaine

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vaine communication, that it causeth theyr husbandes to become enemies, and on the other parte, they remember moze the gossipinges that they haue to go, then their sinnes, which they ought to lament.

The. viii. Chapter.

Of the commodities and discommodities, vvhiche folowve Princesses and great ladies, that goe abroad, or abyde in the house.



Lucretia by the consent of all, was counted the cheafeste of all other Patronesses of Rome, and not for that that she was moze faire, moze wise, of greater parentage, or moze noble: but because she did withdraw her selfe from company, and abode solitary. For she was such a one, that in the heroicall vertues, there could be nothing moze desired: nor in womens weakenes, there was nothing in her to be amended. The hystorie of the chaste Lucretia, is euident in Titus Lilius, that when the husbandes of diuers Romanes came home fro the warres to their houses, they founde their wyues in suche sorte, that some were gasinge out of the windowes, others deuyfinge vaineely at theyr doores, others in the fiede wanderinge, others in their gardeyns banquettinge, others in the market byeng, and others in the middes of the streates, here & there gadding: but the famous Lucretia was found in her house alone, weeninge in sylke, so that she flyeng company, for that she woulde not be sene, made her selfe in her honour and renowne better to be knowen. I wyll gyve an other counsell to the Princesses and grea

ties, the whiche, as I am willinge to giue, so I wythe they woulde be as desyrous to receiue, that is to wete: if they wyll be esteemed and counted for honeste women, that they muste kepe them selues from euil company. For though the stynckinge carreine doth no harme, because we eate it not: yet the vnsauoye sent therof, annoyeth vs by stinellinge.

The honour of women is so delicate a thinge, that if we giue them lycence to goe abroad to visite women: we muste also giue them leue to be visited of men. For that one Dame shoulde visite an other, it semeth much charitie: but that men shoulde visite women, I can not but thynke it muche dishoneste. In the presence of their husbandes, and nere kynnesfolkes, they maye be visited, and talked with all, and this is to be vnderstode, of approued and honest personnes: notwithstandinge I say, yf the husbande be not at home, I woulde it shoulde be compted sacrilege, yf any man passe the treshholde of the doore, to visite the wife. Plutarke saith in the booke of the prayles of women, that the wyues of the Numydians, when their husbandes were gone out of their houses, kepte theyr gates shutte, and locked them selues in their houses: and they had a law, that what so euer he were that knocked at the doore beyng shette, withoute callinge, he shoulde haue his right hande cutte of.

Cicero in the booke of his lawes sayeth, that amongest the Romanes ther was an auncient lawe, and muche vled: that yf perchance any woman did owe any moneie to any man, and that the husbande beyng the better were oute of hys house, the creditour shoulde not aske his wife the debt, bycause that vnder the couller of recoueringe the goodes, he shoulde not dishonour her in her fame. I woulde saye therefore, that yf the creditour was not permitted in Rome to recouer his good, for y the wife was not of her husband accompanied: much lesse

lesse they woulde giue licence, to vissite a woman alone. For it were more reaso, that the creditour shuld entre for to reconer his goodes: then thou shouldest entre onely for thy pastime. The deuine Plato in the bookes of his common wealth sayeth, and by pzoofound reasons perswadeth the wyues of Grece, that they haue no secret frendes, but that euery one kepe this saying in memory, for a principall: that the womā ought not to haue any other frend but her husband.

For women oughte not to haue licence to make frendes: noz condicions to make enemies.

Pryncesses and greate Dames oughte to consider, that euery one of them geueth their bodles, their goodes, and their libertie to their husbands.

Then synce it is so, I saie, that with the libertie, she ought also to giue him her wyll. For it litell anailleth the man and the wife, that their goodes be comen, if their willes be priuate: For to the end that God be serued, and the people edified, bothe oughte in one house to abide, at one table togethers to eate, in one bedde to slepe, & besides this, they both ought one thinge to loue. For if the man and the wife, in loue doe differ, in their liues, they shall neuer be quiete. I admonithe, desire, and counsell all women, if they will be well married, that they thinke it good, that their husbands will, that they praise, all that he praiseth, that they proue, all that he proueth, that they content them selues with that, wherewith their husbands are contented, and aboue all, that they loue no more, then their husbands shal loue: for otherwise, it might be that the wife should sette her eyes vpon one, and the husbande ingage his harte to an other. Plutarke in the booke of his pollictrikes sayeth, that a woman after she is married, hath nothinge proper: for the daye that she contracteth marriage, she maketh her husbande the onelye

Lorde of her goodes, her libertie, and of her personne.

So that if the wife wisleth any other thinge, than that whiche the husbande wil leth, yf she woulde loue any other thinge then that that her husbande loueth, we wil not call her a true louer, but an open thefe: for theues doe not so much harme to robbe the husbande of his money, as the wyfe doth, in withdravynge from him her hart. If the woman will liue in peace with her husbande, she oughte to marke whereunto he is enclyned, forsomuch as if he be merry, she ought to reioyce, and if he be sadde, she must temper her selfe, if he be couetous, she shoulde kepe, if he be prodigall, she shoulde spende, if he be vnpacient, she shoulde dissemble, and if he be suspected, she muste be ware.

For the woman whiche is wyse, and sage, yf she can not, as she woulde, she ought to wyll what she may. Well, whether the husbande be euill inclyned, or in his condicions euill manered, I sweare, that he ca not suffer that his wife should haue any other louers: For thonghe the man be of a meane stocke, he had rather alwayes that his wife shoulde loue him alone, then the beste of the nobilitie in the towne.

One thinge I can not dissemble, bycause I see that god is therewith offended. Whiche is, that manye Ladies make their excuses throughe sykenes, because they would not passe once in the weeke come to here service, & yet we see the husye daylye, trotting aboute to vissite their frendes, and the woyste of all is, that in the moornyng, for colde they wyll not ryse, to go to the churche, and yet afterwardes in the heate of the daye, they goe a gaddinge from house to house, whereas they are often tymes vntill nyghte.

I woulde that the Ladies woulde consider with them selues, before they shoulde goe oute of their houses on visitation, to what ende they goe abroade: and yf perchaunce they goe abroade to be looked on, lette them knowe for a sewerre, that

THE DIAL

The. ix. Chapter.

that there be fewe that wyll praysse theyr beauty, but there be manye that wyll dyscommend their gadding. And wherfore do these Dames assemble together, for some graue matters I warraunt you, that I tell you, it is either to banquet with some deintye dysches, to talke of their petigrees, to deuise of their husbandes, to see who hath the best gowne, to note who is euill attired, to flatter the fayre, to laugh to scoone & foule, to murmure of their neighbours, and that which is worst of all, that they themselves which speake euill of them that are absent, doe gnawe the one the other with enuye. Seldome times it chaunceth, that the Dames chide not with their husbandes, after that in this sorte they haue bene together: for so muche as the one noteth the euill apparrell, the other babblinge, they note the one to be a foole, and they accuse the other to be simple, so that it semeth not, that they are mette to bysitte the one the other: but to loke, and accuse the one the other. It is a straunge thinge, for the sage woman to thinke, that she shuld take pleasures abroade, synce she hath her husbande at home, to whom she maie talke: and hath her children to learne, her daughters to teache, her family to orde, and her goodes to gouerne: she hath her house to kepe, and her parentes whom she oughte to please: then synce she hath within her house suche pastyme, why doe they accepte company of straunge men? That married women shoulde haue prynciate frendes, and loue to be bysytte: it foloweth oftentimes, that God is offended, the husbande insurped, and the people slandered: and the woman that is married, taketh lytel profite, and it hindereth the marriage of her, that is to marie. For in suche a case, though some desyre her, for her ryches: yet mo wyll forsake her, for her euill fame,

That women great with child, inspecialle the Princessys and great Ladies, ought to be verye circumspecte, for the danger of the creatures.



NE of the most necessarie thynges, for him that taketh in hande any greatesoynne, ouer any dangerous countreys, is that at the beginning he ought to learne the way, which he ought to go: for it is a thinge no lesse troublesome then perillous, that when he shoulde come to resse, of necessitie he shoulde be enforced to trauell. No man can denye, but that mans lyfe is a longe and tedious soynne, the which beginneth at our birthe, and endeth at our death: for in the end, to haue a longe or shorte life is none other, but to come soner, or later, to the graue. The chiefeste folly of all (in mine opinion) is this, that some in their owne opinions, thinke they haue counsell ynough for others: and to all others it semeth, that they wante for them selues. For of right he may be called a foole, that condemneth all other as fooles: and auunceth him selfe to be wise. Euerye man oughte to let his neyghbour liue in peace, and though he doe esteeme him selfe to be wise, yet he ought not to thinke his neyghbour a foole: for there is none so wyse, but that he may occupie it al. For we neuer saw any man so wise of him selfe, but that he needed the counsell of an other. And if this want be in those that be very olde, truly it is much more in them that be yonge: whose fleshe is not drye, but grene, the bloude not colde, but hore, no deadlye heate, but verie liuely, the bestiall motions not mortified, but

but quickened, & hereof ensueth, that yonge men loue their owne aduice and oppnyon, and despise the councelle of al other. When the trees are tender, they bynde them togethers bycause they maye growe right, they byndel the horse when as yet they are but coltes, to the ende they may be easye hereafter to the byndel. They take the haukes in the neast, to make them moze famylor: & when the beastes are litel, they take the, to teache them. I meane, that a man ought to instructe his chyldren, to the ende they may knowe, to liue wel hereafter. I admonishe, and tell the mothers that haue daughters, that there is no remedye to reforme the euil inclinacion of oure chyldren, but to teache them, and to bringe them vp well in their youth: for there is no wound, but is dangerous, if in tyme, the playster be not layed thereunto. Returning now to our purpose, since that in all thinges there is order and measure, we wyl declare presently, how the male childe oughte to be taughte: and firste of all, we wyl treate, how a man oughte to prouide when the infant is begotten, and whē as yet it is alīue in hys mothers wombe, to the entent pryncesses and greate ladies should liue very circumspectlye, when they knowe they are conceyued with chylde. I should be excused to speake of this matter, since it is not my profession, and that as yet I was neuer maried, but by that I haue red of some, and by that I haue harde of others, I wil, and dare be so bolde to say one word. For the sage oftentimes, geueth a better accompte, of that he hathe red: then the symple doeth, of that he hathe proued. This thinge seemeth to be true, betwene the agente and the pacient: for where the pacient suffereth the euyl, he ofte tymes demaundeth the agente, what hys sickenes is, and where it holdeth him, and what it is called, and what remedye there is for his disease: so that the agente knoweth moze by his science, then the patient by his experyence. A man ought not to denaye, that the

women, & in especially greate ladies, knowe not by experyence, how they are altered when they are quicks, and the great paynes they suffer when they are deliuered: we coulde not denay, but that there is greate danger in the one, and greate perill in thother, but they shal not know, from whence all cometh, and from whence al procede, and what remedye is necessary. For ther are manye whiche complayneth of robberies, but they know not what the theues are, & haue robbed them. First, according to my iudgement, and opinion, that whiche the women quicks with childe ought to do, is that they go softly and quietlye, and that they este running, either in comynge or going: for though she litel esteeme the helth of her person, yet she ought greatly to regard the life of the creature. The moze precious hys licker is, and the moze weaker the vessel is which containeth it: so much the moze they ought to feare the danger, least the licoure shed, and hys vessel breake. I meane, that the complectio of women being with childe, is very delicate, and that the soule of the creature is precious, and therfore it ought with greate diligence to be preserved: for al the treasure of the indes is not equal in balewe, to that which the woman beareth in her bowelles. When a man planteth a vineyard, so that with he maketh a ditche, or some fence about it, to the ende that beastes shoulde not crosse it, while it is yong: nor that trauelers shoulde gather the grapes, when they are ripe. And if the labourer doth this thinge for to get a litel wine only, the whiche for the soule and the bodye is not alwayes profytable: howe much moze circumspection ought the woman to haue, to preserve her childe, since she shal render an accōpt to the creatour of her creature, vnto the church of a christian, and vnto her husband of a childe. In my opinion, where the accompt at the hower of death is so streight, it is requisite, & in hys time of her life she be circumspecte: for god knoweth euery thinge so wel in our lyfe, that there is

THE DIALL

none that can begyle hym, in rendering his accompte at his death. There is no wighte can suffer, nor harte dissemble, to see a man haue his desire, that is to saye, to haue his wife greate with childe, and redy to bringe forth good frute, and afterwarde to see the woful mother, thorough some smal trifel, to perishe, and the innocent babe, not to be borne. When the woman is healthful, and bigge with child, she is worthy of great respect, if either by runnyng, leaping, or dauncing, any myschaunce hap vnto her. And truly the husband hath greate cause to lament this case: for withoute doubt, the gardiner fealeth greate greife in his harte, when in the prime time the tree is laden with blosomes, and yet by reason of some sharpe and bitter froste, it neuer beareth frute. It is not only euyl, that women shuld runne, and leape, when they are bigge, and greate with child, but it is also dishonest, and specially for great ladies: for alwayes women that be commen dauncers, are esteemed as lighte housewyues. The wyues in general, princeesses and greate ladies in particuler, ought to goe temperately, and to be modest in their mouinges: for the modest gate, argueth discretene in the person. All women naturally desire to be honoured, and reuerenced: touching that, I let them know, that there is nothing whiche in a common wealth is more honoꝝ for a woman, then to be wyse, and wary in speakinge, moderate and quiet in going. For it is vnpossible but that the woman whiche is lyghte in her going, and malycious in her talking, shuld be dispised, and abhorred. In the yeare of the foundation of rome. 466. the romaines sente Curius Dentatus to make warre against king Pirrus, who kepte the cytye of Tharēt, & dyd much harme to the people in rome: for the romaines had a great corage to conquere straunge realmes, & therfore they could haue no patience to suffer any straunger to inuade theirs. This Curius Dentatus was he, whiche in the end ouercame king

Pirrus, and was the first, that brought the oliphantes to rome in his triumphe, wherfore the fiercenes of those beastes, assayed the roman people much: for they weped to see the sight of the kinges lodē with irons, but to see the Oliphantes (as they dyd) they wodered much. This Curius Dentatus had one only sister, the whiche he intierly loued. They were seuen chyldzen, two of the whiche died in the warres, and other thre by pestilence: so that there was none leste him, but that sister, wherfore he loued her with all his hart. For the death of vnyust chyldzen, is but as a watche for chyldzen vnprouided of fauoures. This sister of Curius Dentatus was married to a romayne consull, and was conceiued, & passed. 7. monethes with child: and the day that her brother triumphed (for toy of her brothers honoꝝ) she leaped & danced so much, that in the same place, she was deliuered, and so vnluckely, that the mother toke her death, and the childe neuer lyued, where vpon the feast of the triumphe ceased, & the father of the infant, for sorrow, lost his speache. For the harte whiche sodainly feleth greife, incontynently loseth vnderstandinge. Tibullus the Gretian, in the thirde booke De casibus triumphū, declareth the history in good stile, how, & in what sorte it chaūed. Nine yeares after that the kynges of rome were banysshed, for the rape that Tarquine dyd to the chaste Lucretia, the romaines created a dignity whiche they called Dictatura, & the Dictatour who had his office, was aboue all other, lord, and chiefe: for the romaines perceiued, that the common wealth could not be gouerned, but by one head alone. And bycause the Dictatour had so great auctorite, as the emperour hath at this present, & to thend they shuld not become tyrantes: they prouided, that the office of the Dictatorship should last no lenger then. 6. monethes in the yeare, the which past, & resolved they chose another. Truly it was a good order, if they were Semestres: for oftentimes princes thinking to haue perpetual auctho-

ryte,

rytve, become negligent in vsing iustice.

The firste dictatour in rome, was Largius Mamillus, who was set agaynst the Volces, the whiche at that tyme were y greatest enemies to y romaynes: for rome was founded in such a signe, that alwayes it was beloued of fewe, and abhorred of manye. As Titus Liuius saith, this Largius Mamillus banquished the Volces, & triumphed ouer them, & in the end of y warre, destroyed their mighty citie called Curiola, and also destroyed & ouerthrewe many places, & fortresses, in that prouince: for y cruel hartes do not only destroye the personnes, but also take vengeance of the stones. The hurtes which Largius Mamillus dyd in the country of the Volces were maruelous, and the men which he slewe were many, & the treasures he robbed were infinite, and the captiues which he had in hys triumphe were a great number, amongst whō in especial he brought captiue, a noble mans daughter, a beautiful gentillwoman, the which he kepte in his house, for the recreation of hys person: for the auncient romaynes gaue to the people, all the treasures to mainteyne the warre, and they toke to them selues all the vitious thinges, to keape in their houses. The case was, that this damsel being with childe, Largius Mamillus brought her to solace her selfe in his dyteyard, where were sondry yong frutes, and as then not ripe to eate, wherof with so great affection she did eate, y forthw she was deliuered in y same place of a creature: so y on the one parte she was deliuered, & on the other parte the child dyed. This thing chaunced in the gardens of Volcan, the daies after the triumphe of Largius Mamillus, a ruful & lamentable case to declare, forasmuch as both the chyld that was bozne, and the mother y ther was deliuered, & also the father that begat it, the selfe same day dyed, & were buried al in one graue: & this thing was not, without greate wayling, & lameting thozoughout all rome. For if w teares their liues might haue ben

restored: without doubt none of them shuld haue ben buried.

The first sonne of rome whiche rebelled against rome, was Tarquin the proude.

The second y withstode rome (being as yet in Lucania) was Quintus Marcius.

The third that went against rome, was the cruel Silla. The domages which these thre dyd to their mother rome, were such, and so great, that y thre seuerall warres of affricke were nothing to be compared, to those thre euyl childre: for those enemies could scarcely se the walles of rome, but these vnnatural children, had almoste not lefte one stone vpon another. A man ought not greatly to esteeme those buildinges, that these tirautes threwe to the ground, nor the buildinges that they destroyed, neither the men y they slew, nor the women y they forced, ne yet the orphanes which they made: but aboute al thinges, we oughte to lament for that, that they brought into rome. For the comen wealth is not destroyed for lacke of riches, & sumptuous buildinges: but because there vices abound, and vertues want. Of these thre Romaynes, he whose name was Quintus Marcius, had ben consul thise, once Dictatour, & foure times Censor, & in the ende, he was with much shame banished fro rome, wherfore to reuege this iniury, he cam with a great power, & army, against rome: for the proude harte, wounded with iniury, is neuer quiet in his life tyme, vntil he se his enemies destroyed, or y on them he hath take vengeance. Quintus Marcius being very nigh to the gates of rome, was most insatly requited, y he would not destroye his mother rome: but he toke no regard, nor would condescend to any request, vntil such tyme y his mother issewed w a niere, whome he loued entierly. At whose intercession, & teares, he lefte his anger, & raised hys siege fro rome: for many are overcome soner with teares, then w importunate, & resonable requestes. The ladies of rome vsed much, to haue their heares long, and yelow, and to weare their

walkes high, & streight. And as the piece of Quintus Marcius was great & bigge with child, & daye y the peace was made betwene Quintus Marcius, & rome, lacing her selfe to hard in her attire, to seme more proper, and comely, she longe befoze her tyme was deliuered of a creature: and the case was so wooful, & vnfortunate, that the creature deliuered dyed, the mother lost her life, and the mother losing her life, sodenly her graunde-mother fell dedde to the grounde, thorough which occasion, all the ioye and mirth was turned, into sorow & sadnes. For it is commonly sene, when the world is in the greatest ioy, then fortune sodenly turneth it into sorow. The auctours hereof, are Tibullus, and Porphirius, both Cretians.

The .x. Chapter.

The auctour folowvith, and declareth other inconueniencies, and vnluckye chaunces, vvhich haue hapened to vvemen vvith chylde.



He vvarres of tarent being ended, immediately beganne y warre of Carthage, of the which so long & tedious warres, the possession of the Isles of Maiorica, & Minorica, were occasion, for so much as the one would take it, and the other defende it. This warre endured well nyghe the space of .40. yeares, for oftentimes the wastes, & damages whiche are done in the warres are greater: then y profite is of that, for the whiche they contend. The first captayne in this warre of the romains, was Gaius Duellius, & the first of the Carthaginians was Hammon, the which with their shippes fought on y sea of Sicili, the whiche was very cruel: for there they feared both y fury of the sea, & also the cruelty of the pike, y whiche .2. thinges put mans life in great daunger. Of this cruel

battaille, the roman captaine remained victorious, forasmuch as he drowned .14. shippes, & toke other .30. he slew .3. thousand men, and brought .3. thousand Carthaginians prisoners: & this was the first victory, y the romans had by sea. And that that the romans most reioyced at was, y by lande they sawe them selues invincible, and that by sea also they remayned conquerers. The captayne Gaius Duellius departynge from Sicili, came to rome, where he had a sister no lesse vertuous, then riche, and bewtiful, in whose house he lodged, where he made a costlye supper to al y senatours of rome, & to al the captaines, which came with hym from the warres: for y vicious men know not, wherein to shewe their loue to their frēdes, but by inuiting them to costly banquettes. The sister of y captayne Gaius Duellius, for ioye of his coming, & for the pleasure of the banquet & feast, which was made in her house, dyd eate those thē she was accustomed, and also more then it behoued one in her case, so that in y p̄sence of al, she begā to annoy the bidden gesses: for she not only vomited out the meate of her stomake, but also the blud of her baines, & therewithal most vnluckely brought forth her frute, which she had in her intralles, wherewith immediately after, the soule departed from y body, & so died. Truly this case was no lesse lamentable, then the others, for so much as Gaius lost his sister, the husband lost his wife, and his child, and the wife, and the child, lost their lyues: & for that that rome lost so noble and excellent a roman, & aboue al, for y it chaunced in such a tyme, of so greate ioye and pleasure. For there can come no vnluckier netwes, then in the tyme of muche mirth, to here tell of any great mischaunce. Of this matter mention is made, in Blundus, in the booke of the declination of the Emppre.

The seconde warre of A strike whiche was betwene Rome, & Carthage, was the 540. yeares after the foundation of Rome, wherein were captaines, Paulus Emilius, and

and Publius Varro: the which .2. consules fought the great & famous battaile of Cannas in the prouince of Apulia, & saye famous, bycause rome neuer lost such nobilitie, & roman youth, as she lost in that daye. Of these .2. consules, Paulus Emilius in the battaile was slayne, & Publius Varro ouercome, and the couragious Hannibal remayned conquerour of the feeld, wherein dyed .30. Senators, and .300. officers of the senate, and aboue .40. thousand foremen, and 3. thousand horsemen, finally, the end of all the roman people had ben y day, if Hannibal had had the wit to haue followed so noble a victorie, as he had the courage to giue so cruel a battaile. A litle before that Publius Varro departed to go to y warres, he was married to a faire & yong roman called Sophia, and within .7. monethes was quickened: and as newes was broughte her that Paulus Emilius was ded, & her husband ouercome, she dyed sodenly, the creature remaining aliue in her body. This case aboue all was very pitifull, in that that after he himselfe was vanquished, & that he had sene his compaignon, the consul Emilius slayne, with so great a number of y roman people, fortune would, that with hys owne eyes he shuld behold the intrailles of his wife cut, to take out y child, & likewise to se y earth opened, to bury his wife. Titus Liuius saith, that Publius Varro remained so sorrowful in his hart, to se hym selfe ouercome of hys enemies, and to se his wife so sodainly and so unluckely stricken with death, that al the tyme that hys lyfe enduered, he neyther comed his bearde, slepte in bed, nor dyed at the table: & hereat we ought not to marvelle, for a mā in his hart may be so wounded in one hower, that he shal neuer reioyce al y daies of his life. If we put no doubt in Titus Liuius, the romans had long and tedious warres agaynst the Samnites, whiche indured for the space of .63. yeares continually, vntil suche time as the consul Ancus Rutillus (whiche was a vertuous

man) dyd set a good appoyntment of peace betwene the Samnites and the romans: for the noble and stout hartes, ought alwayes by vertue to bring their enemyes to peace. These warres therfore being so cruel, and obstinate, Titus Venurius, and Espurius Posthumus (which were roman captaynes) were ouercome by Pontus, the valyaunt captaine of the Samnites: who after y victory did a thing, neuer sene nor hard of before. That is to wete, that all the Romayne prisoners whome he toke, he put aboute their neckes a yocke, wherin were written these wordes,

In spight of Rome, the Romaines shalbe subiecte to the yocke of the Samnites.

Where with in dede the Romaynes were greatlye injured, wherfore they soughte stoutely to be reuenged of the Samnites: for y hartes that are haughty, & proud, cannot suffer y others haue their mindes lofty and highe. The romans therfore created to be captaine of the warre, one named Lucius Papirius, who had commissiō to go agaynst the Samnites. This Lucius was more fortunate in hys doinges, then comly of his persō, for he was deformed of his face, notwithstanding he did so good seruice in y warre, & fortune fauored him so wel, y he did not only ouercome and vanquish, but also destroyed them: and though the injury which the Samnites dyd to the romans was great, yet truly the injury which the romans did to the Samnites was much greater. For fortune is so variable, y those which yesterday we saw in most prosperitie, to daye we see in greatest aduersitie. This Lucius Papirius therfore did not only vanquish the Samnites, kepte them prisoners, & made yokes for their neckes: but also bound them w cordes together, in such sorte, y they made them ploughe the grounde, drawing .2. and .2. a ploughe. And yet not herewith contented, but with gaddes they pricked & tormented them. If the Samnites had had pity of the romans being ouercome, the romans likewise would haue taken

ken cōpassion of them, when they were conquerers. And therefore the prosperous haue as much nede of good counsell as the miserable haue nede of remedye. For the man whiche is not mercifull in his prosperytie, ought not to meruaile though he fynde no frendes in his necessity. This Lucius Papirius had a daughter married to a senator of Rome, who was called Torquatus, & she was called Ypolita. And about the tyme she shuld haue ben deliuered, she wēt fourth to receiue her father, the whiche she ought not to haue done: for the throng of the people in receiuing him being great, and she her selfe being great with chylde, by a heuy chaunce, as she woulde haue passed in at a narrow gate, she was so prest in the throng, that she chainged her life, for death, & her father turned his mirth and ioy, into sorow, and sadness. For he toke the death of hys daughter veray heauily, & so muche the more, because it was so sodeine. I saye he toke it heauily, since he was so stout a man, & so sage with all, that all Rome thought muche, that anye suche sodeine chaunce shuld haue dysmayed so wise a man, that of his wisdom he could take no profite: but hereat let no man merueile, for there are many y^e hath hartes to shed the blood of their enemies, & yet can not with hold the teares of their eyes. Antius Severus in the thirde booke De infelice fortuna saith, y^e the day y^e this woful mishap chaunced to Lucius Papirius, he liste by his eyes to y^e heauens, & weping saied, O fortune, deceiver of al mortal men, thou madest me to conquer in warre, to the intent thou wouldest overcome me in peace. My mind was to declare vnto you al these auncient histories, to thed al may know, how tender & delicate women w^{ch} child are, & how diligent their husbandes ought to be to preserve the: for there is nothing so tender to be kept, nor any glasse so easy to be broken. For there is moche glasse, y^e though it fall to y^e ground, yet it doth not break: but a womā w^{ch} child, only for treading her fete a wy, we se w^{ch} daunger to be deliuered.

The xi. Chapter.

That women great with child, and especiallye princesses and great ladies, ought to be of their husbandes gently vsed.



Y^e we vnderstande the chapter before, we shal find, y^e women with child haue bene in great daungers, some thorough leapinge, some by dauncing, other by eating, others by baquetting, others thorough gadding, other by straithe lacing: & all this proceedeth thorough their owne follies, that seeketh to be dyscreet of their owne bodies. Trulye herein, Princesses and great ladies are worthy of great rebuke, when thorough their owne folleys, they are not safely deliuered of their creatures. And I would gladly they toke example, not only of reasonable men, but also of brute beastes: for ther is no beaste so brute in the wilde mountaynes, but escheweth that, which to his life & death wil be hurtful. The beares, y^e lionesse, & the wolves, neuer issue out of their caues & denes, so long as they be bigge: & this they do, to auoyde y^e daunger of the hunters, because at that tyme they would not be coursed. Then since these thinges are done by brute beastes (whose yonglynges are alwaies hurtful to me) to the intent that their greedy whealpes might safely be broughte fourth, to deuoure our innocent cattel: how muche more then ought the womā to be careful for her frute, which is the increas of Christian congregation. If women broughte not fourth, and children were not borne, though there be pearcher, yet there shoulde be none to people it: for GOD created al thinges to serue the creature, and created the creatures to serue their creators. Let women with child

childe take example by the chesnuttes, and walnuttes, how, and in what sorte they defende theyr fruite, after that of their blossomes they are depriued: For the chesnuttre defendeth his fruite, with a rough and harde huske, and the walnutte kepeth her fruite, with a thicke shale in like manner, so that the water can not wette them, nor the winds shake them. Nowe since that the trees, which are but vegetatiue, & beasts which are but sensitive, take such heed to their seruice, when they seele them selues readye to bring forth their fruite: much more women with childe ought to take heed to their seruice, since they haue reason, and vnderstanding, least through their negligēce, the creature should perishe. Let every man iudge howe ill he loseth, when he loseth nurses and chesnuttes: and for the contrary, let every man iudge what the church loseth, when the women with childe do not bringe forth their fruite, and the lyches baptisme. For our mother the holy church bewaileth not, for that the viues are broken: but for the soules which are lost. To the ende that the man may be the fruitful blessing which he desireth, & that the woman with childe may be her selfe well delivered: the husband ought to beware, that he enforceth her not much to labour, & the woman likewise ought to be circumspect, & she take not to much excheit. For in women with childe, this is a general rule, that to much trauaile, causeth the before their time to deliuer: & to much idleness, putteth the in danger. The man is cruell, that will haue his wife trauaile, & take as much paines when she is bigge, as he would haue her at another time when she is not with childe: for the man which is clothed, can not runne so swift, as he is naked. Aristotle in his sixte booke de Animalibus saith, when the Lyonesse is bigge with whealpe, the Lyon doth not onely hunt for her & him selfe: but also both night and day, he wandereth continuallye about to watche her. I meane, that princes

ses and greate Ladies, when they be with childe, should be of their husbandes both fedded and serued: for the man can not doe the woman, so great a pleasure before her lieng downe, as she dothe to him, when she bringeth forth a sonne. Considering the danger that the woman abyeth in her deliuerance, and beholding the paines that the husband taketh in her seruice: without comparison, that is greater which she suffereth, then that which he endureth. For when the woman deliuereth, she doth more then her power: and the husband though he serueth her wel, doth lesse then his dutie. The gentle and loving husband, ought not one moment to forsake his wife, specially when he seeth she is great: for in the law of a good husband, it is writen, that he should set his eyes to behold her, his hands to serue her, he should spend his goods to cherishe her, & should giue his hart to comfort her. Let not me thinke it paines to serue their wiues, when they are with childe: for their labour consisteth in their strength, but the rescue of their wiues, is in their intelliges. And that which is most pitiful is, when the sorrowful women will discharge their burden on the earth, they often times bring the selues vnto the graue. The meane women of the Plebeians oughte no lesse to be reproved, for that when they are with childe, they would be exempted from all busines of the house: the which neyther they them selues ought to desyre, nor yet their husbandes it to suffer. For Idleness, is not only an occasion not to deserue heauen: but also it is a cause, whereby women ofte times haue yll successe in their trauaile. For consideringe bothe the deuyntie Ladye with childe, that hath her pleasure, and doeth lytell, and on the other side the poore mans wyfe, which moderately laboureth: you shall see, that the greate Ladies for all theyr pleasures abyeth more danger, then the other dothe withall her labour.

The husband ought to kepe his wife fro taking to much paines, for so ought he to do:

and

and the wyfe lykewyse oughte to flee to much pleasure, for it behoueth her. For the meane trauaile is no other, but occasion of a safe deliuerye. The women wyth chylde also ought to take hede to their selues, and in especially, noble and greate Ladies, that they be not to greedy, nor hasty in eatinge. For the woman beinge wyth childe, ought to be sobre: and the woman whiche is a greate eater, with greate paines shall lye chaffe. Women with childe ofte times doe disorder their selues in eatinge lytuous meates, and vnder the coullour of feeding them selues and their infante, they take to excessiue: whiche is not onely vnholysome for the childe, but also dyshonour for their mothers. For truly, by the greate excess of the mother being with child, cometh many diseases to the infant when it lyueth. The husbandes also oughte neyther to dysplease nor greue their wyues, specially whē they se them great with child: for of truth, ofte times she deliuereth with more daunger, by reason of thoffences y men do vnto her: then by the aboundaunce of meates which they do eate. Though the woman, whē she is with childe, in some thinges doth offend her husband, yet he like a wise mā ought to forbear her, hauing respect to y child wher to she is greate, & not to the iniurye y she hath committed: for in the end, the mother can not be so great an offendour, but y the childe is much more innocent. For the prose of this, it needeth not booke to reade, but only our eyes to se: how the brute beasts for y mosse parte (when the females are bygge) do not touche them, nor yet the females suffer thē to be touched. I meane, that the noble and high estates ought to absente thē selues frō their wyues carnally, beinge greate with child: & he that in this case shall shewe him self mosse temperate, shal of al men be deemed most vertuous. I do not speake this, to the end it shuld bynd a man, or y it were an offence then to vse the cōpany of his wyfe: but vnto men that are vertuous, I giue it

as as counsel. For some thinges ought to be done of necessity, & others ought to be eschewed: for honestie. Diodorus Siculus saith, that in the Realme of Maurytania there were so few men, & so many women, that euery man had .5. wyues, where there was a lawe amongest them, that no man should marie vnder .3. wyues: furthermore they had a wonderfull & foolish custome, that when any husbände died, one of these women should cast her selfe quicke in to the graue, and be buried with him. And if that within a moneth she dyd it not, or that she died not, by iustice she was then openly put to death: sayeng that it is more honeste to be in company w her husbād in the graue, then it is to be alone in her house. In the Isles of Baliares the contrary is sene, for there increase so many men, and so few women, that for one woman there was .7. men: and so they had a custome, specially amongest the pooze, that one woman shuld be married with .5. men. For the riche men sent to seke for women in other straunge Realmes, wherfore then marchauntes came hense laden with womē, as now they do with marchaundise to sel. Upon which occasion, there was a custome in those Isles, that (forasmuche as there were so few women) when any woman wyth chylde dretwe nere the seven monethes, they were seperated from their husbandes, and shut and locked vp in the Temples, wher they gaue them such thinges, as were for them necessarye, of the common treasure. For the auncientes had their god in such veneratiō, that they would not permyt any persone to eate that which he brought: but of that which vnto the goddesse of the Temple was offered. At that tyme the Barbarous kept their wyues locked in the Churche, because the Gods hauyng them in their temples, should be more mercifull vnto them in their deliury, and also to cause thē to auoyde the daungers at that tyme: & besides y, because they tooke it for a great vilany, y the womē during that tyme

time should remaine with their husbandes. The famous & renowned philosopher Pustilio, in the first booke De moribus antiquorum saied, & in the Realme of Pannonia (which now is Hongarie) the women that were great with child, were so highly esteemed, that when any man went oute of his house, all those whiche met with her, were bounde to returne backe with her, & in such sorte as we at this present do reuerence the blessed Sacrament: so did these Barbarous then, the women with childe. The women of Carthage being with child (when Carthage was Carthage) had as great privileges, as now our sanctuaries haue, for the safegarde of misdoers: for in times past, all suche offendours as coude enter into the house wher a woman lay in child bed, shuld haue ben free from correction of iustice. As Fronto saiet, in his booke of the benediction of the gods, the Galloys Transalpines, did not onely honour, and reuerence & women with childe, but also with much care, and diligence, watched her deliuerie: for it litell auayleth the shippe to haue passed safe the dangerous seas, if at & thore she be cast away. The case was in this sort, that all the auncient gentills honoured some Gods in their temples, and kept other in their houses, the whiche were called Lares, & Penates: & when any ought to be deliuered, eche neighbour brought his familiar God vnto her, to presente her wythall, because they thought, that the more gods there were, of so much more power they were to kepe her fro perilles. Spraking like a christian, truly those gods were of smal value, since they could not helpe the woman safely to be deliuered, that was in trauayle.

The .xii. Chapter.

VVhat the philosopher Pisto vvas, and of the rules he gaue, cōcerning vvomen vvith child.



IN the time of Octavia, ther was a Philosopher called Pisto, whiche was of the sect of Pythagoras, & whē Rome flozished, he was very familiar to the emperor Octavian, & welbeloued of all the people, whiche ought not to be a litell esteemed: for he whiche of & prince is most fauored, cōmonlye of the people is most hated. This emperor Octavia was a prince very destrous of al vertuous thinges, so that whē he dynd to his captaines, he spake of warre, when he supped with the sages, he reasoned of sciences, & he that vttered any dishonest, or ydle worde in his presence, he alwayes afterward toke him as his enemy. This Pisto was verpe graue in weyghtie affayres, and very pleasaunt in testes and scoffes, and othe times he was demaunded many questions of the emperor, wherof the aunswers of some (acordinge to the demaundes and questions) here foloweth.

The Emperour saide to Pisto, of all these that lyueth, whom takeste thou to be moste fooles to whom the Philosopher answered. In my oppynyon, I take him to be moste foole, of whose worde there cometh no profite: for truly he is not so very a foole that slingeth stones into the winde, as he that vttereth vaine wordes.

Tell me Pisto, whom ought we of right to desyre to speake, & whom of ryght, to chaundaund to be sylēt: he answered. It is good to speake, when speache dothe profite, and good to kepe silence, when speache is hurtful: for bycause the one desyeth to mainteine & good, & the other to defend the euill, & warres beginne throughout all the world.

Tell me Pisto, from what thyng ought the fathers moste to kepe their chyldren: he sayde. In my oppynyon, parentes oughte

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ought in nothing to watche so much, as to kepe them from being bitious: for the father
 * oughte rather to haue his sonne dye well, then to liue euill.

Tell me Pisto, what shall a man do if he be broughte to thys extremitie: that if he speake truth, he condemneth him selfe: and if he make a lye, he saueh him selfe. The vertuous man (saide he) oughte rather to choose to be ouercome by truth, then to
 * ouercome by lyes: for it is vnpossible that a man which is a lyer, shoulde continue long in prosperitie.

Tell me Pisto, what shall man do to obtaine rest: he aunswered. As I thinke, the man can not haue rest, vnlesse he forsake worldly affaires: for the men that are occupied with weightie affaires, can not be without great cares, and cares are alwaies accompanied of great troubles.

Tell me Pisto, wherein a man sheweth him self to be most wise: he aunswered. That is no greater prose to knowe a wyle man, then if he be paciēt to suffer the ignoraunt: for in suffering an injury, the harte is more
 * holpen by wisdome, then by knowlege.

Tell me Pisto, what is that thinge, that the vertuous man maye lawfullye desyre: he aunswered. All that that is good (so that it be not to the prejudice of any other) may honestly be desired: but in my opinion, that
 * onely ought to be desired, whiche openly without shame may be demaunded.

Tell me Pisto, what shall men do with their wyues, when they are greete with childe, to cause that the child in safetie may be deliuered: he aunswered. In the worlde there is nothinge more peryllous, then to haue the charge of a woman with chylde.

For yf the husbände serue her, he hathe payne and trauaile: and yf perchauce he doe not contente her, she is in daunger. In thys case, the Romans, and their husbandes also, oughte to be verie dylygent, and to the thinges folowing more careful, the whyche I shewe them, more for coun-

sell, then for commaundement: For good * counsell ought to haue as muche auctoritie in the vertuous, as the commaundemente hath in the bitious. Thou Octavian, as thou arte a mercyfull and a pitiefull Emperour, and that kepest thy Peere Cessucia great with childe, I knowe thou desireste, that she had presently good and luckye deliuerie, and that she were deliuered of her paine: all the whiche thou shalt see, if thou doest marke these thinges that I wyll shewe the here folowinge.

Firste, the woman oughte to beware of dauncinge, leapinge, and running: for lea- * ping oftentimes maketh man to loose his speache, & women with childe to loose their life, wherfore it is not reason, that the folly of the mother should be permitted, to put in hazarde the life of the childe.

The seconde, the woman beinge with childe oughte to beware, that she be not so hardye to enter into gardeyns, wher there is much frute, and that for eating to many, she be not yll deliuered: for it is no reason, that the likerousnes of the mother be punished, with the death of the childe.

The thirde, the woman with child ought to beware of ouer harde lacinge her selfe about the middle: for many Roman Dames for to seme propre, do weare their gownes so streighte, that it is an occasion to kyll their creatures, which is a heynous mater, that the yonge babe should loose his life, by cause his mother should seme prync.

The fourth, the woman with child ought to beware of eating in a great banquet: for oftentimes there cometh a sodaine delineaunce, onely throught eating without measure, and it is not mete, that for tastinge a thinge of litell value, the mother and the childe should both loose their liues.

The fyfte, the woman beinge with chylde oughte to beware, that she giueth no eare to any sodayne newes: For she is in more daunger, for hearinge a thing that * greueth her, then for suffering long sickness that

that paineth her, and it were vnjust, that for knowing of a trifeling matter, the mother that is to be deliuered, & the child y is to be bozne, should bothe in one moment perishe.

The sixte, the woman with child ought to beware that she goe not by any meanes to any feastes, wher ther shalbe any greate assembly of people: for oft times the womā with child, seing her to be to much thrust & ppeast, being not able to say, I am here, may immediatly dye in the place, & it is not reason, but an vnjust thinge, that the woman for the desire to see the children of others, should make of her owne orphanes.

The seuenth, the husband oughte to beware that the being with childe, be not despayned any honest thing that she do minde: for in graunting her, he ca not loose much, & it shold not be iust, that since in her bzinging forth the honozeth and increaseth the common wealth of Rome, that Rome shuld condescende, that any woman with childe shoulde receyue shame.

These be the aunswers y Pisto made to the emperour Octavian, the which he gaue as rules to women with child, which being so kept, I do assure you, that the great Ladies shoulde deliuer them selues from many perilles, & the husbandes also should escape from many sorowes. Concluding therfore, that which aboue is spoken, I sape, that the princesses and greate ladies when they are with child, ought to be moze ware & circūspect, then other meane women: for where man hopeth to haue most profit, there oughte he moste to be carefull. The autour of this is Pulio in his thirde booke De moribus antiquorum and sextus Cheronensis in hys .5. booke de legibus domesticis.

The.xiii.Chapter.

Of the counsellors vvhich Lucius Seneca gaue vnto a secretary, his frend, vvhich serued the Emperour Nero.



He Emperour Nero had a Secretary called Emilius Varro, the whiche beinge in Rome buylded a sumptuous house, ioyninge vnto the gate of Salaria, whereunto he invited one day, Lucius Seneca, for to banquet, to the end the house might be moze fortunate: for the Romans had a Prophecie, that according to the good or ill lucke of him that firste entred into a newe house, so should it continually be luckye, or vnlucky. Lucius Seneca graunted to the requeste of hys frende, Emilius Varro, and when they had well eaten, they went bothe to see this newe building, shewyng vnto Lucius Seneca all thinges, at the laste the Secretary saide thus vnto Seneca. Those betwene bothe are for gesses, those haules are for marchauntes and suetors, these secrettes are for women, those chambers are for knyghtes, those galleries whiche are couered, are to auoyde the sonne, this lowest parte here is for horses, the Cellers are for the buttryt in the end he shewed hym the whole house, for the furnishinge whereof, there lacked not one sette. After the Secretary Emilius Varro had shewed hym all his house, he looked vnto his gesse Seneca would greatly prayse and commende it, but he, as though he knewe nothyng, sayde vnto Emilius Varro as he wente out of the doores, whose house is this? whereunto Emilius answered, howe newe Seneca, canst not thou tel? I haue employed al my goodes in buildinge this house, and haue ledde the all about to see it, and I haue tolde the that it is mine, and yet doest thou aske me againe, whose it is? Lucius Seneca answered. Thou hast shewed vs the house for strangers, the house for slaues, the house for women, the house for horses, & in al this house thou hast not shewe me one litell part for thy self, but that an other mā doth enter into it: for if y hast any interestes, therein they haue

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have the best thereof, which is the possession.
 I do not accompt the for a wise man, I doe
 not accompte the for a man of vnderstan-
 ding, and yet I know, that withal thy hart
 thou art my frende: and since I haue bene
 bydden to day by the, it is but reason, that
 for to rewarde that whiche thou haste done
 to me, I do some seruice vnto the, which shal
 be to giue vnto the some good counsel. For
 * strangers vse to pay the bydden with mo-
 ney, & baie men with telling lies, bablers
 by counting baie tales, children by flatter-
 res: but vertuous men ought to pay, by ge-
 uing good counsellors. This house hath cost
 the muche paine, great griefes, and muche
 money, and if it cosse the so muche, it is but
 reason that thou inioy the same. Take ther-
 fore these my thre counsellors, and it may be
 thou wilt finde thy selfe better contented
 with those, then with the money of stran-
 * gers: for many haue wherewithall to builde
 a house, but they haue not vnderstandinge
 to gouerne the same.

The first counsel is, though that thou loue
 thy frende verie well, or thy wife aswell,
 yet that thou neuer discouer all the secret-
 tes of thy harte, neither to thy frend, nor to
 thy wife: But that thou alwaies reserue
 * some particuler vnto thy selfe. For Plato
 saith, to whom a man committeth his se-
 crettes, to him also he giueth his libertie.

The second counsell is, that neyther in
 the priuate busines, nor in the publicke af-
 faires, thou occupie thy selfe so much, but
 at the leaste thou doe reserue. 3. houres in
 the day, for thine owne reste.

The thirde counsell is, that thou haue
 in thy house some secret place, wherof thou
 alone shalt haue the key: and therein thou
 shalt haue booke, wher thou maist study
 of thy affaires, and also talke with thy fre-
 des. Finally, this place shalbe a secretory of
 thy counsellors, and a reste for thy trauelles.
 These were the wordes that Lucius Seneca
 spake to his frende Emilius Varro, whiche
 wordes were suche, as he him selfe

was, that is to wete, of a sage and excellent
 personage: and though the banquet was
 riche, yet the paymente of Lucius Seneca
 was muche more worth. For the minde se-
 leth more taste, in the good and rypp coun-
 * sell: then the bodie doth, in sauory and deli-
 cate meates. I haue tolde you this example
 of Lucius Seneca, for to tell an other that
 happened to the Emperour Marcus Au-
 relius, with his wife Faustyne. And to the
 end that the order of the matter be not tour-
 ned without breaking our Discorde, first we
 will declare here the order which this Em-
 perour obserued in his life. For the comen
 * wealth shall neuer be well gouerned, but
 wher the prince gouerneth well his life.
 Princes of necessitie ought to be well orde-
 red in their life, because they may profite the
 affaires of the Empire, wyth the particu-
 lers of their house, and because they should
 vse the particulers of their house, to the re-
 creation of their personne: & all these thin-
 ges ought to be deuised, accordyng to time.
 For a good prince, ought to lacke no time
 to do that thinge well, which he hath to do:
 * nor he oughte to haue any vacant time, to
 employe him selfe to vices. The worldly cal
 that time good, the which is, or was prosper-
 rous vnto them: they call that time euill,
 which is, or hath bene contrary, and vnfor-
 * tunate vnto them. The Creator will neuer,
 that this sentence be approued by my penne:
 but I call that time good, which is employ-
 ed in vertues, & that time euill, that is lost
 in vices. For the times are alwaies as one,
 but men do tourne from vice to vertue, fro
 vertue to vice. The good Emperour Mar-
 * cus Aurelius did deuise the time, by time,
 so that though he had time for him selfe, he
 had time likewise to dispatche his owne and
 other affaires: for the man that is willing,
 in a small time dispatcheth much busynes,
 * and the man which is negligent, in a longe
 time doth lytel. This was the order, that the
 Emperour Marcus Aurelius toke, in spe-
 dinge his time. He slepte. 7. houres in the
 night,

night, and one holwer reasted hym selfe in the day. In dynyng & suppyng, he consumed onely .2. holwers: and it was not for that he toke great pleasure to be long in eating, but bycause the philosophers which disputed before his presence, were occasion to prolong the time. For in .17. yeares they neuer saw hym at meat, but one or other red vnto him some boke, or els the philosophers reasoned before hym philosophy. As he had manye realmes and prouinces, so he appointed one holwer for the affaires of Asia, for Africa one holwer, & for Europe another holwer, and for the couersacion of his wife, childre, and family, he appointed other .2. holwers of time: he had another holwer for extraordinary affaires, as to here the complaints of the greued, the quarrelles of the poore, the complaints of the widowes, and the robberies done to the orphans. For the merciful prince geueth no lesse eare vnto the poore, * whiche for want can doe lytel: then to the riche, which hath inough, and can do much. He occupied all the residue of the day and night, to rede booke, write woorkes, to make meters, & in studyng of other antiquities, to practyse with the sage, and to dyspute with the philosophers: and synally, he toke no taste of any thing so muche, as he dyd to talke of science. Unless the cruell warres dyd let hym, or suche lyke affaires troubled him, ordynarily in winter he went to bed at 5. of the clocke, & wooke at .4. and bycause he would not be idle, he had alwaye a booke vnder his beddes hed, and the residue of the daye he bestowed in readinge. The romans had an auncient custome, to beare fyre before them, that is to wete, a torche lighte in the day, and a lampe burnyng in the night: so that waking they burned ware, and slepyng they burned oyle. And the cause why the Romans ordeyned that the oyle should be made of olyue, and the ware made of bees (which was vsed to be borne before the princes) was to the end they should remember, that they oughte to be as gentell and

lovinge, as the oyle of Olyue is swete: and as profitable to the common wealth, as the Bees are. He did rise at 6. of the clocke, and made hym selfe readye openlye, and with a gentle countenaunce he asked them that were aboute hym, wherein they had spent all the nyght, and declared vnto them then, what he had dreamed, what he had thought, and what he had red: when he was readye, he washed his face with odiferous waters, and loured veraye wel swete sauoures. For he had so quicke a sent, that he was muche offended, when he passed by anye stinking place. In the moynyng he vsed to eate .2. morsels of a lectuarie, made of Sticades, and dranke .3. sponesfull of malmesey, or els to droppes of Aqua Vite, bycause he had a colde stomacke, for that he gaue hym selfe so muche to studye in tymes passe. We se it by experyence, that the greate studiantes are persecuted more with sycknes, then any others: for in the sweteness of the science, * they knowe not how theyr lyfe consumeth. If it were in the sommer season, he wente in the moynyng to recreate hym selfe to the tyuer of Tiber, and walked there a fote for .2. holwers, and in this place they talked with hym, that had busynes: and trulye it was a greate polycye, for where as the Prince doeth not sit, the sewtour alwayes abydeth his talke. And when the daye began to wate hotte, he went to the hygh capitol, where all the Senate tarped for hym, and from thence he went to the Coliseo, where the imbassadors of the prouinces were, and there remayned a greate parte of the daye: afterwardes he wente to the chappel of the bestall virgines, and there he harde euery nation by it selfe, accordyng to the order whiche was prescribed. He dyd eate but one meale in the daye, and it was veray late, but he dyd eate wel: not of manye and dyuers sortes of meates, but of fewe and good. For the aboundaunce of dyuerse and strauinge meates, breedeth sondrye dysca- * ses. They sawe hym once a weke goe to
b. i. rough

THE DIALL

rough Rome, and if he wente anye more, it
 was a wonder: at the whiche tyme he was
 alwayes withoute companie, bothe of hys
 owne, and also of straungers, to thentente
 all pooze men myghte talke with hym of
 their busynes, or complayne of hys officers:
 for it is impossyble to reforme the common
 wealthe, if he whiche oughte to remedye
 it, be not informed of the iniuries whiche
 are done therein. He was so gentle in
 comersacyon, so pleasaunte in wordes, so
 noble amongst the greate, so equall with
 the least, so reasonable in that he dyd aske,
 so perfyte in that he dyd worke, so pacient
 in iniuries, so thankfull of benefittes, so
 good, to the good, and so seuerer to the euill:
 that all loued hym for beyng good, and all
 the euyl feared hym for being iuste. A man
 oughte not lytel to esteeme the loue that the
 people bare to this so good a Prince, and
 noble Emperoure, forsomuche as the
 Romans haue bene thus: that for the felici-
 ty of theire estate, they offered to their gods
 greater sacryfyce, then they dyd in anye
 other prouinces. And Sextus Che-
 ronensis sayeth, that the Romans offered
 more sacryfyces to the gods, because they
 should lengthen the lyfe of the Emperour,
 then they dyd offer for the profyte of the
 common wealthe. Trulye their reason was
 good, for the Prince that leadeth a good
 lyfe, is the harte of the common wealthe.
 But I doe not maruaile, that the Empe-
 rour was so wel wylled, and beloued of the
 Romaine empire, for he had neuer poster to
 hys chamber, but the 2. howers whiche he
 remained with his wyfe Faustine. At this
 being paste, the good Emperour went into
 hys house, into the secretest place he had (ac-
 cording to the counsell of Lucius Seneca)
 the key whereof, he alone had in hys custo-
 dy, and neuer trusted anye man therewith,
 vntyl the hower of hys death: and then he
 gaue it to an old annient man called Pom-
 peianus, sayeng vnto hym these wordes.
 Thou knowest ryghte wel Pompeianus,

that thou being base, I exalted the to honoz.
 Thou being pooze, I gaue the riches. Thou
 being persecuted, I drewe the to my pallas.
 I being absente, commytted my hole ho-
 noure, to thy truste, thou being olde, I mar-
 ried the wyth my doughter, and doe pres-
 sentlye gyue the this key. Beholde that in
 geuyng the it, I gyue the my harte and
 lyfe. For I wyl thou knowe, that death gre-
 ueth me not so muche, nor the losse of my
 wyfe and chyldren, as that I cannot carpe
 my bookes into the graue. If the Gods had
 geuen me the choyse, I had rather chouse to
 be in the graue inuironed wyth bookes:
 then to lyue accompanied wyth foolles: for
 if the deade doe rede, I take them to be as
 lyue: but if the lyuyng doe not reade, I take
 them to be deade.

Under this key whiche I gyue the,
 remayneth manye Greke, Hebreue, latyne,
 and Roman bookes, and aboue all, vnder
 this key remayneth all my paynes, sweet,
 and trauayles, all my watchynges, and la-
 bours, where also thou shalt fynde bokes
 by me compyled: so that though the wormes
 of the yearth do eate my body: yet men shall
 fynde my harte hole, amongst these bokes.
 Once agayne I doe require the, and saye,
 that thou oughtest not a lytel to esteeme the
 key, the whiche I gyue the: for wyse men at
 the howler of their death, alwayes recom-
 mend that whiche beste they loue, to them
 which in their liues they haue most loued. I
 doe confesse, that in my studye thou shalt
 fynd many thinges, with myne owne hand
 wrytten, and wel ordered: and also I con-
 fesse, that thou shalt fynde manye thinges,
 by me left vnperfyt. In this case I thinke,
 that though thou couldest not wryte them,
 yet thou shalt worke them wel notwithstanding:
 and by these meanes, thou shalt get
 rewarde of the Gods, for workyng them.
 Consyder Pompeian, that I haue ben thy
 lord, I haue ben thy father in law, I haue
 bene thy father, I haue bene thy aduocate,
 and aboue all, that I haue bene thy specyall
 frend,

friend, which is most of all: for a man ought to esteeme moze a faithfull frende, then al the parentes of the world. Therfore in the faith of that friendship, I require, that thou kepe this in memozy, that euen as I haue recom- mendid to others my wife, my children, my goods, and ryches: So I doe leaue vnto the in singular commendacion my honour. For pynces leaue of them selues no greater memozy, then by the good learning that they haue wyrtten. I haue bene .18. yeares emperor of rome, and it is 60. and .3. yeares that I haue remayned in this woollfull lyfe, during which tyme, I haue overcome many battayles, I haue slayne many pirattes, I haue builde diuers buildinges, I haue exal- ted many good, I haue punished many euill, I haue wonne many realmes, & I haue dys- troied many tyrantes. But what shal I do, woollfull man y I am, sithe al my copagnions which were witnesses w me of al these wo- rthy feates, shalbe my compaignions in the graue with the greedy woymes: A thousand yeares hence, when those y are now aloue, shal then be dead: what is he that shal say, I saw Marcus Aurelius triumphe ouer the Parthians, I saw him make the buildinges of Auentine, I saw hym welbeloued of the people, I sawe him father of the orphans, I saw him the scole of tyrantes: truly if al these thinges had not ben declared by my bookes, or of my frendes, the dead woulde neuer haue rysen agayne to haue declared them. What is it for to se a pynce (from the tyme he is borne, vntill the tyme he come to dye) to se the pouerty he passeth, the perilles he endureth, the euyl that he suffereth, the shame that he dyssembleth, the friendship that he fayneth, the teares whiche he shed- deth, the sighes that he fetchith, the promy- ses that he maketh, and doeth not endure for anye other cause the myssepyes of this lyfe: but onely to leaue a memozy of hym after his death: There is no pynce in the worlde, that desireth not to keape a good house, to keape a good table, to apparel him

selfe rychely, & to paye those that serue hym in his house: but by this vayne honoure, they suffer y water to passe thorough their lippes dyuichyng thereof. As one that hath proued it, it is reason that I be beleied in this case, and that is: that the entent of pyn- ces to conquere straunge Realmes, and to permit their owne to suffer wronges, is for no other thinge, but because that the com- mendacions which they speake of the pyn- ces passe, they shoulde lykewylse talke the same of them that be to come. Concluding therfore my mynde, and declarynge my intencion, I saye that the Pynce that is noble, and desireth to leaue of hym selfe some fame, let hym see what he is, that those can wyrtte of hym, whiche wyrtte his hytsoyze: for it piosygheth litel, that he at- chieue greate affayers by the swerde, if there be no wyrtter to set them fourth with the penne, and afterwardes to exalte them with the tonge.

These wordes thus spoken by the noble Emperoure Marcus Aurelius, he gaue the key of the studie to the honourable olde man Pompeianus, that toke all the wyrt- rynges, and put them in the high Capitoll, where the Romans honoured them, as the chrystyans doe vse to keape the holpe re- liques: all these wyrttinges, besydes manye o- thers, perished in rome, when by the Bar- barous it was destroyed. For the Gothes utterly to extinguishe the name of rome, dis- troied not only the walles thereof, but also the booke that were therein: and trulye in this case, the Gothes shewed moze cruel- ty to the Romans, then if they had slayne the chyldren of their bodyes, or bet downe the walles of their Cities. For withoute doubt, the lyuelye letter is a moze seuerer wytnes of renoume, than alwayes spea- keth: then is either the lyne, sand, or stone, wherewith fortresses are buylded.

The.xiiii.Chapter.

Of the importunate suite of the
Empresse, concerninge the key
of her husbandes closet.



WE Haue declared, howe the Emperoure Marcus Aurelius had hys studie in the secretest place of al the palace, and howe that he hym selfe dyd kepe the key. It is to be vnderstande, that he would neuer let hys wyfe, hys children, nor any other of his familyer frendes come into it, for he sayde: I had rather suffer that they shoulde take from me my treasures, then that anye man shoulde turne the leaues of my bookes. It chaunced, that on a daye the Empresse Faustine beinge greate with chylde, importuned the Emperour much by al the meanes she could, that he woulde be so fauourable vnto her, as to gyue her the key of hys studie, and it is no meruayle: for naturallye women dyspyse that whiche is geuen them, and lust for that that is denyed them. Faustine instantly besoughte hym, not once, but manye times, not onelye with fayer wordes, but with a boundaunt teares, alleagynge vnto hym these reasons. I haue requyred the sondrye tymes, that thou wouldest gyue me the key of thy chamber, and thou haste by testinge made frustrate my request, the whiche thou (my Lorde) oughte not to haue done, consideringe that I am with chylde: for oftentimes it chaunceth, that that wherefore the husbande reioyceth this daye, to morowe he doeth lamente. Thou oughtest to remember, that I am that Faustyne the renowned, the whiche in thy eyes am the fairest, and of thy tonge haue bene moste commended, of thy parson I was best belovied, and of thy harte I am moste desyred: then since it is true, that thou haste me so depely

in thy harte, why then doubttest thou to shewe me the wyppinges of thy study: Thou dost communicate with me the secretes of the empire, and thou hydest from me the bookes of thy study. Thou haste geuen me thy tender harte of fleshe, and nowe thou deniest me thy harde key of prync: now I must needs thinke, that thy loue was sayned, that thy wordes were doble, & that thy thoughtes were others, then they seemed. For if they had ben otherwyse, it had ben impossible thou shouldest haue denyed me the key, that I do aske the: for where loue is vnfayned, though the requeste be merilye asked, yet it is wyllynglye graunted. It is a common custome, that you men be to deceiue vs simple women, you presente vs greate gyftes, you gyue manye fayer wordes, you make vs fairer promyses, you saye you wyl doe maruelles, but in the ende, you doe nothinge but deceiue vs: for we are persecuted more of you, then of anye others. When men in suche wyse importune the women, if the women had power to deny and withstande, we shoulde in shorte space bringe you vnder the yoke, and leade you by the noses: but when we suffer oure selues to be overcome, then you beginne to forsake vs, and despise vs. Let me therefore (my Lorde) see thy chamber, consider I am with chylde, and that I dye, onlesse I see it. If thou dost not to doe me pleasure, yet do it at the least, because I may no more importune the. For if I come in daunger throughte this my longing, I shall but lose my lyfe: but thou shalt loose the chylde that shoulde be borne, and the mother also that oughte to beare it. I knowe not why thou shouldest put thy noble harte, into suche a dangerous fortune, whereby bothe thou and I at one time shoulde perishe: I in dyeng so yonge, and thou in losinge so louynge a wyfe.

By the immortal gods I do beseeche the, and by the mother Berecynthia I censure the, that thou geue me the key, or that thou let me enter into the studie: and saye not
with

wyth me thy wyfe in this my smal request, but chaunge thy oppynion: for all that which withoute consideracyon is ordeyned, by importunate selwe maye be reuoked. We see daylye, that men by reading in bookes loue their chyldren, but I neuer sawe harte of man fall in suche sorte, that by readinge and lokynge in bookes he shoulde despyse his chyldren: for in the ende, bookes are by the wordes of others made: but chyldren are with their owne proper bloud begotten.

Before that anye thinge of wysedom is begonne, they alwayes regarde the inconueniencies that maye follewe. Therefore if thou wylte not geue me this keye, and that thou arte determyned to be stoberne styl in thy wyl, thou shalt lose thy Faustine, thou shalt lose so louynge a wyfe, thou shalt lose the creature werewith she is bigge, thou shalt lose the auchozyte of thy palace, thou shalt geue occasyon to all Rome to speake of the wickednes, and this greife shall neuer departe from thy harte: for the harte shall neuer be comforted, that knoweth that he onelye is the occasyon of his owne griefe. If the Gods doe suffer it by their recreate iudgements, and if my wooll myshappes deserue it, and if thou (my Lorde) desirest it, for no other cause, but euen to doe after thy wyl, for denyng me this keye, I shoulde dye: I woulde wyllinglye dye. But of that I thinke thou wylt repente: for it chaunceth oftentimes to wyse men, that when remedy is gone, the repentaunce commeth sodeinlye. And then it is to late (as they saye) to shutte the stable doze, when the steade is follen.

I marueil muche at the my Lorde, why thou shouldest shewe thy selfe so frowarde in this case, since thou knowest that al the tyme we haue bene togethers, thy wyl and myne hath alwaye bene one, if thou wylte not geue me thy key, for that I am thy welbeloued Faustine, if thou wylte not let me haue it, since I am thy deare beloued wyfe, if thou wylte not geue it me, for that I

am greate with chyldre. I beseeche the geue it me in vertue of the auntyent lawe: for thou knowest it is an inuiolate law amonge the Romaines, that a man cannot denye his wyfe with chyldre her desiers. I haue sene sondrye tymes with myne eyes, manye women selwe their husbandes at the lawe in this behalfe: and thou Lorde commaundest, that a man shuld not breake the pryvileges of women.

Then if this thinge be true (as it is true in deed) why wylte thou that the lawes of straunge chyldren shoulde be kepte, and that they shoulde be broken to thine owne chyldren? Speakyng accordeynge to the reuerence that I owe vnto the, though thou wouldest, I wyl not, though thou doest it, I wyl not agree thereunto, and though thou doest commaunde it, in this case I wyl not obeye the. For if the husbände doe not accept the iuste request of his wyfe, the wyfe is not bounde to obey the vniust commaundemente of her husbände. You husbandes desier that youre wyues shoulde serue you, you desier that your wyues shuld obey you in all, and ye wyl condiscende to nothyng that they desyer. We men say, that we women haue no certeintye in our loue, but in deed you haue no loue at all. For by this it appeareth, that youre loue is fained, in that it no longer continueth, then your desires are satisfyed. You saye furthermore, that the women are suspitious, and that is true in you al, men maye see, and not in vs: for none other cause there are so manye euell married in Rome, but bycause their husbandes haue of them suche euell oppynions. There is a greate dyfference betwene the suspition of the woman, and the ielousye of the man: for if a man wyl vnderstande the suspition of the woman, it is no other thinge, but to shewe to her husbände that she loueth hym with all her harte. For the innocent women knowe no others, desire no others but their husbandes only, & they woulde that their husbandes shoulde knowe

THE DIAL

none others, nor serche for any others,
nor loue any others, nor wyl any others,
but them onely: for the harte that is bente
to loue onely, woulde not that into that
* house shoulde enter anye other.

But you men knowe so manye meates,
and vse so manye subteltyes, that you praise
yourselues for to offende them, you daunt
yourselues to deceiue them, and that it is
trewe, a man can in nothyng so muche
shewe hys noblenes, as to susteyne and fa-
uoure a comen woman. The husban-
des please their wyues speakynge vnto
them some merie wordes, and immediat-
ly their backes being tourned, to another,
they geue bothe their bodyes, and their
goods. I sweare vnto the (my Lorde) that
if women had the lyberte, and auctorite
ouer men, as men haue ouer women: they
shoulde synde more malice, dysceitfulnes
and craft, by them comytted in one daye,
then they shoulde synde in the women all
the dayes of their lyfe. You men saye, that
women are euil speakers, it is true in dede,
that youre tonges are none other, but the
tynges of serpententes: for ye doe con-
demne the good men, and defame the Ro-
man women. And thinke not (if you speake
euil of other women) to excuse your owne:
for the man that by his tonge dyshonoreth
straunge women, doeth not so muche euil,
as he doeth by defamynge his owne wife by
suspition. For the husbände that suspecteth
hys wyfe, geueth al men licence to accompt
her for naughte. Sythe we women goe ly-
tel oute of the house, we trauaile not farre,
and siche we see selwe thynges, though we
woulde, we cannot be euil tonged: but you
men, heare much, you see muche, you know
much, you wander abrode much, and con-
tinually you murmur. All the euil that we
selpe women can do, is to lissen to our fren-
des when they are bered, to chide oure ser-
uauntes when they are negligent, to enuye
our neighbours if they be faster, & to curse
those that doeth vs iniury: finally, though

we speake euil, we cannot murmur, but
at those that dwelleth in the same streate,
where we dwel. But you men, defame your
wyues by suspition, you dishonoure youre
neighbours in youre wordes, you speake
agairste strangers with crueltye, you nei-
ther keepe faith, nor promyse to your wy-
ues, you shewe your selues extreme againt
your enemies, you murmur bothe at
those that be presente, and also at them that
be absente: finally, on the one parte you are
so dole, and on the other parte you are so
vnthankfull, that to those whome you des-
sire, you make faire promyses, and those
whose bodyes you haue enioyed, you lytell
esteame. I confesse, that the woman is not
so good as she oughte to be, and that it is
necessarie that she shoulde be kepte in the
house, and so she shal leade a good lyfe, and
being of a good lyfe, she shal haue good re-
nowme, & hauing good renoume, she shal be
wel willed: but if perchaunce any of those do
want in her, yet for al that she oughte not to
be reiected of her husbände. For the fraile-
nes that men finde in women, is but lytel:
but the euils that women taste in men, is
veraye greate. I haue talked lenger then I
thought, and haue sated more boldly then I
ought, but pardon me (my lord) for mine in-
tention was not to bere y, but to perswade
the. For in the end he is a foole, that taketh
that for iniury, whiche passeth betwene the
man & the wyfe in secreat. I sticke alwayes
to my firste poynt, & if it neade, once againe
I requyre the, that thou wylt geue me the
key of the studye: and if thou doe otherwise
(as thou maist) thou shalt doe such a thyng,
as thou oughtest not to doe. I am not an-
grye so muche for that thou doest, as for the
occasion thou geuest me.

Therefore to auoyde the peryll of my
delyuery, & to take from me al suspition, I
pray y (my lord) deliuer me y key of thy stu-
dy: for otherwise I cannot be perswaded
in my harte, but that you haue a woman
locked in your study. For men that in the
poult

youth haue bene vncōstant, though the apparell that they haue be not woine: yet notwithstandinge they desire to haue new. Therfore once againe to preserue me from perill in my delinerpe, and to lighten my hart of this thought, it shalbe but wel done that you let me enter into your studie.

The xv. Chapter.

The aunswere of the Emperour to his vvife, concerninge her demaūde, and of the great trouble that some men haue vvith their vvives. And howe certaine Barbarous people separated them selues from their vvives.



He Emperour hearing the wordes of Faustyne, and seinge that she spake them so earnestly, that she bathed her wofull wordes with bitter teares: determined also to aunswere her as earnestly, and said vnto her these wordes. Wisse Faustyne, thou hast told me all that thou wouldest, and I haue heard all thy complaint. Therfore I desire the now to haue as much patience, to here my aunswer: as I haue had paine, to heare thy demaund. And prepare thy eares, to here my wordes: as I haue listned mine, to heare thy folly. For in like matter, when the tonge doth applye it selfe to speake any worde, the eares oughte immediately to prepare them to heare it, for to make aunswere. For this is moste sure, that he that speaketh what he woulde, shall here what he woulde nor. Before I tell the what thou arte, and what thou oughtest to be, I will firste tell what I am, and what I oughte to be: For I will thou vnderstande

Faustyne, that I am so enyll, that y which mine enemies dothe repozte of me, is but a trifle in respect of that, which my familiars and frendes woulde sape, if they knew me. To the end the prince be good, he ought not to be couetous of tributes, neither proud in commaundementes, nor vnthanckfull of seruises, nor to be forgetful of the temples: he ought not to be deasse to heate griefes, complaints, and quarelles, nor cruell to orphanes, nor yet negligēt in affaires. And the man that shall want these vices, shal be both beloued of me, & fauoured of the gods.

I confesse, firste of all, that I haue bene couetous: For in dede, those whiche with troubles annoy princes lest, and with money serue them moste: are of all other men beloued best.

Secondarily, I confesse y I am proude: For ther is no prince at this day in y world so brought vnder, but when fortune is most lowest, he hath his harte very haughtie.

Thirdly, I cōfesse that I am vnthankful: for amongst vs that are princes, the seruises that they do vnto vs are greate, and the rewarde that we geue vnto them are litel.

Forthly, I do confesse that I am an euil fōlder of temples: for amongst vs princes, we do not sacrifice vnto the gods very oft, vnlesse it be when we see our selues to be inuironned with enemies.

Fifthly, I confesse that I am negligent, to heare the plaintes of y oppressed: for flatterers haue towarde their princes more easy audience by their flattery, then y poore, pleading to declare their complaints by truth.

Sixtly, I confesse that I am carelesse for the orphanes: for in the courtes & pallaces of princes, the riche and mightie are moste familiar, but the miserable and poore orphanes are scarcely hearde.

Seuenthly, I confesse that I am negligent, in dispatching poore mens causes: for princes ofte times, not prouidinge in tyme for their affaires, many and greate perilles ensueth to their Realmes.

Marke here Faustyne, how I haue told
 the, what (according to reals) I ought to be,
 & what accordinge to the sensualitie I am:
 and meruayle not thouge I confesse mine
 errour. For the mā that acknowlegeth his
 * faulte, getteth hope of his amendement. Let
 vs now come to talke of the, and by that I
 haue spoken of me, thou maiest iudge of thy
 selfe: For wee men are so euill conditioned,
 that we beholde to the vttermoſt the offen-
 * ces of an other, but we wyll not heare the
 faultes of our selues. It is a true thing, my
 wife Faustyne, that when a woman is me-
 rye, she alwaies speaketh moze with her
 tonge, then she knoweth in her harte: For
 women lighte of tonge, speake many thin-
 * ges in companie, the whiche they doe la-
 ment after when they are alone. Al the con-
 trary cometh to wofull men, for they doe
 not speake the halfe of their grefes: because
 their heauye and wofull hartes commaun-
 deth their eyes to weepe, and their tonges to
 be silent. Vaine and foolish men, by vaine
 and foolish wordes, do publishe their va-
 ne and lighte pleasurs: and the wise men, by
 wise wordes, doe dissemble their greuous
 sorowes. For though they fele the troubles
 of this life, they dissemble them as men.
 Amongest the sages he is most wisest, that
 presumeth to know least: and amongest the
 simple he is most ignorant, that thinketh
 to know most. For if ther be found one that
 * knoweth much: yet alwaies there is founde
 an other, that knoweth moze. This is one
 difference wherby y wise men are known
 from those that be simple, that is to wete,
 that the wise man, to one that asketh hym a
 question, answereth slowly and grauely:
 and the simple mā, though he be not asked,
 * answereth quicke and lightly. For in the
 house where noblenesse and wisdom are,
 they giue riches without measure, but
 they giue wordes by ounces. I haue tolde
 the all this Faustyne, because thy wordes
 haue wounded me in suche sorte, thy teares
 in suche wise haue compelled me, and thy

bayne Judgements haue werped me so
 muche, that I can not saye what I woulde,
 nor I thynke thou canste perceyue what I
 say. Those whiche wrote of marriage, wrote
 many thinges: but they wrote no so manie
 troubles in all their booke, as one woman
 causeth her husbände to feele in one day.

The auncientes spake well when they
 reasoned of marriages: For at all tymes
 when they talked of marriage, at the begin-
 ninge they put these wordes, Onus Ma-
 trimonij. That is to saye, the yoke of ma-
 riage. For trulye if the man be not well
 married, all the troubles that maye happen
 vnto him in all the time of his lyfe, are but
 small in respect to be matched one day with
 an euill wyfe.

Doeste thou thinke Faustyne, that it
 is a small trouble for the husbände to suf-
 fre the brawlinges of his wife: to indure
 her bayne wordes: to beare with her sonde
 wordes: to gyue her what she requyrez:
 to seeke that she desyrez: and to dyssemble
 with all their bannties: trulye it is so di-
 * patient a trouble, that I woulde not despy-
 re any greater reuengement of my ene-
 mye, then to see him marked with a braw-
 linge wife.

If the husbände be proude, you doe hum-
 ble him: For there is no proude man, what
 so euer he be, but a fyerce woman wyll
 make him stoupe. If the husbände be
 foolish, you restore him his senses a-
 gain: For there is no greater wysedome
 in the worlde, then to knowe howe to en-
 dure a brawlyng woman. If the husbände
 be wyld, you make him tame: For the ty-
 me is so muche that you occupie in braw-
 ling, that he can haue no time to speake.
 If the husbände be slowe you make hym
 runne: for he desyrez so muche your con-
 tentation in harte, that the wofull man can
 not eate in quiete, nor sleape in rest. If the
 husbände be a greate talker, in shorte space
 you make him done: For the floutes and
 * mockes y you giue him at euery worde, are
 so

so many in nombre, that he hath none other remedye, but to refraine his tonge. If the husband be suspicious, you make him change his minde: for the tryelles that you aske at euery houre, are such, and so many, and you therewith so self-willed, that he dare not tell what he seeth in his owne house. If the husband be a wanderer abroad, you make him fourthwith to be abider at home: for you looke so y^el to the house and goddes, that he findeth no other remedye, but to be alwaies at home. If the husband be vicious, you restraine him immediately: for you burden his hart with so many thoughtes, that his bodie hath no delighte to vse any pleasures. Finally I say, that if the husband be peaceable, within shorthe space you make him vnquiete: for your paines are suche, so many, and so continuall, that there is no harte can wholye dissemble them, nor tonge that bitterly can kepe them secret. Naturallie women haue in al thinges the spryte of contradiction, for so muche as if the husbandes will speake, they will hold their peace. If he go forth, they will tarye at home. If he will laughe, they will weape. If he will take pleasure, they will bere him. If he be sorrowfull, they will be merie. If he desire peace, they would haue warre. If he would eate, they wyl faste. If he would fast, they would eate. If he would slepe, they wil wache: & y^el thou wilt wache, they wyl sleape. Finally I saie, that they are of so euill a condiction, that they loue al that we dispise: and dispise al that we loue. In mine opinion, the men that are wise, & wil obtaine that which they desire of their wiues: let them not demaunde of them that which they would obtaine, y^el they will come to their desire. For to them which are diseased, the lettinge of blood is most profitable, when the vaine in the contrarie side is opened. It is no other thinge to be let bloude in the contrary side, but to aske of the woman with his mouth, the contrary of that, which he desireth with his harte: for otherwise, neither by faire

wordes of his mouth, nor by the bitter teares of his eyes, he shall euer obtaine that which his harte desireth. I confesse Faustus. It is a pleasaunt spozte to beholde the yonge Babes, and thou canste not denaie me, but it is a cruell torment to endure the importunities of their mothers. Children, now and then minstre vnto vs occasions of pleasures: but you that are their mothers, neuer doe any thinge, but that which turneth vs to trouble. It is muche pleasure to the husband when he cometh home, to finde the house cleane sweapte, to finde the table couered, & to finde the meate ready dressed: this is to be vnderstanded, y^el all other thinges be well. But what shall we say when he seeth the contrary: and that he findeth his children weeping, his neighbours offended, his seruantes troubled, & aboue all, when he findeth his wyfe brawlinge. Truly it is better to the wofull husbande, to goe his way fasting: then to tarye and eate at home, with brawlinge. I durste take vpon me, to cause that all married men would be content to forbear all the pleasures of the children, with condicion, that they might be free from the annoyauce of the mothers: for in the ende, the pleasures of the children endeth quickly with laughter, but the griefes of the mothers, endureth all their lyfe with sorrowe. I haue seene one thinge in Rome, wherein I was neuer deceiued, which is, that though men committe greate offences in this worlde, yet God alwaies deferreth the punishment thereof vntyll another: But if for any womans pleasure wee commytte any faulte, God permitteth, that by the same women, in this worlde wee shall suffer the paine.

There is no crueller enemy to man, nor more troublesome to liue togeth, then the woman is that he kepeth in hys house: for if he suffereth her once to haue her owne wyll, then let him be assured, neuer after to bring her vnto obedience. The yonge men of Rome

THE DIAL

Rome sold to the ladies of Capua, but they
 * may well repent them: for there was ne-
 uer man that haunted of any longe tyme
 the company of women, but in the end, by
 their procurement, eyther by death, or with
 infamy, he was defaced. For the Gods e-
 steme the honour aboue all thinges, and as
 they suffer the wickednes of the euill men:
 so we se the sharpe punishmentes that they
 ordeyne for them. I am well assured Fau-
 styne of one thinge, and I do not speake it
 by here say, but bycause continually I haue
 proued it, and it is: that the husband which
 condescendeth to all that the wyfe desireth,
 causeth hys wyfe to doe nothing of that her
 husbände commaundeth. For there is no-
 * thinge that kepeth a woman more vnder o-
 bedience to her husbände: then when oft ti-
 mes he denayeth wth sharpe wordes her vni-
 lawfull request. In my opinion, it is much
 crueltie of the Barbarous, to kepe (as they
 do) their wyues like slauess: but it is muche
 more folly of the Romans, to kepe them (as
 they do) like ladies. The fleshe ought not to
 be so leane y^t it be in eating dype, nor yet so
 fatte, that there be no leane: but it woulde
 partecipe, bothe of the fatted & of the leane,
 to the intent it mighte glue the more nou-
 rishment. I meane, that the man of vnder-
 standinge ought not to kepe his wyfe so
 thowte, that she shoulde seme to be his ser-
 uant: nor yet to glue her so muche liber-
 tie, that she becommeth his mistresse. For
 * the husband that suffereth his wyfe to come
 maunde more then she oughte, is the cause
 why he him selfe afterwarde is not este-
 med as he shoulde be. Beholde Faustyne,
 you women are in all thinges so extreme,
 that for a lytell fauour, you ware prouder:
 & for a litel displeasure, you become greates
 enemies. There is no woman that willing-
 ly can suffer to haue any superiour, nor yet
 scarcely can endure to haue any equall: for
 we see y^t you loue not the hyghest, nor desire
 to be beloued of the lowest. For wheras the
 louers be not equall, there their loue can

not be partite. I knowe well Faustyne,
 that thou doeste not vnderstande me, there-
 fore harken what I doe tell the, more then
 thou thinkest, and more the thou wouldest.
 O, what and howe manye women haue I
 sene in Rome, the whiche thoughe they had
 2. thousande pounde of rent in theyr houses,
 yet they hadde 3. thousande folleys in theyr
 heades: and the worst of all is, that ofteti-
 mes her husbände dyeth, and she looeth her
 rente, yet for all that ceaseth not her follye.
 Nowe lyffen Faustyne, and I wyll tel the
 more. All women wyll speake, and they will
 that others be silent. All will commaunde,
 and wyll not that they be commaunded. All
 wyll haue libertie, and they wyll that all
 be captiues to them. All wyll gouerne, and
 wyll not be gouerned.
 Finally, they all in this one thinge agree,
 and that is, that they wyll cherishe them
 that they loue, and reuenge them of those
 that they hate. Of that which befoze is said,
 it maye be gathered, that they make fooles
 and slauess, of the yonge and bayne men
 whiche folowe them: and persecute the wise
 men, as enemies that flee them.

For in the ende, where as they loue vs
 moste, their loue maye be measured: but
 whereas they hate vs leasse, their hate ex-
 ceadeth reason. In the Annales of Pom-
 peius, I remember I haue redde, and doe
 note one thinge wortie of knowedge, that
 when Pompeius the greates passed firste
 into Asia, as by chaunce he came by the
 mountaynes of Rypheos, he founde in
 those places a Barbarous nation, that li-
 ued in the sharpe mountaynes, as wyld
 beastes: and doe not meruayle that I doe
 call them beastes, that liue in those moun-
 taynes.

For as the sheepe and colwes, that feade
 on the fyne grasse, haue their wolles softe
 and fyne: so the men whiche are brought vp
 in the sharpe and wyld monntaynes, vse
 them selues after a rude behauiour. These
 Barbarous had therfoze a law among the,
 that

that euery neyghbour had in those mount-
taines. 2. causes: for the sharpnes of the hyl-
les permitted not, that they shuld haue any
houses. Therefore in one caue, the husban-
des, the sonnes, and the seruantes weret
and in the other, his wife, his daughters, &
his hand maydes abode: They did eate to-
gethers twyse in the weeke, they slept toge-
thers other twyse in the weeke, and all the
residue of the tyme, they were separte the
one from the other. The greates Pompeius
asked them what the cause was why they
liued so, sith it was so that in all the worlde
there was neuer sene, nor redde suche ex-
treme lawe, nor so straunge a custome.

The Hyflopye saith in that place, that an
auncient man answered him, sayinge be-
holde Pompeius, that the gods haue geuen
shorte lyfe vnto vs that be presente, in re-
specte of that whiche he gaue to our fathers
that are passe: and synce wee lyue but
40. or 50. yeaeres at the bittermoste, we desi-
re to enioye those daies in peace: for the life
is so shorte, and oure trouble so longe, that
we haue small tyme to reioyce in peace af-
ter wee retourne from the warres. It is
true, that amongeste you Romans, whiche
enioye pleasure and richesse, lyfe seemeth
to shorte: but vnto vs that haue toyle with
pouertie, lyfe seemeth to longe: For tho-
roughe out all the yeaere we nether heape
suche solempne feastes, as when one pas-
seth oute of this lyfe. Consider Pompeius,
that yf men lyued many yeaeres, ther shuld
be tyme to laughe and weepe; to be good
and to be euill, to be poore, and to be riche,
to be merie, and sadde; to lyue in peace
and warre: but why will men seeke conten-
tion in theyr lyfe, synce it is so shorte? In
kepyng with vs (as you doe) our owne wy-
ties, in liuinge we shoulde dye, for the nigh-
tes shoulde passe in hearinge their cōplain-
tes, and the dayes in sufferinge theyr braw-
linges: but kepyng them as we doe, we see
not their heauye countenaunce, wee here
not the cryenge of oure chyldren, we here

not their greuous complaintes, nor lystn
vnto their sorowefull wordes, neyther wee
are troubled wth their importunat suites,
and yet the chyldren are nourished in peace,
and the father foloweth the warre: so that
they are well, and we are better. This was
the aunswere that thys olde man gaue, at
the request of the great Pompeius. Truly
Faustyne I saie, that though we call the
Messagetes Barbarous, in this case they
knowe more then the Latyns, For he that
is free from a brawling woman, hath esca-
ped no small pestilence. I aske the newe
Faustyne, since those barbarous could not
agre, nor would not haue their wiues with
them in those sharpe mountaines, how shal
we other agree, and please you that lye in
these pleasures in Rome? One thing I will
tell the Faustyne, and I beseeche the Gods
that thou mayest vnderstande it, which is.
If the beastly motyons of the fleshe did not
force men to wyll, and also to desire wome,
I doubt whether there shoulde be any wo-
man in the worlde beloued or suffered. For
though nature giueth them giftes worthy
to be beloued: yet they thorough their all
discretio, cause them selues to be hated. If
the gods had made this lone voluntarie, as
they made it natural, so that we might haue
loued as we would, and left agayne at our
pleasure: that man ought worthely to haue
ben punished, which for the loue of any wo-
man, woulde put his life in daunger. The
gods haue kept this great secret vnto them
selues, and the misery that they gaue vnto
men, is very great: sincethat vnto so weake
fleshe, they gaue so stronge a hart, the which
dothe procure that whiche doth vs harne,
and folowe that whiche we oughte to ab-
horre.

This is a nother secrete, that all men
knowe when they offend, but I see no man
that seeketh amendmente: For I heare
all complayne of the fleshe, and yet
I see all lyke Bochers folowe the fleshe
and when it canne doe leaste good,
then

then it is most greedy. I enuy not the gods
 * living, nor the men that be dead, saue onely
 for 2. thinges, whiche be these.

First, I enuy the gods, bycause they liue
 without feare of the malicious

* Secondarilye, I enuy the dead, for y they
 liue without nede of women. For the womē
 are so corrupte, that they corrupte all: and
 * they be such mortal plagues, that both flesh
 and harte, by them are brought to an ende.

¶ Faustyne, the loue of the fleshe is so na-
 turall to the fleshe, that when from you the
 body fleeth in sport, we leaue our hartes to
 * as reason, putteth the desire to flight: yet the
 fleshe, as flesh, yeldeth it selfe as prisoner.

The.xvi. Chapter.

* The Emperour folowinge his
 matter, admonisheth me of the
 greate daungers, vvhiche ensue
 vnto them, by excessiue haun-
 ting the company of vvomen.
 And reciteth certaine rules for
 married men, vvhich (if they ob-
 serue) maye cause them to lyue
 in peace vvith their vvuyes.



Remember that in
 my youthe, as I was of
 flesh, I trebled for feare
 of the fleshe, wpth mynd
 neuer to retourne a-
 gaîne, and I do cōfesse,
 that oft times I resolued in my hart, many
 holy and chaste meditations: but yet not
 withstanding, I gaue my body immediatly
 to sondrye filthye vices. It is a naturall
 thing, that when man hath committed any
 vice, forthwith he repēteeth him of his dede:
 * and so agayne after his new repentance,
 he tournerh to his old vices, for durynge

the tyme that we lyue in the house of this
 frayle fleshe, Sensualitie beareth so greate
 a rule, that she wyll not suffer reason to en-
 ter in at the gate. There is no mā in Rome,
 yf a man doth aske him, but wyll mervayle
 to declare with his tonge, the thoughtes
 that he hath had in his hart, in especiallye to
 be chaste, to be true, to be pacient, and to be
 vertuous: and peradventure ye talke wpth
 those that somewhat communicate with the,
 and let a man inquire of his neyghbours,
 they shall finde that he is a deceyuer, a her-
 and a blasphemour. Finallye, they deceyue
 men by their faire wordes, and offende the
 gods by their euill workes. ¶ It prospereth
 lytell to blase vertues with wordes, yf the
 hande be negligent to worke them in dede:
 for a man is not called iuste, onelye desy-
 * ringe to be good in name, but for to labour
 to be vertuous in workes. The trayterous
 world, in no one thing begyleth worlde-
 so-muche, as by feedinge them with bayne
 hope, sayeng y they shall haue tyme ynough
 to be vertuous: So that these blinde men,
 when they are once depely rooted in vices,
 & whyles they hope for this light of amende-
 ment, then sodainelye assaulteth them the
 dreadfull darte of death. Oh, how many
 haue promised vnto men, and bowed vnto
 the gods, and determined with them selues,
 that befoze so many daies, they woulde be-
 gonne to be vertuous: whom in thoz space
 after, we haue sene to engage them selues,
 to the hungrye wormes of the pearth. The
 gods wyl, that we be vertuous: and for the
 contrarye, the world and the fleshe willety,
 that we be vicious. We thynke that it is
 better to obey the gods, then to doe that the
 worlde and the fleshe desireth: for the prayse
 of vertue is honour, and the payne of vyce
 * is infamy. ¶ If thou doest consider Faustyne,
 thou shalt see that the gods are on the one
 parte, whiche prociureth vs to vertues: and
 on the other parte is the world, & the fleshe,
 which inpeeth vs vnto vices. My opinion
 is we should say vnto the gods, that we desy-
 re

fire to be vertuous, and that we should saye
 to the world and the fleshe, that from hence-
 forth we wyl gyue our selues no more to be
 vitious. We ought in suche case to satisfie
 the gods with woorkes, and to enterteine the
 worlde, and the fleshe with wordes: that we
 imploy so much tyme in leading a good life,
 that we haue no tyme vacant to speake an
 idel worde. I let the wete Faustine, that al
 that I haue tolde the, I haue spoken it a-
 gainst my selfe: for alwayes from my yowth
 I had a good mynde, and yet for all that I
 haue bene ouerthrowe with vices. Oh how
 many times in my yowth I knew women,
 I accompanied with women, I talked with
 women, and beleued women, the whiche in
 the end haue deceiued me, misused me, and
 defamed me. At y last I withdrew my selfe
 and forsoke them, but I doe confesse, that if
 teaso kept me fro the houses 10. daies, sen-
 sualitie kepte me with them. 12. weekes. Oh
 cruel gods, Oh wicked worlde, Oh frayle
 flesh, tel me what it meaneth, y reason lea-
 deth voluntarily to vertues, and that sensu-
 alitie agaynst my wyl draweth vnto vices.
 Doest thou not thinke Faustine, that I co-
 sider what a great good it is for to be good,
 and what an euill it is to be euill? But what
 shall I doe, wofull man, sence at this daye
 there is not so cruel a scourge of my ho-
 noure, nor so greate an enemye of my re-
 notome, as myne owne fleshe is, the whiche
 agaynst me doeth make suche cruel war-
 res. Wherefore I beseeche the immortall
 gods, si the my beinge here is agaynst my
 wyll, that they doe defende me in this so
 cruel warre. The frayle fleshe is some-
 what to blame, but muche more is the so-
 lythe and lyghte woman in faulte. For if
 men were certeine that women were chaste
 thamefaste, and solitarie, they would not
 dispose their hartes, their bodies, nor bende
 their bowes, to shoote at their hertes: they
 would not consume their tyme to folowe
 them, lose their goods to serue them, ney-
 ther would they suffer so manye shames

to flander them. For where the harte hath
 no hope to obtaine, there he wyl geue ouer
 his seute. But what shall we doe nowe
 Faustyne (I praye the tell me) sinse thou
 knowest better then I, that the shame of the
 Romaine women is nowe gone, and the
 women of Italie are so dyscolure: that
 though men doe not regarde them, yet
 they doe entyse them. If the men flee, they
 call them: If men goe backe, they approche:
 If men are sad, they make them merie: If
 men are sylente, they force them to speake:
 and synallye, men begynne the loue in
 sporte, and they temper it in such sorte, that
 they tourne it al into earnest. I let the wete
 Faustine, that the meanes whereby na-
 ture woorketh in man, is veraye straunge:
 but the shame whiche the Gods put in wo-
 men is more maruellous. And if it be true,
 (as it is true in deade) that the men doe not
 lose the srynge of the fleshe, and that the
 women do not lose the shame of the visage:
 I thinke it is impossyble, that there should
 be a chaste or vertuous woman in Rome.
 For there is no common wealth more vn-
 done, then that, where the women haue lost
 their shame. O women, what reason haue
 they which flee from you, whiche are swery
 of you, whiche forsake you, whiche forget
 you, whiche make them selues straungers,
 and furthermore, whiche are deade and bu-
 ried. For the hungrye wommes knawe in
 the graue onelye the frayle and stynny fleshe
 of the deade: but you women destroye the
 goods, honoure, and life of the lyuyng. Oh,
 if the noble hartes knewe, what yuel doeth
 folowe them, for dallying with women: I
 sweare vnto them, that they would not
 serue them continuallye, as they doe serue
 them: but also they would haue no luste,
 nor desier to beholde them. What wilt thou
 I saye anye more to the Faustyne, but that
 some scape oute of your handes for effemy-
 nate and sclaundered, others hurte by your
 tonges, others persecuted with your wo-
 kes, other deceyued with your countenances

THE DIAL

others dyspyled thorough your hatred, others desperate thorough your inconstancy, others condemned by your lyght iudgements; others troubled thorough your unkindnes, synallye, those that escape best, are of your hartes abhorred, and thorough your folly destroyed. Then sinse the man knoweth, that he muste passe all those daungers, I cannot tel what foole he is, that wyl eyther loue, or serue you. For the brute beast & once hath felte the sharpe tech of the dogge, wyl unwillinglye ever after come nere unto the stake. Oh, unto what perilles doeth he offer him selfe, which continuallye doeth haunte the company of women. For asmuche as if he loue them not, they despyle hym, and take hym for a foole. If he doth loue them, they accompt hym for light. If he forsake them, they esteame hym for no body. If he follow the, he is accompanied losse. If he serue them, they doe not regard him. If he do not serue them, they dyspyle hym. If he wyl haue them, they wyl not. If he wyl not, they persecuted hym. If he do aduance him selfe forth, they cal him importunate. If he flee, they saye he is a coward. If he speake, they say he is a bragger. If he holdeth his peace, they say he is a dissarde. If he laugh, they say he is a foole. If he laugh not, they say he is solempne. If he geueth them any thing, they saye it is lytel worth; and he that geueth them nothing, he is a pinchpurse. Finallye, he that haunteth them, is by them slandered: and he that doeth not frequent them, is esteamed lesse then a man. These thinges so sene, so hard, and so knowen, what shall the poore and miserable man doe, inespactly if he be a man of vnderstandynge? For though he woude absent hym selfe from women, the fleashe doeth not geue him licence: and though he would folow women, wisdom wll not condisced. Some men thinke in al their thoughtes, that by seruices & pleasures, they maye content women. But I let them knowe, if they know it not, that the woman is neuer

contented, though man doeth what he can as mayde, and that he doe al that he oughte to doe as a husband: though he taketh paynes for her sake aboue his force, & though with the swette of hys browes, he releaucth her neade: though euerye houre he putteth him selfe in daunger, yet in the end the wyl gyue him no thanks: but wyl saye, that he loneth another, and that he doeth but that, to please and satisfie her. It is a long tyme sinse I desired to tel the this Faustyne, but I haue deferred it until this present houre, hoping I wouldest not geue occasion to tel it the. For amonge wise men, those wordes ought cheselye to be esteamed, which fittely to the purpose are declared. I remember that it is .6. yeares, sinse Anthonius Pius thy father chose me to be hys sonne in law, and that thou chocest me for thy husbände, and I the for my wyfe: all the whiche thinges were done, my woful aduentures permitting it, and Adrian my lord commattinge it. The good Anthonius Pius gaue his only doughter in mariage vnto me, and gaue me lyketowse his noble Empire, with great treasures: he gaue me also & gardens of Vulcanaris to passe the tyme therein. But I thinke that on both sides, we were deceyued. He in chosing me for his sonne in law, and I in taking & for my wife. Of Faustine, thy father, and my father in law, was called Anthonius Pius, bycause to all he was mercifull, saue onelye to me, to whom he was moste cruell: for with a lytel fleashe, he gaue me manye bones. And I confesse vnto the trueth, that now I haue no more teethe to byte, nor heate in my stomacke to dygeaste: and the worst of all is, that manye tymes I haue thoughte, to rage on my selfe. I wyl tell the one worde, though it doeth dysplease the, whiche is, that for thy betwye, thou art despered of manye: and for thy puel condicions, thou art despyled of all. For the faire women, are lyke vnto the golden pylls: the which in syghte are veraye pleasaunte, and in eating

Eating veraye nopsome. Thou knowest wel Faustyne, and I also, that we sawe on a daye Drusio, and Braxillehys wyfe, which were oure neyghbours, and as they were traulyng together, I spake vnto Drusio suche wordes: what meaneth this Lorde Drusio: that being nowe the feaste of Berecinthia, and being as we are, adloping to her house, and presente before so honorable assemble, and furthermore thy wyfe beinge so faire as she is, howe is it possible there shoulde be anye stryfe betwene you: Men whiche are marved to deformed personnes, to the ende that they might kyl them quickely, shoulde alwayes fall oute with their wyues: but those that are marved to fayre women, they oughte alwayes to lyue together in ioye, and pleasure, to the ende they maye lyue longe. For when a fayre woman dyeth, though she haue lyued an hundred yeares, yet she dyeth to sone: and though a deformed woman lyueth a smal tyme, yet notwithstanding she dieth to late. Drusio as a man beinge vered, listinge by hys eyes into the heauens, fetchinge a greuous syghe, from the bottome of hys harte, sayed these wordes. The mother Berecinthia pardon me, and her holpe house also, and all the compaigne besydes forgeue me, for by the immortall Gods I sweare vnto the, that I had rather haue bene married with a Woore of Calde that is so foule, then beinge married as I am, with a romaine beinge veray faier: for she is not so faier and whyte, as my lyfe is woful and blacke.

Thou knowest wel Faustyne, that when Drusio spake suche a worde, I dyd wype the teares from hys eyes, and I gaue hym a worde in his eare, that he should procede no further in this matter: for such women oughte to be chastened in secrete, and afterwarde to be honoured openly. O thou arte infortunnate Faustyne, and the Gods haue euyl deuyded with the, geuing the belwyte and ryches to vndoe thy selfe: and denayeng the best, whiche is wisdom,

and good conditions, to keape thy honour. Oh what euil lucke cometh vnto a man, when God sendeth hym a fayre daughter, vnlesse furthermoze the Gods do permitte, that she be sage, and honest: for the woman which is pong, folye, and fayre, distroiethe the common wealthe, and defameth all her parentage. I say vnto the agayne Faustyne, that the Gods were veraye cruell agaynst the, sinse they swallowe the by the goulfes, where all the euyl perysheth: and toke from the all the sayles and owers, whereby the good doe escape. I remayned .38. yeares vnmарed, and these .6. yeares only whiche I haue bene marved, me thinketh I haue passed .6. hundred yeares of my life: for no thinge can be called a torment, but the euil that man doeth suffer, that is euil marved. I wyll ensuer the of one thinge Faustyne, that if I had knowen before, whiche now I knowe, and that I had felt that, whiche now I fele, though the gods had commaunded me, and the emperoure Adrian my lord desired me, I had not chaunged my pouer-tye for thy ryches, neyther my rest for thy Empire: but sinse it is fallen to thine and myne euil fortune, I am contented to speake lytel, and to suffer muche. I haue so muche dyssembled with the Faustyne, that I can no moze: but I confesse vnto the, that no husbände doeth suffer his wyfe so muche, but that he is bounde to suffer her moze, considerynge that he is a man, and that she is a woman. For the man which willingly goeth into the bylers, muste thinke before to endure the pyckes. The woman is to hardye, that doeth contende with her husband: but the husbände is moze foole, whiche openly quarrelleth with hys wyfe. For if she be good, he oughte to fauoure her, to the ende she maye be better: and if she be vnhappye, he oughte to suffer her, to the end she be not woyle. Trulye whan the woman thinketh that her husbände taketh her for euyl, it is a greate occasyon to make her to be woyle: for women are so ambitious, that

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those whiche commonly are euill, will make vs beleue that they are better then others. Beleue me Faustyne, that if the feare of the Gods, the infamye of the parson, and the speache of men, doe not refrayne the woman, al the chastisementes of the worlde wyl not make her refrayne from vice: for all thinges suffereth chastisemente and correction, the woman onely excepte, the whiche muste be wonne by increape.

The harte of the man is veraye noble, and that of the woman veraye delicate: because for a lytel good he wyl geue a greate rewarde, and for a greate offence he wyl geue no punishment. Before the wyse man marieth, let him beware what he doeth: and when he shall determyne to take the compaignye of a woman, he oughte to be lyke vnto him, that entereth into the warre, that determyneth with him selfe to suffer al that maye happen, be it good, or euyl. I doe not call that lyfe a warre wythoute a cause, whiche the euill maried man leadyth in his house: for women do more hurte with their tonges, then the enemyes do with their swordes. It is a greate symplecitye for a wyse man to make accompte, or estyme the symplenes of hys wyse at euerye tyme: for if they woulde marke, and take hede to that whiche their wyse doeth, or sayeth, I let them knowe, that they shal neuer come to an ende. O Faustyne, if the Romayne woman woulde alwayes one thinge, that they woulde procure one thinge, that they woulde be resolued in one thinge, though it were to our great charges, we woulde haue pleasure, to condescende vnto their desires: but what shall we doe, sinse that whiche nowe pleaseth you, a whyle after dyspleaseth you, that whiche you aske for in the moynynge, ye wyl not haue at none, that which you doe enioye at noone daies, doth trouble you in the nyghte, that whiche in the nyghte you loue, ye care not for in the moynynge, that whiche yesterday ye greatly esteemed, to daye ye as muche despyse.

If ye desired to see a thinge the laste yere, this yere ye wyl not heare talke of it, that whiche before made you to reioyce, doeth nowe make you to be sad, that whiche ye were wonte and oughte to lamente, at the selfe same thinge a man seeth you laughe. Finallye, ye women are as chyldren, which are appeased with an apple, and casteth the golde to the pearth, not wapeng it. I haue dyuers tymes thoughte with my selfe, if I coulde saye, or wyte anye good rule, in keepynge the whiche, I mighte teache men to be quiet in their house. And by my counce I finde (hauinge experymented it also with the Faustyne) that it is impossible to geue a rule to maried men: and if a man coulde geue them, they shoulde scarcely profyte therewith, sinse their wyues lyue wythoute rule. But notwithstanding that, I wyl declare some rules, how the maried folkes shoulde keape them selues in their houses: and how they shall (if they lyffe) auoyde stryfes and debates betwene them. For the husbendes and the wyues hauinge warres together, it is impossible there shoulde be peace in the common wealthe. And though this presente wyptynge haue not profited me, vnluckey and vnsortunate man: yet it maye profyte others, whiche haue good wyues. For oftentimes the medycyn whiche profyterh not for the tender eyes, suffysyth to heale the harde heales. I knowe well Faustyne, that for that I haue sayed, and for that I wyl say vnto the, thou and others such lyke, shall greatly enuye me. Ye wil marke the wordes that I speake, more then the intentyon that I meane: but I protest before the Gods, that in this case my ende is for none other intent, but to aduertise the good, wherof there are a greate meny: and to punyssh the euyl, which are manye more. And though perchauce, neyther the one, nor the other, wyl beleue that my intention in speakynge these thinges was good: yet therefore I wyl not cease to knowe the good from the euill, & to choose the euill from the good.

good. For in my fantasie, the good wyfe is as the seafaunte, whose feathers we lide & steame, and regarde muche the bodye: but the euyl woman is as the Harterne, whose skynne we greatelye esteeme, and bitterlye despyse the fleashe. I wyl therefore declare the rules, wherby the husbandes maye liue in peace with their owne proper wyues.

The Rules are these.

The firste, the husband must needs haue pacyence and suffer his wyfe when she is displeased: for in Libia there is no serpent so spitefu, as an euyl woman when she is bered.

The second, the husbände ought to provide for his wyfe (accordyng to his abylty) all that is necessarye for her, as wel for her personne, as for her house: for ofte tymes it chaunceth, that women seeking thinges necessarye, finde thinges superfluous, and not veraye honest.

The thirde, the husbände oughte to provide, that his wyfe doe heape good compaynye: for women oftymes are more troubled, with the wordes that their euil neighbours speake againste them, then for any occasion that their husbandes geue them.

The fourthe is, that the husband oughte to vse a meane, that his wife be not so much a subiecte, nor that she straye to muche abroad: for the woman that gaddeth much in the streetes, bothe loseth her good name, and spendeth his goods.

The fiftie, the husbände oughte to take hede that he strueth not so with his wyfe, that she be brought passe shame: for the woman that towarde her husbände is shamed, lesse, hath no respecte what dishonestye she committeth.

The sixte, the husbände oughte to let his wyfe vnderstand that he doeth trust her: for the woman is of suche condycyon, that, which a wise man would not she should do, she wyl do sonest, and that wherin she shuld take paynes, she wyl doe nothing.

The seuenth, the husbände oughte to be circumspecte that he do not holpe trust his wyfe with the goods and treasours of the house, nor yet bitterlye distruste her: for if the wife haue the charge of the goods of the house, trellye she wyl augmente it lytel and if the husbände doe suspecte her, she wyl steale muche.

The 8. the husbände ought to loke vpon his wyfe merelye, and at other tymes agayne sadlye: for women are of suche condycion, that when their husbandes sheweth them a mery countenaunce, they loue them, and when they shewe them selues demure, they feare them.

The 9. the husband ought (if he be wife) in this to take good aduysemente, that his wyfe quarrel not with his neighbours: for we haue oft tymes seene in Rome, that for the quarrel of his wyfe agaynst his neighbour, the husbände hath losse his lyfe, he hath losse her goods, and a slander hath rysen thorough out the common wealthe.

The 10. the husbände ought to be so patient, that if he saloe his wyfe committe anye faulte, in no wyse he shoulde correcte her openlye, but in secretes: for the husbände that correcteth his wyfe before witness, doeth as he whiche spittech into the element, and the spittel falleth agayne into his eyes.

The 11. the husband ought to haue much temperaunce, lesse he laye handes on his wyfe to punyche her: for truly the wife that with sharpe wordes doeth not amend, with all the chastyementes of the woꝛlde, wyl neuer be good.

The 12. if the husbände wyl be in quiet with his wyfe, he ought to prayse her before his neighbours, and straungers: for amongst all other thinges, women haue this property, that of al they woulde be praysed, and of none corrected.

The 13. the husband ought to beware to prayse anye other then his owne wyfe, he being present: for women are of this condycion, that the same daye the husbände commendeth

mendeth anye other woman, the same daye
his wyfe wyll caste hym oute of her harte,
thynking that he loueth another, and dyspi-
seth her.

The. 14. the husband ought to make his
wyfe beleue that she is faier, though in dede
she be foule: for there is betwene them no
greater strife, then to thinke that her hus-
band forsaketh her, for being foule.

The. 15. the husband ought to put his wyfe
in remembraunce of the infamy, that they
speake of them that be euyl in the cite: for
women are glorious, & by cause they would
be loth that men should talke suche thinges
by them, as they talke of others, peraduen-
ture they will refraine from those vices that
others commit.

The. 16. the husband ought to take hede
that his wyfe accepte no newe frendes: for
thorough acceptyng of newe frendes, there
growe commentye betwene them greate
dyscention.

The. 17. the husband ought to take heade
that his wyfe beleue, y he loueth not them
whom she hateth: for women are of suche a
condicion, that if the husbundes loueth all
them that they hate, immediately they wyll
hate all those which they loue.

The. 18. the husbunde ought sometye in
matters, whiche are not preiudyciall vnto
him, confesse hym selfe to be ouercome: for
women desier rather to be cousted the beast
in reasonyng (though it be of no value)
then to haue otherwyse a greater iewel ge-
uen them.

In this sorte Faustine, I will say no more
to the, but wishe that thou shuldest se what
I se, and se what I fele, and aboue al, that
my dissimulation shoulde suffice to amend
thy lyfe.

The. xvii. Chapter.

The Emperoure aunsvvereth
more particularly, concernyng
the key of his studyc.



Ovv Faustine, sinse
I haue the olde bemynt
from my harte expelled,
I wyll aunswere to thy
presente demaunde: for

unto demaundes & aun-
swers that passeth betwene the sages, the
tong ought neuer to speake word, but that
first he aske the harte licence. And it is a ge-
neral rule amongest the phisicians, that the
medicines doe not profite the sicke, vntill
they first take awaye the opylacions of the
stomacke. I meane by this, that no man can
speake to his frend (as he ought) vntill he
fore he sheweth what thinge greueth hym:
for it is better to repaire the routes of the
houses that be old, then to go about to build
them newe.

Thou requestest me Faustine, that I
geue thee the key of my study, and thou doest
threaten me, that if I geue it not vnto the,
that thou shalt forthwith be deliuered. I
meruaile not at that thou sayest, neither I
am abashed of that thou demaundest, nor yet
of that y thou wouldest do: for you women
are veraye extrenie in your desires, veraye
suspicious in your demaundes, veraye obsti-
nate in your willes, & as vnpacient in your
sufferinges. I say not without a cause, that
women are extrenie in their desires: for
there are thinges, wherof womē are so de-
sirous, that it is wonder thoughē neuer li-
uing creature saw them, nor hard speake of
them. I haue not sayed withoute a cause,
that women are suspicious in their de-
maundes: for the Romaine women are of
suche a condicion, that allone as a woman
desireth any thing, she forthwith commaun-
deth the tonge to aske it, the fete to seeke it,
the eyes to se it, the handes to fele it, & like-
wyse the harte to loue it. I saye not without
a cause, that women are obstynate in their
willes: for if a romaine womā beareth anye
malice to any mā, she will not forbear to ac-
cuse him for any flaunder, nor falle to pursue
him for any pouerty, nor feare to kill him for
any

any Justice. I saye not wout a cause, y^e wo-
men are impatient to suffer: for manye are
of such condition (I saye not all) that yf a
man giue not speedely that whiche they de-
sire, they chaunge their countour, their eyes
looke reade, their tonges runne hupke,
theyr voyces are sharpe, they frette wth them-
selues; they trouble theyr neyghbours as
byrds, and are so out of order, that no ma-
n dare speake vnto them with in. You haue
this good trade amonge y^e women, y^e vn-
der countour of being wth child, you will that
we husbands graunt y^e al your desires. Whe-
re the sacred senate, in the time of the valiant
Camillus, made a law in the fauour of the
Romaine Patrones wth child, the women
at that time longed not so much, as they do
at this present: but I can not tell what this
presently meaneth, that all y^e are annoyed
with that that is good, and that y^e are all
desirous of that that is euill. I will tell the
(Faustyne) the occasion why this law was
made in Rome, and thereby thou shalt see,
yf thou deseruest to enioye the priuiledge
therof or no: For the lawes are but as yokes
vnder the whiche y^e euill doth labour, &
they are winges wherewith the good dothe
flye. The case therfore was such, when Ca-
millus y^e valiant capitaine wente forth to
the warres, he made a solempne vow to the
mother Berecynthia, that if the gods gaue
him the victorie, he would offer vnto her an
Image of siluer: & after Camillus wanne
the victorie, & that he would haue accomplished
his vow to y^e mother Berecynthia, nother
he had any riches, nor Rome had any siluer.
For at that time, Rome was riche of ver-
tues, and poore of money. And knowe thou
Faustyne, that our auncient fathers were
deuoute towards the gods, and curious in
repairing the temples, the whiche they este-
med to be great deuotion: & they were in such
sozt obseruers of their vowes, that neyther
for slouth, nor pouertie, they would not ob-
mitte their promises towards their gods.
And in these thinges they were so pfecte, y^e

they graunted to no man any triumphe, on-
lesse he firste did sweare, y^e he had vnto the
gods made a vow, & after ward also proued,
how he had performed it. At y^e time flo-
shed in Rome, many vertuous Romans, &
many greke philosophers, many hardy cap-
taines, & many sumptuous buildinges: & as-
boue all thinges, Rome was vnpeopled of
malettes, & adorned wth vertuous ladies. The
Hystorographers made (and not without a
cause) great accopt of these vertuous matro-
nes: For the common wealth hath as much
neede of vertuous women, as the warres
haue of valiant captaines. They betinge
therfore (as they were) so vertuous & noble
matrones (withoute the motion of any wo-
man) determined al to go into y^e high Cap-
toll, & there to offer all their Jewelles, and
treasours y^e they had, their cheynes, their
ringes, their garmentes, their bracelets,
their girdelles, their buttons, and hangers
of golde, of siluer, and precious stenes of all
soztes, with all their tablettes. The Anna-
les of this time say, that after the Romaine
women had layed so greate a multitude of
riches, at y^e seete of the sacred senate, in the
name of them all, one of them spake, whose
name was called Lucina, and saide in this
sozt. Fathers conscript, esteeme not muche
these our Jewelles, whiche we geue you to
make the ymage of y^e mother Berecynthia:
but esteeme much this, y^e we willingly put in
ieopardy our husbandes, & children, to win
you the victorie. And if in this case you ac-
cept our poore seruice, haue no respect to y^e
littel which we do offer: but to y^e great, which
(if we were able) we would giue. Truly the
Romaines, though the treasure which their
wives offered was great: Yet notwithstandinge
they dyd moze esteeme the good wyll
wherewth they gaue it, then they did y^e giftes
th^e selues. For ther was so much in dede, y^e
sufficed both to make y^e ymage of y^e goddesse
Berecynthia, & also for a logg time to main-
teine y^e warres. Therfore fro y^e daye, y^e those
matrones presented their Jewelles in y^e high
Captoll

Capitol, the senate forthwith in remembrance of the gentleness, granted them these fyue thinges, as a pryuylege: For at that tyme, * Rome neuer receyued seruice, or benefyte of any personne, but she rewarded it with double payment.

The first thing that the senate granted the Romaine women was, that in the daye of the ir buriall, the Oratours might openly make orations in the praise of their lyues: For in old tyme men vsed, neither to exalte them when they were deade, nor yet to accompany them to their graues.

The seconde thinge that was granted them was, that they mighte sit in the temples: for in the old tyme, when the Romaines did offer sacrifices to their gods, the aged did alwaies sit, the priestes kneele the married me did leane, but the womē, though they were of noble and high linage, coulde neither be suffered to talke, sit, nor to leane.

The third thinge that the senate granted the women of Rome was, that euerye one of them might haue .2. riche golowtes, & that they should not aske the Senat leue to weare them: for in the old tyme, if any women were apparelled, or did bye any new golowne without asking licence of the senat, * she should immediatly lose her golowne, and because her husbands did condescende vnto the same, he was banished & comon wealth.

The fourth thinge whiche they granted them was, that they shoulde drynke wyne whē they were sicke: for ther was in Rome a custome inuolable, that though they lyfe was in hazarde, they durste not drynke wine, but water. For when Rome was well corrected, a woman that drunke wine, was as much slandered among the people: as yf she had committed adulterye towar- * des her husbände.

The fyfte thinge granted by the senate vnto the women was that a man myghte not denaye a Romaine being with chylde, any honest, and lawfull thinge that she demaunded. I can not tell why the auncien-

tes of Rome esteemed more women with chylde, then others that had no chylde.

All these fyue thinges, were lustly granted to the Patronnes, and noble Romaine Ladies. And I can tell the Faustyne, that they were of the Senate moste wyllynglye granted: For it is reason, that women whiche in vertues do excell, shoulde with all meanes be honoured. I wyll tell the Faustyne, the espreyall cause, that moned the Romaines to graunt vnto you Patronnes this lastte pryuylege: that is to wete, that a man can not denaye * them any thyng beynge with chylde.

Thou oughtest to knowe, that the others (as well Greekes as Latynes) dyd neuer giue lawes, nor institutions vnto their people, without great occasions: For the great multitude of lawes, are comenlye enuyt * kepte, and on the other parte, are cause of sondry troubles. We can not denaye, but that the auncientes dyd well auoyde the greate nombze of institutions: For it is better for a man to lyue as reason commaundeth him, then as the law constraineth hym. The case therefore was, that in the peare of the foundation of Rome, 364.

Fuluius Torquatus then beyng Consul, in the warre against the Volces, & knyghtes of Mauritania broughte to Rome an huge monstre with one eye, called Monoculus: whiche he had founde in the desertes of Egypte. At that tyme the wyfe of Torquatus called Macrina, shoulde haue bene deliuered of chylde: for the Consul did leste her greate. This Macrina amongeste all was so honeste, that they spent as much tyme in Rome to prayse her, for her vertues: as they dyd to sette foot the, her husband for his victories. They reade in the * Annales of that tyme, that the firste tyme that this Consull Torquatus wente into Asia, he was eleuen peares out of his countrey, and it is founde for a truthe, that in all the tyme that Torquatus was absent, his wife was neuer sene loke out at the

the window, which was not a thing small to be esteemed: for though it was a custome in Rome to kepe the doze shut, it was lawfull notwithstanding to speake to women at the windowes. Though men at y^e time were not so bold, and the women were so honest: yet Macrina, wife to Torquatus, lyued so close, & solitary to her selfe, that in all these 11. yeares, ther was neuer man that saw her go thorough Rome, nor that euer sawe her dooze open, neither that she consented at any time (from the time that she was .8. yeares of age) that any man shoulde enter into her house: and more ouer, ther was neuer man saw her face, wholye vncouered. This Romain lady did this, to leaue of her a memory: and to giue example of her vertue. She had also .3. children, whereof the eldest was but .5. yeares old: and so when they were .8. yeares of age, immediately she set them out of her house, towards their parentes, lest vnder the colour to visite the childre, others shoulde come to visite her. O Faustine, how many haue I hard, that haue lamented this excellent Romaine: & what wyll they thinke, that shall folowe her life. Who coulde presently restraigne a Romaine woman, from going to the window .11. yeares, since thinges now a daies are so dissolute, & they doe not onely desite to see them, but also runne in the streets to bable of them: Who shuld cause now a daies a Romaine womā, that in .11. yeares she shuld not open her doozes, since it is so, & when the husband commaundeth her to shut one dooze, she wil make the hole house to ring of her voice: He that now woulde commaund his wife to tary at home, and let her of her vagaries into the towne, shal perceiue, that ther is no Basilisco, nor Viper, that carseth such poisse in her tayle, as she wil spitte with her tong. Who could make a Romain woman to be .11. yeares continually wout shewing her face to any mā: since it is so, that they spend y^e most part of their time, in brushing their clothes, & painting their faces: Who would cause a Ro-

main womā to kepe her selfe .11. yeares fro being visited of her neyghbours, & frendes, since it is true, that nowe women thinke them greatest enemies, whiche visite them most seldome: Retourninge therfore to the monstre, as they led this monstre befoze the dooze of Torquatus house, she being great wth child, & her husband in the warre: by chance a maide of his told her, how that this monstre passed by, wherfore so great a desire toke her to se y^e monstre, that for to kepe that she had begot, sodainly for this desire she died. Trulye I tell the Faustine, y^e this monstre had passed many times by y^e street wher she dwelt, and she woulde neuer notwithstanding go to the window, and much lesse go out of her dooze to see it. The death of this Romain, of many was lamented: for it was a longe time, that Rome had neuer heard of so honest, & vertuous a Romaine. wherfore at the petition of all the Romaine people, & by the commaudemēt of al the sacred senate, they sette on her tombe these verses.

*The worthy Macrine, resteth here in grave
Whom wyse Torquatus, lodged in Iunios bedde
Who recked not, a happye lyfe to haue
So that for aye, her honest fame were spreadde.*

BEhold therfore Faustine, in my opinion, the law was not made to remedy the death of this noble Romaine, since she was alledye deade: but to the ende that you Princesses shoulde take example of her life, and that though all Rome ther shuld be a memory of her death. It is reason, synce the lawe was ordeined for those women whiche were honeste, that it shuld be obserued in none, but by those y^e are vertuous: let the women wth child mark the wordes of the law, whiche commaunde them to aske thinges honeste. Wherfore I let the knowe Faustine, that in the seventh table of our lawes, are written these wordes. We wyll, that where there is corruption of manners, the man shall not be bound to obserue their liberties.

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The.xviii. Chapter.

That Ladies, and other gentle women, oughte not to be ashamed to nourishe their children vvith their ovyne breastes.



All noble me, that are of haulte courages, watche continuallye to bringe that to effect which they couet, and to kepe that which they haue: for by strength, one commeth to honoz, and by wisdom, honoz & life are bothe preserved. By these wordes I meane, y she that hath borne .9. monethes (through trauayle) the creature in her wombe, with so much paine, and that afterwarde is deliuered to so greate perilles, & by the grace of god fro so many daungers escaped, me thynke it is not wel, that in this point (which for the nourishment of h habe is most expedient) the mothers should shew them selues so negligent. For that wateth no folly, that by extreame labour is procured, and to muche lightnes afterward despised. The thinges y women naturallie desire are infinite, amonge the which, these are .5. cheafely.

The first thing that women desire, is to be very faire: For they had rather be poore and faire, then to be riche and foule.

The second thing which they desire, is to see the selues married: for vntill such time as the woman doth see her selfe married, fro the bottome of h harte she alwayes sigheth.

The thirde thing that women desire, is to see them selues great with child, & heretofore they haue reaso: For vntill such time as the woman hath had a child, it seemeth y she hateth him more for a louer, the for a husband.

The fourth thing that they desire, is to see them selues deliuered, & in this case, more then in all the rest, they haue reason: For it is greate pittie, to see in the pyyme tyme a

yong tree loden with blosomes: and afterward the fruite to be destroyed through the abondance of caterpillers. Then synce god suffereth that they are borne faire, that they see them selues married, that they be with child, and that they are deliuered: why be they so unkinde, as to sende them out of their houses, to be nourished in other rude cotages? In my opinion, the woman that is vertuous, oughte asone as she is deliuered, to liste by her eyes, and with her harte to giue god thanks for her fruite: For the woman that from her deliury is escaped, ought to accompte her selfe as one newlye borne. The woman likewise seinge her self deliuered of her creature, ought to geue it sucke with her owne teates: for it is a monstrous thinge, that she that hath brought forth the creature oute of her owne propre wombe, shoulde geue it to be nourished of a straunge dogge. In speaking more plainly (it is all one to me, whether she be a noble woman, or a woman of meane condition) I say and affirme, that since god hath deliuered her of her trauaille, she her selfe ought with her owne pappes to nourishe, & geue sucke to their babes: for nature did not only make women able to beare men, but also besides that, prouided milke in their breasts, to nourishe their children. Wee haue neither redde vntil this presente, nor sene, that any beastes (wilde or tame) after they had yong, would commit them to any other to be nourished. This which I haue spoken, is not so worthe of noringe, as that which I wyll speake. And it is, that many beastes newe borne, before they open their eyes to knowe their fathers, haue nowe all readye taken nourishment, in the teates of their mothers: and more then that, to see some of those beastes haue .10. liuel whealpes, the which without h ayde of any others, nourished them al to the substance of their owne teates, and the woman that hath but one childe, disdaineth to giue it sucke. Al that shal reade this wyrtynge, shall

And

finde it true, and yf they wyl, they may see, as I haue sene it by experience: that after the she Ape hath had her ponglinges, she alwaies hath them in her armes, so longe as they sucke, so that oftentimes there is such a frise betwene the male, & the female, which of them shall haue the ponglinges in their armes, that the beholders are enforced to parte them with battes. Lette vs learne the beastes that are in the fieldes, and talke of the byrdes that are in the neastes: the whiche do laye egges to haue pong, yet haue they no mylke to bynge them vp.

What thinge is so straunge to see, as a small byrde that hath vnder her winges, s. or, s. litell naked byrdes, the whiche when she hath hatched, she hath neither milke to nourishe them, nor corne to giue them, they haue neither winges to flye, feathers to couer them, nor any other thing to defende the: yet in all this weakenes and ponertie, their mother forsaketh them not, nor committeth them to any other, but byngeth them vp al her selfe. That which nature provided for swannes, is no lesse marueilous, inespically when they nourishe their pong signetres in the water: Forasmuche as duringe the time that they can not swimme, the mothers alwaies in the day are wth their ponglinges in their neastes, and in the nighte, the fathers carpe them vnder their proper winges (to refreshe them) vnto the water. It is therefore to be thoughte, since these swanes so loutingly beare their ponglinges vnder their winges, y they would caty the in their armes if they were men, & also giue them sucke to their owne beastes, yf they were women. Aristotle saith in his fyfte booke, the Lyons, the beares, the wolues, the Eagles, & gryffins, & generally all beastes, neuer are, were, nor shall be sene so fierce, nor so cruel, as whē they haue ponglinges, & this thing seemeth to be true: for at y time, we se y many beastes might escape y hunters, yet to saue their pōglinges, they turne backe, & put their proper liues in daunger.

Plato saith in his booke of lawes, that the children are neuer so well beloued of their mothers, as when they are nourished with their proper beastes, & y their fathers daunceth the on their knees. The which thing is true: for y first loue, in al thinges is y truest loue. I was willing to shew y bynging vp of brute beastes, to shew the womē to child, how pitiful parentes they are, in nourishing their ponglinges to their owne beastes: & how cruel mothers y women are, in committing their children to straungers. It is a meruailous thinge, to heare the mothers say, y they loue their childre, & on the contrary side, to se how they hate the. In this case, I cā not tel whether they loue more, eyther the child, or the monye: for I se, y they couet greatlye to hurde vp riches into their cheastes, and likewise they desire as much to cast out their children out of their houses. There are diuerse reasons, whereby the mothers ought to be moued to nourishe their childre (which they bare in their wombes) wyth their owne propre beastes.

The first reason is, y the mother oughte to haue respect how y pong babe was bozne alone, how lytle he was, how poore, delicate, naked, tender, & without vnderstanding: & since that the mother broughte it forth so weake, & feable, it is neither mete nor conuenient, y in time of such necessitie, she shuld forsake it, and committe it into the handes of a straunger. Let women pardon me, whether they be ladies, brought vp in pleasures, or other of meaner estate, accustomed with trauelles, I force not: but I saye, that those which forsake their childre in such extremities, are not pitifull mothers, but cruell enemies. If it be crueltie not to clothe him y is naked, who is more naked then the child new bozne: if it be crueltie not to comforte the sadde, who is more sadde, desolate, and sorrowefull, then the chyldre whych is bozne wepyng: yf it be vngentlenes not to succoure the poore nedye, who is more needy, or more poore, then the innocent child newly

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newly borne, that knoweth not as yet, neyther to go, nor to speake: If it be crueltie to do ill to the innocent that can not speake, who is more innocent then the infant, that can not complaine of that, whiche is done vnto him? The mother that casteth out of her house the children borne of her owne body, how can we beleue that she wil receiue in any other of straungers: when the infant is now great, when he is strong, when he can speake, when he can go, when he can profite him selfe, and gette his meate, the mother maketh much of him, and leade the him about with her, but that is litle thanke vnto her: For then the mother hath more neede of the child to be serued, then the child hath of the mother to be cherished. If the child were borne of the nayles, of the fingers, of the feete, or of the handes, it were a smal mater though their mothers sente the fourth to noyssh: but I can not tell what harte can endure, to suffer this, since the childe is borne of their propre incayples, & they do committe it (to be brought vp) into the handes of a straunger. Is there peraduenture at this day in the world any ladye, that hath so great confidence in any of her frendes, parentes, or neighbours, that she durst trust any of them with the key of her cofer, wherein her seluelles, money, & riches lyeth: trulye I thinke no. Vnkinde mothers, my penne had almost called you cruell steppemothers, since you lay vp in your hart, the cursed mouche of the ground, and sende out of your houses, that which sprang of your bloude. And if women shoulde saye vnto me, that they are weake: feable, and tender, and that now they haue founde a good nurse, to this I aunswere, that the nurse hath smal loue to the childe which she nourisheth, when she seeth the vngentilnes of the mother that bare it. For truly, she alone doth nourish the childe with loue, that heretofore hath borne it with paine.

The seconde reason is, that it is a thinge very iuste, that women shoulde nourish

their children, to the ende they may be lyke vnto their conditiōs: For other wise, they are no children, but are enemies: for the child that dothe not reuerence his mother that bare him, can not enioye a prosperous lyfe. Synce the intentiō of the parentes in bringing vp their child, is for none other purpose, but to be serued of them, when they are olde: they shal vnderstand, that for this purpose there is nothing more necessarye, then the milke of the proper mother: for when the child sucketh the milke of a straunger, it is vnlíkelye that it shoulde haue the conditiōs of the mother. If a kydde sucke a shepe, they shal perceiue that it shal haue the wolles more faire, & the nature more gentle, then if he had sucked a Goate, whiche hath the wolles more harde, and of nature is more wilde: wherein the proverbe is beresped, not from whence thou comest, but wherof thou feedest. It auaileth a man much to haue a good inclinacion: but it helpeth him much more, from his infancye to be well taught: For in the ende, we profite more, with the customes wherby we lyue, then we do by nature, from whence we came.

The thirde reason is, that women ought to nourish their owne children, because they shoulde be hole mothers, & not vnperfect: for the woman is counted, but halfe a mother, that beareth it, & likewise halfe a mother that nourisheth it: but she is the hole mother, that both beareth it, & nourisheth it. After the duetie considered vnto the father that hath created vs, & vnto the sonne that hath redeamed vs, we thinke nexte, we owe the greatest duetie vnto the mother, that hath borne vs in her body: and much more it is, that we shoulde beare vnto her, yf she had nourished vs with her owne breasts. For when the good childe shal beholde his mother, he ought more to loue her, because she nourished hym with her mylke: then because she hath borne hym in her body.

The.xix.Chapter.

☛ The auctour persvadeth them styl to norishe their ovvne children. And shevveth of many ladies that desyreth to keape lytle dogges in their lappes: and dysdaine to norish their ovvne children vvith their breastes.



IN the yeare of the foundacion of Rome. 602. After the obstinate and cruell warre betwexte Rome and Carthage, where the renowned capitaynes were, Hannibal for the Carthaginians, and Scipio for the romaines: sone after the warre, folowed the warre of Macedonie, against kyng Philip. The whiche when it was ended, that of Siria began against Antiochus kyng of Siria. For in 630. yeares, the romaines had alwaies continued all warres in Asia, in Affricke, or in Europe. The noble romaynes sent the consull Cornelius Scipio (brother to the great Scipio the Affrican) for captaine of that warre. And after many battayles, fortune shewed her force in a Citie called Sepila, the which is in Asia the great, where kyng Antiochus was overcome, and all his realme discomfited: for trees which haue their rootes out, muste nedes within shorte tyme lose their frutes. After which kyng Antiochus was overcome, and his land spoyled, Cornelius Scipio came vnto Rome triumphing, for the victorie that he had of Asia: so that as his brother for the victorie that he had of Affrica was called Affricane, so he was called Scipio the Asian, because he vanquished Asia. The captaines of Rome loued honour so much, that they would no other rewarde, nor recompence of their trauaile, but that they shuld geue them the renowne of the realme,

whiche they had overcome. Truly they had reason, for the noble hartes oughte lytell to esteeme the increase of their ryches, and ought greatlye to esteeme the perpetuite of their good name. As Sextus Cheronensis saith in his thirde booke De ambigua iusticia, that Cornelius Scipio had a longe tyme the gouernment of the people, forasmuch as he was consull, censor, and Dictatoure of Rome: for he was not onely hardye and couragious, but also he was sage and wise, whiche thinge oughte greatlye to be esteemed in a man. For Aristotle doeth not determine it, whiche of these .2. is moste excellent: either skoutenes to fighte in the warres, or pollece to rule in peace. Scipio therefore being Dictatoure (whiche was an office then, as the Emperoure is now) it chaunced, that the .12. captaines whiche had ben with him in the warres, violently sought to haue entred into the Monastery of the virgines vestalles: wherfore the Dictatour commaunded their heades to be cut of. For the romaines punished more cruelly those, that onely required the virgins vestalles: then those that forced the married matrones. Cornelius Scipio was besoughte of manye in Rome, that he woulde moderate, and chaunge his so cruel sentence. And he which most in this case dyd importune hym, was his brother Scipio the Affrican, whose prayer was not accepted: howbeit in the end, they sayed the captaines were pardoned, by the request of a sister of the sayed Dictatour Scipio the Affrican. And because he blamed his brother Scipio, that he had done more for the daughter of his nurse: then for the sonne of his proper mother, he answered. I let the weite brother, that I take her more for my mother that brought me vp, and dyd not beare me: then she whiche hath borne me, and in my infancy hath forsaken me. And since I haue had her for my true mother, it is but reason that I haue this, for my deare and welbeloued sister. These were the wordes which passed betwene these .2. brethren.

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I haue diligently red in holy, and prophane writings, that many tyrantes haue caused their owne mothers to be killed, whiche bare them: but I could neuer find, that they haue done any discuztely or disobedience, to the nourses whiche gaue them milke. For the cruel tyrantes do thirst after the blood of others: but they feare them whose milke they sucke. The fourth reason that byndeth women to nourish their children is, to kepe them in more obedience: for if fathers liue longe time, they must of force come into the handes of their children. And let not old fathers make their accôptes, sayeng that during the time y they shal haue the gouernment of the house, their children shalbe kept in obedience: for in so doing, they myght abuse them selues. For yong men in their youth, fele not the trauailes of this life: nor know not as yet, what it meaneth to make prouision for household. For to the stomacke that is full, and closed with eating, al meates seemeth, both vnsauory and noisome.

It maye wel be, that sinse the chyldren are not nourished in the house, that they know not their seruantes, that they loue not their parentes, that they come not nere their brethren, nor talke with their sisters, that they are ignorant of their fathers, and do disobey their mothers: wherefore sinse lytel feare doeth abound, and good wil fayle, one daye they commit some myscheauouse offence, wherby they do lose their life woorthely, and the fathers loose the riches, & likewise their honoz deservedly. To the intent that the fathers alwayes keape their proper chyldren vnder obedience, there is no better meane, then to bring the by in their owne houses, the mother to geue them sucke, & the father to teache them: for when y mother desireth any thing of her child, she should not shewe him the belly from whence he came, but the dugges which he did sucke. For al y whiche is asked vs by the milke that we dyd sucke, truly there is no harte so harde, that can deny her. The hystoryographers saie, that

Antipater amonge all the gressians, was the most renowned tyrant: and among the romaines Nero. And these. 2. wicked princes were not greate tyrantes bycause they had committed many tyranies: but because they dyd commit one, which was most greuous of all others. For they doe not call a man a glutton, or cozmozaunt, bycause he eateth euerye houre: but bycause he deuourethe more at one passe, then others doe in one daye. The case was, that Antipater in Grece, and Nero in Rome, determined to kyl their owne mothers. And the hystoryographers say, that when Nero commaunded his mother to be killed, she sent to aske of him, why he would put her to death: whereunto he answered, that he was closed, to beholde the armes, wherein he was nourished, and therfore he caused her to be killed, to se the intralles: out of the which he came. This case was so horryble, y it seemed to many not to speake it: but concludyng I say, as vniuersally as y mothers lost y mortall life: so iustly did the chyldre get for them immortal infamy. Nothing can be more wicked & detestable to the chyldren, then to kyl their mothers, whiche did beare them with payne, & dyd nouryshe them with loue: but notwithstanding al this, we do not reede, that euer they dyd kyl, dyshonour, nor yet disobey, their nourses, which gaue them milke. Iunius Rusticus, in the firste booke of the bringynge vp of chyldren saith, that the. 2. Gracchi (renowned & famous romaynes) had a thirde brother being a bastarde, who shewed him selfe as valiaunt, & hardy, in the warres of Asia: as y other. 2. dyd, in the warres of Affrica. The which as he came one day to rome to visite his house, he found therein his mother which bare him, & the nurse which gaue him sucke. To y which nurse he gaue a girdel of gold, & to hys owne mother, he gaue a iewel of siluer. Of the which thinges, y mother being ashamed, considering what her sone had done, she asked him why he had geuen the nurse y gold whiche dyd

dyd but onlye geue hym sucke: & that he had not geuen the girdel of gold to her, aswel as the iewel of siluer, sinse she had bozne hym, and brought him into the world. Therunto he answered in this maner, inaruel not therat mother, why I do this thing, for thou diddest beare me but .9. monethes in thy wombe, & she hath geuen me sucke, & nourished me, thes. 3. yeaues, with her own proper pappes: & whē thou dydest cast me from the out of thy sight, she receiued me, & nourished me in her proper armes.

Fifthly, women ought to enforce them selues to nourish their children, to y end they may kepe them y better, & that in their cradels they be not chaunged for others. Aristotle saith, that the cocow cometh to the neaste of another birde, when she hath laied her egges, and sucketh them, & layeth in the same place her owne egges: so y the other birde thinking that they are her owne, hatcheth & nourisheth them vp as her owne, vntil such time as they are able to fly. Then the cockow killeth, and eateth the silve bird that hath nourished her, thorough y which occasion the males of those birdes, are at so great contention (that they haue bene so deceived) that the one of them killeth the other the whiche they myghte let, if enerye birde dyd nourish her owne. In the sametye that Philip reigned in Macedonie (which was the father of the greate Alexander) Arthebanus was kynge of the Epirotes, who in his age had a chylde bozne, the which was stolen oute of the Cradel, and another put in hys steade. The nurse whiche dyd nourish it, thorough couetousnes of money, consented to that treason: for the harte that is with couetousnes overcome, wyl not feare to commit any treason. It chaunced not longe after, that king Arthebanus dyed, & lefte (as he thought) his owne sonne for his heire: but within few daies after, the nurse her selfe, whiche had consented vnto the robbery, discovered y theste, & saied, that she could tel where the lawfull chylde of the

good kynge Arthebanus was, & that, that chylde, whiche now was heire, was but the sonne of a meane knight: but in dede, it had ben better for those of y myserable realme, that the woman had neuer dyscovered the secrete. For it chaunceth oftentimes, that a man maketh such haste of his horse, that he hurteth his legges, & thorough that occasion afterwarde falleth & breaketh hys necke. But what shal we say to the Plebeical women, of base & meane estate (I do not meane the noble, gentle, & vertuous ladies) wherof they are many, that though in great secrete their cheafest frend telleth them any thing, yet befoze they drinke, they wil bette it to another. Thus when the treaso was discovered, cruel warres betwene these .2. princes began: so that in the end, in a great battaille they were both slaine, the one in defending, and y other in assaultyng. At that tyme Olimpias reigned, who was the faire & worthy wife of Philip, and mother of Alexander. She had a brother named Alexander, who was both politique, & hardye and hearing the Epirotes were in controuersy, and that .2. kynges were slayne in the selde, he placed him selfe in the realme, moze of will, then of right. And let no mā maruaile, that this king occupied the realme: for in the old time, al the tyrannous princes thought, that all that whiche they coulde obtayne without resistance: dyd vnto them belog by iustice. This king Alexander was he, which came into Italye in the fauoure of the Tarentines: who afterwarde was slayne in battaille at Capua, where his bodye was vnburiēd. And trulye it was a iuste sentence, that the Tyrante which bereueth manye of their lyues, shoulde hym selfe taste some shamefull death. I haue declared this hyssoye, to this ende, that the princesses and greate ladies shoulde see, that if the wyfe of king Arthebanus had nourished hys sonne, they coulde not haue robbed it in the cradel, nor these .2. Princes had not bene slayne in battaille.

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table, nor the common wealth had not bene dystroyed, nor Alexander had not entred into the lande of another, nor had not come to conquere the contrey of Italye, nor the deade corpes had not wanted his graue: for oftentimes it chaunceth, for not quenching a lytel coole of fier, a hole forest is burned.

¶ The denyne Plato amonge the grekes, and Licurgus amonge the Lacedemonians, commaunded & ordeyned in al their lawes, that all the Plebeical woman, and those of meane estate, should nouryshe al their chyldren, and that those whiche were Princeliss and greate Ladyes, should at the leaste nouryshe their eldest and firste begotten. Plutarche in the booke of hys reigne of princes sayeth, that the .6. kynge of the Lacedemonians was Othonistes, the whiche when he died, lefte .2. chyldren, the second inherited the realme, because the Quene had brought it vp: and the first did not inherite, because a nurse had geuen it sucke, and broughte it vp. And hereof remayned a custome, in the mooste parte of the realmes of Asia, that the childe which was not nourished with the pappes of his mother, shuld inheryte none of his mothers goods. There was neuer, nor neuer shalbe a mother, that had such a sonne, as hys mother of god, which had Ihesus chryst, nor there was neuer, nor neuer shalbe a sonne, which had such a mother in the worlde. But the infante would neuer sucke other mylke, bycause he would not be bounde to cal any other mother, nor the mother dyd geue hym to nouryshe to anye other mother, because that no nother woman shoulde call hym sonne. I doe not maruell at all, that Princesses and greate Ladyes doe geue their chyldren forthe to nouryshe: but that which most I meruaile at is, that the whiche hath conceived and broughte forthe a chylde, is ashamed to geue it sucke and to nouryshe it. I suppose that the ladyes doe thinke, that they deserue to conceiue them in their wombes, & that they sinne, in nourysheinge them in their armes.

I cannot tel howe to wyse, and muche lesse howe to vtter that whiche I woulde saye: whiche is, that women are now a dayes come into suche follye: that they thinke and esteeme it a state, to haue in their armes some lytel dogges: and they are ashamed to nouryshe and geue the chyldren sucke with their owne breastes. O cruell mothers, I cannot thinke that youre hartes can be so stoupe, to endure to see and keape fantastical birdes in the cages, vnhappye monkeis in the wyndowes, sisting spangels betwene your armes, and so negleete and despie, the swete babes, casting the out of your houses, where they were borne, and to put them into a straunge place, where they are vnknowen: It is a thinge which cannot be in nature, neither that honestye can endure, conscience permit, nor yet consonant, eyther to deuine or humaine lawes, that those which god hath made mothers of chyldren, should make them selues nurses of dogges. Iunius Rusticus in the thirde booke of the sayenges of the auncientes saith, that Marcus Porcio whose lyfe and doctrine, was a lanterne & example to all the romayne people, as a man much offended, saied on a day to the senate. O fathers conscripte, O cursed Rome, I cannot tell what now I should saye, sithe I haue sene in Rome suche monstrous thinges (that is to wete) to see women carpe parrottes on their fyffes, and to see women nouryshe dogges, geuing them mylke from their owne breastes. They replied in the senate and sayed. Tel vs Marcus Portio what wouldest thou we shoulde doe whiche lyue now, to resemble oure fathers, which are dede: Marcus Portio answered them. The womā that presumeth to be a romaine Patrone, ought to be founde weauing in her house, and out of that, to be found in the temple prayeng to god: and the noble and stout romaine, ought to be found in his house redyng booke, and out of hys house, fighting in the playne fyeelde, for the honour of his cōtrei. The wordes of such a man

man were worthy. Annus Minutius was a noble Romayne, and captayne of greates Pompeius, who was a great frend to Iulius Cesar, after the battaille of Farfalia: for he was an auncient man, and on that could geue good counsell, wherfore he neuer escaped, but that he was chosen in Rome for senator, consul, or cenfor euery yeare. for Iulius Cesar was so mercifull to them that he pardoned, that those which had ben his most enemies in his warres, were of hym in peace best beloued. This Annus Minutius then being chosen Cenfor within Rome (whiche was an office hauinge charge of iustice) by chance as he went to visite the wyfe of another frend of his, the which laye in childebed (because she had greates aboundaunce of mylke) he founde that a lytyl prettye bityche dyd sucke her, vpon the which occasion they saye, he saide these wordes to the senate: fathers conscripte, a present myschefe is now at hande accordeynge to the token I haue sene this daye (that is to wete) I haue sene a Romayne woman denaye her owne chylde her mylke, and gaue to sucke to a sylly bityche. And trulye Annus had reason to esteeme this case as a wonder: for the true and swete loves are not, but betwene the fathers and chylde: where the mother embraceth the brute beaste, and forsaketh her naturall chylde, whiche she hath brought forth; it cannot be otherwyse, but there epyther wysedome wanteth, or folly aboundeth: for the foole loueth that he oughte to despyse, and despyseth that whiche he oughte to loue. Yet though the mothers wyl not geue their chylde to sucke, they oughte to do it, for the daunger whiche may come to the helthe of their personnes: for as the women whiche bringe forth chylde, do lue more healthfull, then those whiche beare none: so these whiche doe nourishe them haue more health, then those whiche doe not nourishe them. For although the bringing vp of chylde be troublesome to women, it is profitable for their health. I am ashamed to tel it, but it is

more shame for the ladies to do it, to se what plasters they put to their brestes, bycause they may lose their mylke, & hereof cometh the iust iudgement of god, & oftentimes where they would the mylke shuld come, in the selfe same place, they them selues procure their sodeine death. I aske now, if women do not entoy their chylde being yong, what pleasure hopethey to haue of them, when they are old. What a greates comforte is it, for the parentes to se the yong babe, when he wil laugh, how he twinkleth his litel eyes: when he wil weape, how he wil hange the pretty lippe: when he would speake, how he wil make signes with his litel fingers: when he wil go, how he casteth forward his fete: & aboue al, when he becometh to hable, howe he doubleth in his wordes. What thinge is more pleasaunt to the father, then to se them: & to the mother, to agre to it. When the chylde do sucke, they plucke forth the pappes with the one hand, and with the other they plucke their here, and further they beate their fete together, and with their wanton eyes, they cast on their parentes a thousand louinge lokes. What is it to se them when they are vbered and angry, how they wil not be take of the father, how they strike their mother: they calfe awaye thinges of golde, & immediatly they are appeased with a litel apple or russh. What a thinge is it, to se the innocetes how they aunswere when a man asketh them, what folies they speake, when they speake to them. how they play with the dogges & ronne after the cattes: how they dresse them in wallowing in the dust. how they make houses of yearth in the streets. howe they weape after the birdes when they see them flye away. Al the which thinges are not to the eyes of the fathers & mothers, but as nittingales to sing, & as bread and meate to eate. The mothers peradventure wyl saye, that they wyl not bringe vp their chylde, bycause when they are yong they are troublesome, but after they shoulde be nourished & brought vp, they woulde be glad. To this I aunswere them, that the mothers

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thers shal not deny me, but y some of these thinges must neades mete in their chyldre: that when they be olde, they shalbe eyther proud, enuious, couetous, or negligent, that they shalbe lecherous, or els theues, y they shalbe blasphemours, or els glottrons, y they shalbe rebelles, or fooles, & disobedient vnto their fathers. I beleue that at this day there are many mothers in the world, which dyd hope to be honozed, & serued with the chyldre which they had brought vp: & afterward perceiving their maners, would willingly forgoe the pleasures whiche they hoped for, so that they might also be deliuered fro y troubles, which thorough their euil demeanours are like to ensue. For that tyme whiche the parentes hoped to passe with their children in pleasures, they consume (seing their vnrhythypelyse) in sorowfull syghes. I counsel, admonyshe, and humbly requier Princesses, & great ladies, to nourissh and enioy their children, when they are yong and tender: for after that they are great, a mā shall bringe them newes euerye daye of dynerse forces, and manners, forasmuch as the one shal say that her sonne is in pryson, and another shal saye that he is sore wounded, another that he is hyd, others that he hath plaied his cloke, others that he is flaudered with a comon harlot, another y he stealeth his goods fro him, another y hys enemyes do seke him, another y he accōpanieth with vnchrestes, & finally, they are so surdy, vnhappy, & so farre from that whiche is good: that oftentimes the fathers woulde reioyce to se them dye, rather then to see them lyue so euyl a lyfe. We thinketh that the knot of lone betwene the mother & the chyld is so great, y not only she ought not to suffer thē to be nourysshed oute of the house one hole yeare: but also she ought not to suffer them to be oute of her presence one only day. For in seing hym, she seeth that which is bozne of her intrayles, she seeth y which she hath with so greate paynes deliuered, she seeth him who ought to inherite al her goods, she

seeth hym, in whome the memozye of these auncestours remaineth: and she seeth him, who after her death ought to haue y charge of the affaires & busines. Concludyng therefore that whiche aboue is spoken, I saye that, which y great Plutarcke saied, from whome I haue drawen the moste parte of this chapter: that the mother (to be a good mother) oughte to haue and keape her child in her armes, to nouryshe hym, and afterwardes when he shalbe greate, she oughte to haue hym in her harte to healpe hym. For we see oftentimes greate euyls enselwe, to the mother, & to the chyld, because she dyd not bynge hym vp her selfe: and to put him to nouryshe to a straunge byesse, there cometh neither honoure, nor profyte.

The.xx.Chaprer.

That princesses and great ladies ought to be very circumspecte in choosinge their nources. Of seuen properties vvhich a good nource shuld haue.



Hose vvhiche ordeyned lawes for the people to lyue, werethese. Promothe which gaue lawes to y Egyptians, Solon Solinō to the grekes, Moyse to the Iewes, Ligurgus to y Lacedimoniās, & Numa Pōpilius to the Romaines: for before these printes came, their people were not gouerned by wyttē lawes, but by good aunclēt cūstomes. The intention of those excellēt printes was, not to geue lawes to their predetessours, for they were now dead: neither they gaue them onlye for those which lyued in their tyme being wicked, but also for those which were to come, whome they dyd presuppose woulde not be good. For the more the world increaseth in yeres, somuch y more it is lodē w bices. By this y I haue spokē I meane, y if y princesses & great ladies, euery on of them woulde nourishe their owne chyld, I neede not to geue

geue them counſel. But ſince I ſuppoſe y the women whiche ſhalbe deliuered hereafter, will be as proude, & vaine glorious, as thoſe which were in times paſt: we will not let to declare here ſome lawes and aduices, how the lady oughte to behaue her ſelfe with her nource, and how the nource oughte to content her ſelfe with the creature. For it is but juſte, that if the mother be cruell, and hardy to forſake the creature: that ſhe be ſage, pitiful, and aduised, to chooſe her nource. If a man finde greate treaſoure, and afterward care not how to kepe it, but doth committe it into the handes of ſuſpected parſons: truly we would call him a foole. For that whiche naturallie is beloued, is allwayes of all beſte kepte. The woman oughte more wiſely kepe the treaſoure of her owne body: then the treaſoure of all the earth, if ſhe had it. And the mother which doth the contrary, and that committeth her child to the cuſtodye of a ſtraunge nource, not to her whom ſhe thinketh beſt, but whō ſhe findeth beſte cheape: we will not call her a fooliſhe beaſt, for the name is to vnſeamlie, but we will call her a ſotte, whiche is ſomewhat more honeſter. One of the thinges that dothe make vs moſte beleue, that the ende of the worlde is at hande: is to ſee the litell loue which the mother dothe beare to the chylde beinge yonge, and to ſee the wante of loue whiche the child hath to his mother beinge aged. That whiche the childe doth to the father and the mother, is the juſte iudgement of god, that euen as the father would not nouryſhe the child in his houſe, beinge yong: ſo likewiſe that the ſonne ſhoulde not ſuffer the father in his houſe, he beinge olde. Reſtourninge therfore to the matter, that ſith the woman doth determine to bzle and ſhut vp the fountaynes of milke, whiche nature hath geue her, ſhe ought to be very dyligēt, to ſerche out a good nource: y which ought not onelye to contente her ſelfe to haue her milke hole, but alſo that ſhe be good of lyfe. For otherwiſe, the childe ſhall not haue ſo

much profit by the milke, which he ſucketh: as the nource ſhall do it harme, if ſhe be a woman of an euyl liſe. I do aduiſe princeſſes and great dames, that they watche diligently to know what their nources are, before they committe their chldzen to them: for if ſuche nources be euyl, and ſlaunders red, they are as ſerpentes whiche doe bite the mother with their mouth, and do ſtinge the childe with her tayle. In my opinion it were leſſe euill, the mother ſhoulde ſuffer that her childe ſhould periſhe in deliuering it: then for to kepe in her houſe an euill woman. For the ſorrowe of the deathe of the childe, is forgotten and brought to noughte in time: but the ſlaunder of her houſe, ſhall endure as long as ſhe lyueth. Sextus Cheronenſis ſaith, that the Emperour Marcus Aurelius commaunded his ſone to be broughte vp of a woman, the whiche was more faire then vertuous. And when the good Emperour was aduertised therof, he dyd not onelye ſende her from hys pallace, but alſo he baniſhed and exyled her from Rome: ſweringe, that if ſhe had not nouryſhed his ſonne with her pappes, he would haue commaunded her to haue bene tozned in piéces with beaſtes. For the womā of an euyl renowne, may juſtly be condemned, and put to death. The princeſſes and greate ladies ought not greatlye to paſſe, whether the nources be faire, or ſoule: for if the milke be ſwete, whyte, and tender, it litell ſkilleth though the face of the nource be whyte, or blacke. Sextus Cheronenſis ſayeth, in the booke of the nourture of chldzen, that euen as the blacke pearthe is more fertyll then is the white pearthe: ſo likewiſe the woman whiche is browne in countenance, hath alwaies the moſte ſubſtauncfull milke. Paulus Diaconus in his hiſtoy ſayeth, that the Emperour Adocerus did marye him ſelfe with the daughter of an other emperours; his predeceſſour, called Zeno, and the Emperreſſe was called Arielna. The whyche in bzyngeinge forth a ſonne, hadde a woman

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man of Hungarye marneplous sayre, to nourishe it, & the case succeeded in such sorte that y^e nource for being faire, had by y^e emperour, 3. children the one after the other: & his woful wiffe neuer had any but the firste alone. A mā ought to beleue, y^e the emperesse Ariana, did not only repēt her selfe for takinge into her house so faire a nource; but also was so, y^e euer she had any at all, syth the rybald therby was mystrisse in y^e house, & she remained wout husbände all her life. I do not say it, for that there are not many foule women vicious, nor yet because there are not many faire women vertuous: but that princesses and great ladies (acordinge to the qualities of their husbandes) ought to be profitable & tender nources, to bring by their children. For in this case, there are some men of so weake cōplexion, y^e in seing

* a litel cleane water, immediatly they dye to drinke therof. Let therfore thys be the first counsell in chousing nources, y^e the nource, befoze she enter into y^e house be examined, if she be honest, & vertuous. For it is a tryfel, whether y^e nource be faire or foule: but y^e she be of a good life, & of an honeste behauiour.

Secondarily, it is necessary y^e the nource which nourissheth y^e childe, be not only good in the behauiour of her life: but also it is necessary y^e she be hole, as touching the corporall health. For it is a rule infallible, y^e of the milke which we do suck in our infancy, dependeth all the corporall health of oure life. A child geue to the nource to nourishe, is as a tree remoued from one place to another. And if it be so (as in dede it is) it behaueth in al pointes, that if the earth where in it shalbe new put were no better, that at the lest it be not worse: for this shoulde be a great crueltie, that the mother beinge hole, strong, & wel disposed, shoulde geue her child to a leane woman to nource, whiche is feasible, soze, & diseased. Princesses and great ladies do chouse leane womē, weake, & sicke, for to nourishe their infantes. And in that they do sayle, it is not for that they woulde

erre: but it is, bycause that such feeble and weake nources (by a vaine desire they haue to be nources in a gētlmans house) on the one part they say they wyl litel money, and on the other parte they do make greate suites. What a thing it is, when a p^rincesse or a noble woman is deliuered of a child, to se the deuyfles of other women amonge them selues, who shalbe the nource, & howe those the which neuer nourished their owne children, do preserue the milke to nourishe the children of others. To procure this thinge for women, me thinketh it proccadethe of aboundaunce of folly: and to condescend to their requestes, me thinketh it is for wante of wisdom. They looke not alwaies to the manners, and habilitie of the nource; how apte she is to nource their childe, but howe diligent she is, in procuringe to haue it to nourishe. They care not greatly whether they be good or no: for yf the firste be not good, they wyl take the seconde, and yf the seconde pleaseith them not, they wyl haue the thirde, and so bpwardes vntil they haue found a good nource. But I let you to wete (you p^rincesses and great ladies) that it is moze daunger for the children to chaunge diuerse mylkes: then vnto the elde men, to eate dyuerse meates. Wee see dayly by experience, that wⁱthoute comparison, there dieth moze children of noble women, then children of women of the meaner estate. And we will not saye, that it is for that they do flatter their children moze, nor for that the wiues of labourers do eat fine meates: but that it chaunceth oft times, y^e the chylde of a poore woman, doth neither eat, nor drinke, but of one kinde of meate, or mylke in 2. yeares, and the childe of a Ladye shall chaunge & alter, 3. nources in 2. monethes. If the princesses and great ladies were circumspect in chousinge their nources, & that they did loke, whether they were hole wout diseases, & honest in their maners, & woulde not regarde so much y^e importunitie of their suites: the mothers shoulde cruse them selues from

from many sorowes, and the children likewise should be deliuered from many diseases. One of the most renowned princes in times past, was Titus the sone of Vespasian, and brother of Domitian. Lamprius saith, that this good Emperour Titus (the most part of his life) was subject to greuous diseases, and infirmities of his personne, and the cause was, for that when he was yong, he was geue to a syck nurse to be nourished, so that this good Emperour suckinge her dugge but a while, was constrained to passe all his lyfe in paine.

Thirde nye, Princes and greate Ladies, ought to knowe, and vnderstande, the complexion of their chyldren, to the ende that accordinge the same, they myghte seke pittifull nurses, that is to wete, yf a chyld were colicke, flumetie, sanguine, or melancolie: For looke what humour the childe is of, of the same qualitie, the mylke of the nurse shoulde be. If vnto an old corrupted man they minisre medecynes, conformable to his dyscales, for to cure hym: why then shoulde not the mother seeke a holesome nurse to the tender babe, agreeable to his complexion, to nourishe hym? And if thou sayest it is iuste, that the fleshe, olde, and corrupted be susteyned: I tell the likewise, that it is muche more necessarye, that the children shoulde be curiouslye and well nourished, to multiplie the world. For in the ende, we doe not saye, it is time that the yonge leaue the breade for the aged: but contrarie, it is time that the olde leaue the bread for the yong. Aristotle in the booke De secretis secretorum, & Iunius Rusticus, in p. 10. booke de gestis Persarum say, that the vnforsunate kinge Darius (who was slaine) had a daughter of a merueillous beautie. And they saie that the nurse whiche gaue sucke to this daughter al the time that she did nourishe it, did neither eate nor drinke any thing but poyson: and at the end of 3. yeares, when the childe was weyned, & plucked from the dugge, she dyd eate no

thing but Colubers, and other venemous wormes. I haue hearde saye many times, that the Emperours had a custome, to nourishe their heires, and children with poyson when they were yonge: to the entent y they shoulde not be hurte by poyson, afterwarde when they were olde. And this error cometh of those, which presume muche, and knowe litell. And therfore I say, that I haue hearde say, without sayenge I haue read it. For some declare histories, more for y they haue hearde say of others: then for that they haue read the selues. The truth in this case is, that as y Christians do at this presente, weare a litell purse, haged in their bosome, with some relique: so did the Gentils in tymes past a ringe on their fingers, or some Jewell in their bosome replenished with poyson. And bycause the Persians did neither feare hel, nor hope for heauen, they had that custome, for if at any times in battaile they shoulde find them selues in distresse, they had rather end their lyues with poyson, then to receyue any iniury of their enemies. Then if it were true that those Princes had bene nourished with that poyson, they woulde not haue caried it aboute the to haue ended their lyues. Further I say, that the princes of Persia did vse when they had any chyld borne, to geue him milke to sucke, agreeable to his complexion he had. Since this daughter of Darius was of melancholie humour, they determined to bring her vp to venim & poyson, because al those which are pure melancolie, do liue to sorow, & dye to pleasure. Ignacius Venetus in the life of p. 5. emperours Pallogoles (which were ballaunt emperours in Constantinople) saith, that the second of y name called Pallogolus y hardye, was after the 40. yeares of his age so troubled with infirmities and diseases, that allwaies of the 12. monethes of the yeare he was in his bedde sycke. 9. monethes: and beinge so sicke as he was, the affaires and busines of the empire, were but slenderly done, & looked vnto. For y prince ca
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not haue so small a fener, but the people in the common wealthe muste haue it double. This Emperour Palleogolus had a wise, whole name was Heldouina, the whyche after he had broughte all the Philosophies of his ^{unto} her husband, and that she had ministered vnto him al the medecynes she could learne to healpe him, and in the end seyng nothing auaille: ther came by chaunce an old woman, a Gretian bozne, who presumed to haue greate knowlege in herbes, and saide vnto this noble Emperesse Heldouina. If thou wilt that the emperour thy husband doe liue longe, see that thou chafe, angre, and bere him, euery weeke at the least twyse: for he is of a pure malacoly humour, and therefore he that doth him pleasure, augmenteth his disease: and he that bereth him shal prolong his life. The emperesse Heldouina followed the counsell of this Greeke woman, which was occasion, y the emperour lyued afterwardes sound, and hole many yeares: so that of the 9. moethes which he was accustomed to be sicke euery yeare: in 20. yeares afterwardes, he was not sicke. 2. monethes. For wher as this Greeke woman, commaunded the emperesse to angre her husbande but twice in the weeke, she accustomedlye angred him. 4. times in the daye.

Fourthly, the good mother ought to take hede, y the nource be very temperate in eatinge, so that she should eate litell of diuerse meates, and of those fewe dishes, she should not eate to much. To vnderstand y thinge, ye muste knowe, that the white milke is no other, then blood, which is soden, and that which causeth the good or euill blood, cometh oft times of no other thinge, but y ether the persone is temperate, or els a glutton in eating: & therefore it is a thinge both healthfull & necessary, that the nource that nourisheth the child doe eat good meates: for anonge men and women, it is a generall rule, that in litle eating, ther is no daunger: and of to much eating, there is no profyite. As all the Philosophers saye, the wolfe is

one of the beastes that deuoureth most, and is mosse greedyest, and therefore he is most feared of all the sheppardes. But Aristotle in his thirde booke de Animalibus sayeth, that when the wolfe dothe once feele her selfe greate wyth yonge, in all her lyfe after she neuer suffereth her selfe to be coupled with the wolfe againe: For otherwise, yf the wolfe shoulde yearely byynge forth. 7. or 8. whealpes (as comonly she doth) and the shepe but one lambe, there woulde be in shorte space moze wolues then shepe. Besides all thys, the wolfe hath an other propertie, whyche is, that though she be a beaste mosse deuouringe and greedy: yet when she hath whealped she eateth verie temperately, and it is, to the ende to nouryshe her whealpes, and and to haue good milke. And besydes that, she dothe eate but once in the day, the which y dogge wolfe doth prouide, both for the byche, and her whealpes. Trulye it is a monstherous thing to see, and noysome to heare, and no lesse sclauderous to speake, that a wolfe whyche geneth sucke to 8. whealpes, eateth but one onelye kynde of meate: and a woman which geneth sucke but to one chylde alone, wyll eate of eyght sortes of meates. And the cause hercof is, that the beaste dothe not eate, but to suffice his nature: and the woman dothe not eate, but to satisfie her pleasure.

Pryncesses and greate Ladies oughte to wathe narrowly, to knowe when, and howe muche the nources doe eate, which doe nouryshe their children: For the chylde is so tender, and the mylke so delycate, that with eatinge of sondry meates they become corrupte, and wyth eatynge muche, they waxe fatte. If the children suck those which are fatte and grosse, y they are commonlye sycke, and yf they sucke mylke corrupted, they ofte tymes go to bedde hole, and in the morninge be founde deade. Isodore in his etimologies saith, that men of the prouince of Thrace were so cruell, that the one byd eate the other, and they byd not only

onely this, but also furder to shewe moze their inmanitie, in the sculles of those that were deade, they dranke the bloude of him that was lately alyue. Thoughe men were so cruell to eate mennes fleshe, and to drinke the bloud of the vaines: yet the womē which nourished their chylzen were so temperate, and moderate in eating, that they dyd eate nothinge but nettelles soden, and boyled in goates milke. And because the women of Thrace were so moderate in eatinge; the philosopher Solon Solynon brought some to Athens; for y^e auncietes sought no lesse to haue good women in the comen wealth, then to haue hardy and valiaunt captaines in the warre.

The. xxi. Chapter.

The auctoure addeth .3. other conditions to a good nurse.



THE Princeesses and great ladies may know by this example, what difference there is betwene the women of Thrace, whiche are fed with nettelles only, and haue brought forth such fierce men: & the women of our tyme, which through their delicate, & excessive eatinge, bringe forth suche weake and feable chylzen.

Fistly, the Ladies ought to be very circumspecte, not onely that nources eate not much, and that they be not greedy: but also that they be in drynkinge wine temperate, the which in old time was not called wine, but benymin. The reaso hereof is apparant & manifest ynough, for if we doe forbidde the fatte meates whiche lieth in the stomacke: we shoulde then muche moze forbidde the moyste wine, whiche washeth al the vaines of the bodye. And further I say, that as the

childe hath no other nourishment, but the milke onely, and that the milke proceedeth of bloud, and that bloud is nourished of the wine, and that wine is naturallie whot: a primo ad vltimum. I say, the womā which drinkeh wine, and geneth the childe sucke, doth as she that maketh a great fire vnder the panne, wher ther is but a litle milke: so that the panne burneth, and the milke runneth ouer. I will not denaye, but that sometimes it may chaunce, that the chylde shalbe of a strong complexion, and the nource of a feable and weake nature: and the chylde woulde moze substantiall mylke, when the woman is not able to geue it him. In suche a case (though with other thinges milk may be conferred) I allow that the nource drinke a lytell wine: but it ought to be so lytell, and so well watered, that it shoulde rather be to take awaye the vnseasonableness of the water, then for to taste of any sauour of the wine. I do not speake this withoute a cause, for the nource beinge sicke, and feable of her selfe, and her milke not substantiall, it oftentimes moueth her to eate moze then necessitie requirereth, and to drinke wine, which is somewhat nutritiue: so that they supposing to giue the nource tryacle, do giue her poison to destroye her childe. Those excellent and auncient Romaynes, yf they had bene in our tyme, and that we had deserved to haue bene in theyr tyme (thoughe our time for beinge Christians is better) they had saued vs from this traunyle, for they were so temperate in eatinge meates, and so abstinent in drynkinge wyne, that they dyd not onely refrayne the drynkinge thereof, but also they would not abyde to smell it. For it was a greater shame vnto a Romayne woman, to drynke wyne, then to be deuorced from her husbande. Dionisius Alicarnaseus in hys booke of the lawes, of the Romaynes sayed, that Romulus was the fyrste founder of Rome, and that he occupied hym selfe moze in buyldynge houses, to amplifie Rome: then in constitutynge lawes.

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lawes, for the gouernement of the common wealth. But amongest. 18. lawes whiche he made, the seuenth therof was, that no Romaine woman on paine of death, should be so hardye to drinke wine within the walles of Rome. The same Hystorian saith, that by the occasion of this lawe, the custome was in Rome, that when any Romaine Ladye would drinke wine, or make any solemne feaste, she muste nedes issue oute of Rome, where euery man had his dwelling place: because the smell also of wine, was prohibited and forbidden women within the circuit of Rome. If Plinie do not deceyue vs in his. 24. booke of his naturall hystory, It was an auncient custome in Rome, that at eche time that parentes mette, both men and women, they did kisse the one the other in the face, in token of peace: and this ceremony beganne firste, for that they would smell, whether the woman had dronke any wine. And if perchaunce she sauored of wine, the Censor mighte haue banished her from Rome. And if her kinsman found her without Rome, he might frely and without any daunger of lawe, put her to death: because within the circuit & walles of Rome, no priuat man, by Justice coulde put any Romaine to deathe. As aboue is reherfed, Romulus was he, which ordeined the paine for dronkardes: and Ruptilius was he, which ordeined the paine for aduolterers. And betwene Romulus, and Ruptilius, there was. 320. yeares: so that they ordeyned this straight lawe for dronkardes, a longe time before they did the law for adulterers. For if a woman be a dronkarde, or harlot, truly they are both great faultes, and I can not tell whether of them is worst: for being a harlotte, the woman loseth her name, and for being a dronkard, she loseth her fame, and the husbände his goodes. Then yf women for the honestie of their personnes only, are bound to be temperate in eating and drincking: the woman whiche nourisheth & giueth the child sucke, ought to be much more

corrected, and sober in this case. For in her is concurrante, not onely the grauitie of their personnes: but the health and life also of the creature, whiche she nourisheth. Therefore it is mete, that the nourse be kepte fro wine, since the honour of the one, & the lyfe of the other is in peryll.

Sixtly the princesses and greate Ladies oughte to take hede, that their nourses be not gotten with child. And the reason hereof is, that in that time when the woman is with childe, her natural course is stopped, & that corruption is mingled with the pure bloud: so that she thinking to giue the child milke to nourish it, geueth it poyson to destroy it. And nothing can be more vnjuste, then to put the child (which is already bozne, and alieue) in daunger, for that whiche is as yet vnbozne, and dead. Plurarche in the. 7. of his regimēt of princes saith, that Cneus Fuluius (Cousin of Pompeius) beinge consull in Rome, fell in loue with a yonge mayden of Capua being an orphan. This maiden was called Sabina, and when she was greate with childe by this consull, she brought forth a daughter whom they called faire Drusia: and truly she was more commended for her beautie, then for her honesty. For oftentimes it happeneth, that the fayre and dishonest women lene their children so euill taught, that of their mothers they inherite litell goodes, and muche dishonour. This Sabina therfore beinge deliuered (as it was the custome of Rome) she did with her owne brestes nourish her daughter Drusia: duringe the whiche time, she was begottē with childe, by one of the knightes of this Consull, to whom (as to his seruante) he had geuen her to kepe. Wherefore when the Consul was hereof aduertised, and that notwithstandinge she gaue her daughter sucke: he commaunded that the knight should be immediatly beheaded, & his loue Sabina forthwith to be caste into a well. The daye of execution came, that both these parties shoulde suffer, wherfore the wofull Sabina sent

sent to beseeche the consull, that it woulde please him befoze her death, to geue her audience of one sole word y she woulde speake vnto hym, the which being come in the presence of them al, sayed vnto hym. ¶ Gneus Fuluius, I dyd not call the to thende thou shuldest graūt me life, but because I would not dye befoze I had sene thy face: though thou of thy selfe shuldest remember, that as I am a frayle woman, & fel into sinne with the in Capua: so I might fal now (as I haue done) with another in Rome. For we women are so frayle in this case, durynge the time of this our myserable lyfe: y none can keape her selfe sure, from the assaultes of the weake fleathe. The consull Gneus Fuluius to these woordes aunswered: the gods immortal I reclaime Sabina, what grese it is to my wofull harte, that I of thy secrete offence, shuld be an open scourge. For greater honesty it is, for men to hyde your frailties: then openly to puny the your offences. But what wilt thou I shuld do in this case, considering the offence thou hast comitted: by y immortal gods I sweare vnto the, and agayne I sweare, that I had rather thou shouldest secreatly haue procured the death of some man: then that openly in this wyse thou should haue slandered my house. For now thou knowest the true meanyng of the commō prouerbe in Rome. It is better to die in honoure, then to lyue in infamy. And thinke thou not (Sabina) that I doe comdemne the to dye because thou forgottest thy faiet h vnto my person, and that thou gauest thy selfe to hym whiche kepte the: for sinse thou werste not my wyse, the lybertye thou haddest to come with me from Capua to Rome, y selfe same thou haddest to goe with another from Rome to Capua. It is an euil thing for vittous men, to reprove the vices of others, wherin they them selues are faulty. The cause why I comdempe the to dye, is for the remembraunce of the olde lawe, the which commaundeth, that no nourse or woman geuynge sucke, shoulde on payne of

death be begotten with child, truly the lawe is veray iust. For honest women do not suffer, that in geuynge her chylde sucke at her breast, the shuld hide another in her incryples. These woordes passed betwene Gneus Fuluius the consull, and the ladye Sabina of Capua. Howbeit as Plutarcke saiet, in that place the consull had pytye vpon her, and shewed her fauoure, banyshtynge her vpon condicion, neuer to retourne to Rome agayne. Cina Catullus in y forth booke of the 20. consulles sayeth, that Caius Fabricus was on of y most notable cōsulles that euer was in Rome, & was soze afflicted with diseases in hys lyfe, onely because he was nourished. 4. monethes with the mylke of a nource being great with child: and for feare of this, they locked the nource with the child in the temple of the vestal virgines, where for the space of. 3. yeaeres they were kepte. They demaunded the consull, why he did not nourish the his chyldzen in his house: he aunswered: the chyldzen being nourished in the house, it might be an occasiō, that y nource shoulde be begotten with chylde, and so she shoulde destroy the chyldzen with her corrupt milke, and furder shuld geue me occasion to doe iustice vpon her person: wherefore keeping them so shut vp, we are occasiō to preserve their life, and also oure chyldzen from peril. Diodorus Siculus & Sextus Cheronēsis saiet, in y lyfe of Marcus Aurelius, that in the Isles of Baleares there was a custome, that the nourses of yonge chyldzen (whether they were their owne, or others) shoulde be seuered from their husbandes, for the space of. 2. yeaeres. And the woman whiche at that tyme (though it were by her husbande) were with chylde, though they did not chastice her as an adultresse: yet every man spake euyll of her as of an offender. Durynge the tyme of these. 2. yeaeres, to the end the husband shoulde take no other wyse, they commaunded that he shuld take a concubine, or that he shoulde bye a slaue, whose companye he myghte vse as hys wyse: for

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amongest these barbarous, he was honoured moste, who had 2. wyues, the one with chylde, and thother not. By these examples aboue recyted, Princesses and great Ladies maye see, what watche and care they ought to take, in chousyng their nources, that they be honest, sinse of them dependeth, not only the healtche of their chyldren: but also, the good fame of their houses.

The seuenth condicion is, that princesses and greate Ladies ought to se their nources haue good condicions, so that they be not troublefome, proude, harlots, lyers, malicious, nor flatterers: for the viper hathe not somuche popson, as the woman whiche is euell conditioned. It litel auailleth a man, to take wyne from a woman, to entreate her to eate litel, and to withdraue her from her husbände, if of her owne nature she be hatefull, and euell manered: for it is not so greate daunger vnto the chylde, that the nource be a dronckarde, or a Glutton, as it is, if she be harmefull, and malicious. If perchauce the nource (that nourissheth the chylde) be euell conditioned: trulye she is euell troubeled, and the house wherein she dwelleth, euell combred. For suche one doeth importune & lorde, troubleth the ladye, putterh in hazard the childe, & aboue al, is not contented with her selfe. Finallye fathers for geuing to muche libertye to their nources, oftentimes, are the cause of many practises, whiche they doe: wherewith in the ende, they are greued with the death of their chyldren: whiche foloweth. Amongest all these whiche I haue red, I saye, that of the auntyent Romayne princes, of so good a father as Drusus Germanicus was, neuer came so wycked a sonne, as Caligula was, beinge the fourth Emperoure of Rome: for the histoyrographers were not satisfied, to enryche and prayse the excellencies of hys father, neither ceased they to blame and reprehende the infamyes of hys sonne. And they saye, that hys naughtines procedeth not of the mother whiche bare hym: but of

the nource which gaue hym sucke. For oftentimes it chaunceth, that the tree is greene and good, when it is planted, and afterwarde it becommeth dyye, and wythered, only for beinge caryed into another place. Dion the greke, in the seconde booke of Cefars sayeth, that a cursed womā of Campana, called Pressilla, nourysshed and gaue sucke vnto this wycked chylde. She had agaynst all nature of women, her breaestes as heary as the berdes of men, and besides that, in running a horse, handelyng her staffe, thoringe in the Crosbowe, fewe yonge men in rome were to be copared vnto her. It chaunced on a time, that as she was geuing sucke to Caligula, for y she was angrye, she tore in peces a yonge chylde, and with the bludde thereof, annoynted her breaestes: and so she made Caligula the yonge chylde, to sucke together both bludde and mylke. The sayed Dion in hys booke of the lyfe of this Emperoure Caligula sayeth, that the women of Campana (whereof the sayed Pressilla was) had this custome, that whē they would geue their teate to the chylde, firste they dyd annoynte the hed therof, with the bludde of a Gollchauke, to the ende their chyldren myghte be moze fyerce and cruel.

And so was this Caligula, for he was not contented to kylle a man onelye, but also he sucked the bludde that remainned on hys swerde, and lycked it of with hys tong. The excellent Poet Homer meaning to speake playnelye of the cruelties of Pirrus sayeth in hys Odysse of hym, suche wordes: Pirrus was borne in Grece, nurisshed in Archadie, and brought vp with tigers milke, which is a cruel beaste. As if moze plainlye he had sayed Pirrus, for beinge borne in Grece, was Sage, for that he was brought vp in Archadie he was stronge, and courageous, and for to haue sucked Tigers mylke, he was veraye proude, and cruel. Hereof maye be gathered, that the greate Cretian Pirrus, for wanting of good milke was ouercome with euell condicions.

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The selfe same hystoryan Dion sayeth in the lyfe of Tiberius, that he was a great dronckarde. And the cause hereof was, that the nource dyd not onelye drynke wyne: but also she weined the chylde, with soppes dyped in wyne. And wythoute doubte, the cursed woman had done lesse euyl, if in the steade of mylke she had geuen the chylde popson, wythoute teachynge it to drinke wyne: to wherefore afterwarde he losse hys renowme. For trulye, the Romayne Empire had losse lytell, when Tiberius was dead beyng a chylde: and it had wonne much, if he had neuer knowen what drynkynge of wyne had mente.

I haue declared all that whiche before is mencyoned, to the entente that Princes and greates Ladies myghte be aduertised, that sinse in not nourysshynge their chyldezen, they shewe them selues cruel: yet at the leaste in prouydyng for them good nources, they shoulde shewe them selues pytyfull. For the chyldezen oftentimes, folowe moze the condicion of the milke which they sucke: then the condicion of their mothers whiche broughte them forth, or of their fathers whiche begotte them. Therefore they oughte to vse muche circumspection herein: for in them consisteth the fame of the wyues, the honoure of the husbände, and the wealth of the chyldezen.

The.xxii.Chapter.

¶ Of the disputations before Alexander the greates, concerninge the suckynge of babes, and of dyuers customes, whiche the auncientes vsed in this behalfe.



VINTVS Curtius sayeth, that after the great Alexāder (which was the last kyng of the Macedoniens, & firste Emperour of y grekes) had ouercome kyng Darius, and that he sawe hym selfe onelye lord of all Asia, he went to rest in babylon: for among men of warre there was a custome, that after they had ben long in the warres, euery on shuld retter to his owne house. king Philip (which was father of kinge Alexander) alwayes counselled hys sonne, that he shoulde leade with him to the warres valiant captaynes, to conquere the world: and that oute of hys realmes and dominions, he shuld take and choose the wyssest men, and best experymentred to governe the empire. He had reason in suche wyse to counsel hys sonne, for by the counsel of Sages, that is kepte and maintained: which by the strengthe of balyaune men, is gotten and wonne. Alexander the greates therfore being in Babilon, after he had conquered al the countrey, sinse all the cite was vicious, and hys armye so longe without warres, some of his owne men began to robbe one another, others to playe their owne, some to force womē, and others to make banquettes and feastes, and when some were droncke, others raised quarels, strifes, and dyscenyons: so that a man coulde not tell whether was greater, the rousse in their armours, or the corrupcions in their customes. For the property of mans malice is, that whē the gate is open to solennes, infynite vyces enter into the house.

Alexander the greates, seing the dysolusion which was in hys armye, and the losse which myght ensewe hereof vnto his great empire, commaunded streightlye, that they shoulde make a shewe and iuste thorough Babilon, to the ende that the men of warre shoulde excersyse their forces thereby. And as Aristotle sayeth, in the booke of the

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questions of Babylon, the turney was so much vsed, amongst them, that sometimes they caried away more dead and wounded men, then of a bloudye battayle of the enemies. Speakyng accoꝝdyng to the lawe of the gentyles (which looked not gloꝝye for their vertues, noꝝ feared hell to dye) at the toꝝney the commaundemente of Alexander was veraye iuste, for that, doinge as he dyd to the armye, he defaced the vice which dyd wasse it, and for hym selfe he got perpetuall memoꝝy, and also it was cause of muche suretye in the common weale.

This good Pꝛince not contented to exercise his armye so, but ordeined, that daylye, in hys pꝛesence the phylosophers should dyspute, and the question wherein they shuld dyspute, Alexander hym selfe would propounde, whereof folowed, that the greate Alexander was made certayne of that wherein he doubted: and so by his wisdom all men exercysed their craftes and wittes.

For in this tyme of idlenes, the booke were no lesse marred with dust, because they were not opened: then the weapons were with ruste, which were not occupied. There is a booke of Aristotle, intituled the questions of Babilon, where is sated, that Alexander propounded, the Phylosophers dysputed: the pꝛyncipalles of Persia replied, and Aristotle determyned. And so continued in disputations as long as Alexander dyd eate: for at the table of Alexander, one day the captaynes reasoned of matters of warre, and another daye the Phylosophers dysputed of their philosophy. Bludus sayeth in the booke intituled, Italia Illustrata, that amonge the Pꝛynces of Persia there was a custome, that none coulde sit downe at the table, vnlesse he were a kynge in battayle, and none coulde speake at their table, but a Phylosopher. And trulye the custome was veraye notable, and worthy to be noted: for there is no greater follye then for anye man to desire that a Pꝛince shoulde rewarde hym, vnlesse he know that

by hys woꝝkes he had deserued the same.

Kynge Alexander, dyd eate but one meale in the daye, and therefore the firste question that he propounded vnto them was. That the man which dyd not eate but once in the daye, at what houre it was best to eate, for the healthe of hys personne, and whether it shoulde be in the moꝝnyng, none dayes, or nyght: This question was debated among the phylosophers, wherof euery one to defende hys oppnyon, alleaged manye foundations. For no lesse care haue the Sages in their myndes, to issewe oute of them dysputations victoꝝyous: then the balaunt captaynes haue in aduenturing their parsones, to banquyshe their enemies. It was determyned: as Aristotle maketh mention in his Probleames, that the man whiche eateth but once in the daye, shoulde eate a lytel before nyght: for it auayleth greatlye to the health of the body, that when the digestion beginneth in the stomacke, a man taketh hys firste sleape.

The seconde question that Alexander propounded was, what age the chylde shoulde haue, when he shoulde be weyned from the dugge. And the occasion of this question was, for that he had begoten a yong daughter of a Quene of the Amazones, which at that tyme dyd sucke: and for to knowe whether it were tyme or not, to weyne her, there was greate dysputations. For the chylde was nowe great to sucke, and weake to weyne. I haue declared this hystoꝝy for no other purpose, but to shew howe in Babilon this question was dysputed, before king Alexander, that is to wete, howe manye yeares the chylde oughte to haue before it were weyned fro the teate: for at that time, they are so ignorant, that they cannot demaunde that that is good, noꝝ complaine of that whiche is nought. In that case a man oughte to knowe, as the tymes are varyable, and the regions and pꝛouynce dyuers: so lyke wyse haue they sondꝝre wayes of byngyng by, and nouryschyng their chyl-

men: for there is asmuche difference betwene the contreyes of one, from the contreyes of others; in dyeng, and buryeng the dead bodies, as there hath ben varyetys in the worlde, by waye of nourysshinge and byngynge by of chyldren.

The.xxiii.Chapter.

Of sondrye kindes of forceries, charmes and vvitchecraftes, whiche they in olde time vsed in geuing their children sucke, the vvhich Chriffians ought to eschevye,



Tis not much from our purpose, if I declare here some olde examles of those which are past. Strabo in his booke de situ Orbis sayeth, that after the Assirians, the first which reigned in the worlde, and made a seignorie, were the Siconians, otherwise called Archades, whiche were greate and famous wasslers, and scolemasters at the fence, from whom came the best and first masters of fence, the whiche the Romaynes keppe alwayes for their plates: for as Trogus Pompeius saith, the romaynes founde it by experyence, that ther were no better me in weigthyffaires, then those of Spaine, nor no people apter to plates & pastimes, then those of Archadia. As those Siconians were auncient, so they were marueilouslpe addited to follyes and superstitious in their vsages and customes: for among other, they honored for their god the Moone. And durynge the time y she was sene, they gaue their chyldren sucke, imagining that if the Moone thyned bypon the brestes of the mother, it would doe muche good vnto the chyld. The auctour hereof is

Cina Catullus, in h booke, De educadis pueris. And as the same hystorian saith the egyptians were great enemyes to the Siconians, so that al y which the one did alowe, the others dyd reppone, as it appereth. For asmuch as the Siconians loued olines and achornes, they were clothed w linnen, and woishypped the Moone for their god. The Egyptians for the contrary, had no olines, neyther they nourished anye okes, they did were no linnen, they woishypped the sonne for their god, and aboue all, as the Siconians dyd geue their chyldren sucke, whyles the Moone dyd thyn: so the egyptians gaue their chyldren sucke, whyles the sonne dyd thyn. Amonge other folyes of the Caldians this was one, that they honoured the fier for their god, so that he that was not marved, coulde not lighte fier in his house: bycause they sayed, the custodie of Gods shoulde be commytted to none, but to marved and auncient men. They had in maryages suche order, that the daye when anye chyldren dyd marve, the priestes came into hys house to lyghte newe fier: the whiche neuer oughte to be put out, vntyl the houre of his death. And if perchaunce during the life of the husbände, and of the wyfe, they shoulde finde the fier ded and put out: the maryage betwene them was dede, and vndone, yea though they had ben. 40. yeares togethers before in suche sorte. And of this occasion, came the prouerbe which of many is redde, and of fewe vnderstandyd: that is to wete, doe not vnto me, as the water hath done to the fier. The Chaldeans vsed such wordes, when they woulde denoure, and seporate the maryage: for if the woman were ylle contented with her husbände, in castynge a lytel water on the fier, immediatelp she myghte marve with another. And if the husbände in lyke maner dyd put out the fier, he myghte with another woman contracte maryage. I haue not bene married as yet, but I suppose there are many chrystians whiche wyssheth to haue at this

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present the liberty of the Chaldes: for I am wel assured, there are manye men, which would cast water on the fier, to escape from their wiues: also I sweare, that there would be a number of women whiche would not onely put out the fier, but also the ashes, timbers, and coles, to make them selues free, and to be dyspatched of their husbandes, and in especialle, from those, whiche are selous.

Therefore returnyng to oure matter, the Chaldeans made before the fier, all notable thinges in their lawe, as before their God. For they dyd eate before the fier, they slepte before the fier. They dyd con- tracte before the fier, and the mothers dyd neauer geue the chyldren sucke, but before the fier. For the mylke (as they imagined) dyd profyte the chyld when it sucked before the fier, which was their god. The authour of this that is spoken, is Cyna Catullus. The Mauritaines whiche at this presente are called the realmes of Marnegues, were in tymes past warlike men: of whome the Romaynes had greate victories, and the more valyaunte the men were in the war- res: somuch more superstitious their wiues were in sozceres, charmes, and enchaunte-
 mentes. For the husbände that is longe ab- sent from hys wyfe, ought not to maruaile, though in her he fynde some faulter. Ci- cero in the booke De natura deorum, and muche more at large Bochas sayeth, that as many men and women, as were in that realme: so manye Gods there were among the people. For euerye one had one parti- cular God to hym selfe: so that the God of the one, was not the God of the other. And this was to be vnderstand in the weke daies. For in the dayes of their feastes, they had other Gods, the whiche altogether they dyd honoure. The maner that they had in chosynge Gods when a woman was with chyld. She wente to the sacryfyce of the idoll, and tolde hym that she was great with chyld, and besought hym to geue her a god

for her chyld. And the sacrificer gaue her a lytel idoll of stone, golde, syluer, or of woode, the which the mother hanged at the necke of the child. And as often as the child dyd sucke the dugge so ofte the mother put- teth the idoll on his face. For otherwyle, she had not geuen hym a droppe of mylke to sucke, vnlesse firste she had consecrated to the god the mylke of her breste. That which I haue spoken is lytel, in respecte of that I wyl speake, which is, that if perchaunce the chyld dyed before the tyme, or that anye yonge man by some peryllous mychappe dyed before he was somewhat aged: the fa- thers and kinnesmen of the dead did assem- ble, and came to the idoll of hym, eyther ston- ned it, honge it, drowne it, burnt it, or els they caste it into the deape wel, sayeng, that sith the Gods dyd kyll man withoute reason: that they myghte lawfullye kyll them by iustyce. The same Bochas in the seconde booke De natura deorum saith that the Allobroges had a custome, that those whi- che were prestes of the gods shuld from the wombe of their mothers be chosen vnto that dignity.

And as soon as the chyld was borne, before he tasted the mylke of the brest, they caried it into a priestes house: for they had a custome, that the man whiche had tasted the thinges of the worlde, myght not to serue the gods in the temples. One of the lawes that the sayed prestes had, was that not onely they could not by violence shed anye bloude, nor yet see it, neyther touche it: so that immediatly as the priest shoulde by chaunce touche mannes bloude, euen so sone he losse hys priesthode.

This lawe afterwarde was so narrowly looked vnto, that the prestes of the Allo- broges dyd not onely not shedde bloude, dryncke it, touched it when they were now men: nor yet dyd they geue them anye mylke at all: for mylke is no other, but bloude sodden, and that whyche is coloured, is raw mylke, Pulio in the booke

De educandis pueris saith, that the auncientes had a certain kinde of reedes, that breakinge it in sondre, there issued whyte milke, wherewith they accustomed to nourish the children: but let it be as it is, that this lawe prohibite children their mylke, which hereafter shoulde be made priestesses of the temples: me thinketh it is a trick rather of superstitious sozcerers, then of religious priestesses. For ther is neither deitie nor humane lawe, that wyll forbide, or prohibite any suche thinge, without the which mans lyfe can not endure. These were the manners and customes, that the auncientes hadde in the nouriture of their children.

And in dede I meruayle not at that they dyd, for the gentilles called this cursed Idoll for as greate a God: as wee Christians doe the true and luyngge **G O D**. I was willinge to declare all these Antiquities, to the end that princesses and great Ladies shoulde haue pleasure in reedyng them and knowinge them: but not to that the ende they shoulde imitate and folowe them in any kinde of thinge. For according to the faith of our Christian religion, as sure as we be of the offences that those dyd vnto god through folowinge those superstitions: so sure we are of the good seruyces which we do vnto god in forsaking the. How long time the mothers ought to geue their children sucke, & what age they ought to weyne them, not for that whiche I haue red, nor for that whiche I haue demaunded in this case I am able to aunswere: but for as muche as Aristotle saith, in the booke about named, that the childe at the moste ought to suck but. 2. yeares, and at the lest, one yeare, and an halfe. For if he suck lesse, he is in daunger to be sycke, and yf he sucke moze, he shall be alwaies tender. I will not omit y whiche Sextus Cheronenis saith, in the. 4. booke of his commien wealth. And hereof Boccace also maketh mencion in the thirde booke De natura deorum, that when Alexander the great passed into In-

dia, amongst other renowned Philosophers, there was one with him called Arethus, who (as by chaunce he was in Nissa an auncient Citie of India) there came a man of that countrey to shewe him suche antiquities as were ther. Arethus the philosopher behelde them as a sage and wyse man. For the simple man onely beholdeth the doinges, and howe they seme: but the sage man enquireth, and demaundeth of the causes, and from whence they came. Among other thinges, he shewed this good philosopher a great house, being in the end of the citie, and therein were many women, whereof euerye one of them had a chambze, and in euery chambze there was, 2. beddes, and adioynge to the one, herbes were sowen in maner of nettels, and adioynng to the other, there was a kinde of twigges, as of Kosmarpe, and in the middes of the the house, there were many graues of smal children. The philosopher Arethus asked why that house was so great, and the Indian answered him. This house is to nourish the children which are orphanes, when they be of their parentes or frendes abandoned. For it is a custome in this citie, that immediatly when the father of one chylde dieth, the citie then taketh him for her sone. And from that time forwarde, he is called the childe of the citie, which nourisheth him: and not the childe of the father, whiche begotte him.

Arethus the philosopher secondarilye asked him, why there were so many women in that house, without any man amonge them: wherunto the Indian answered: in this countrey there is a custome, that the women are seuered from their husbandes, al the time they are occupied in nourishing children. For the will of our Gods is, that the women be not in companie with her husbande after she is with childe, and this not onely vntill suche time as she is deliuered: but also vntill suche time as the chylde be weyned, from the milke of her breste.

The philosopher Arethus thirde demaunded him, why euery one had her chambze seuerally: the Indian aunswered. Thou knoweste, that now naturally reigne th so muche malice in the woman, that she alwaies enuiereth the felicitie of an other. And if they were altogether, they woulde haue amongst them suche quarrelles and debates, & they woulde corrupt the milk, whiche they shoulde geue to the child.

Forthly the philosopher Arethus asked, why in euery chambze there was a greatesse bed, and a litell bed, since there was but one woman, & one childe: whereunto the Indian aunswered. In this India they do not consent, that the nources shuld slepe together in one bed with the yong childe, whom they nourish: for when the women are heauy on sleape, they take no heed to the child, but oft times smother it aliue.

Fiftly the philosopher asked why soynng to the beddes, there was nettelles which are without sauour in eating, and dangerous in touching: The Indian aunswered. I let the know, that in this India (against al nature) the children wepe not, whiles they are yong, and therfore they haue growinge by the beddes, nettelles to make them weape: for our philosophers telleth vs, that if daily the childe doth weape, & houres, it prospereth him, not only for the health of his body, but also for to prolonge his life.

Furthermoze the philosopher for the first asked, why there was so manye swygges like rosmarye by the bed side: wherunto the Indian aunswered. Know thou, that in India there is an olde plague, that we can not defende our selues from these witches, the which by their sorceries, and with the only lookes of their eyes, destroyeth many children: and they say, that all the children whiche shalbe perfumed with those herbes, can take no hurte throughte the lookes of those witches.

The xxiiii. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich Marcus Aurelius sent to his frende, in the end vvhich, he enuyeth againste those, vvhiche cure children by sorceries, charmes and enchaunementes.



DRINCESSES and greatesse Ladies ought to take heed, & their nources be not witches, and that they doe not suffer the babes (whiles they are yet yong) to take any charmes or sorceries: for the medecin putteth the life of the creature in peryll, and those sorcerers doe not onely harme to the bodye of the childe, but also to the soule of her selfe whiche bleth it. To prayse moze them that are past, and to confounde moze the presente, I wyll that those whiche shall reade this, do reade a letter of Marcus Aurelius, whiche he sente to a frende of hys, in the end wherof it appeareth how great enemies the ancientes were to witches, charmers, and to all kinde of sorcerers: for truly I knowe not which was greater, either the temperance that they had in nourishinge their children beinge gentilles, or the foolish hardinesse whiche we haue beinge Christians.

Here foloweth therfore the letter in the end of the whiche, he speaketh againste witches and euill women.

The Letter of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius.



MARCUS Aurelius the Roman Emperour, selow with his brother Annius Verus, in the same Empire, wytheth to the Dedalus his especiall frend, health to thy personne, & good fortune againste all euill.

Since

Since the daye that thou diddest take ship-
pinge at the haven of Ostia, I read no let-
ter of thine, neyther haue I sene as yet, any
man of thy house: yea and more ouer, they
coulde not tell me whether thou were ali-
ue or deade. Wherefore thy frendes dyd
ymagine, that some mishappe befell to the,
and thy shippe, or els for the myslikinge of
the countrey, thou shuldest retorne againe.

Because that men, whiche doe sayle (as
thou) goe alwaies in daunger to be drow-
ned, by some tempest, and if they do escape,
they doe dispayre in the straunge Countrey
by solitarines: but when I sawe Fronton
thy seruante, I was verie ioyfull, and
much more, when I vnderstoode thou
were alyue, after thy greate trouaile.

Trulye I receyued greate pleasure of that
thou wyrtelle in thy letter, that thou arte
contented with the countrey: for to me it is
a straunge thing, that a man being noury-
shed in the delyciousnes of Rome, shoulde
finde him selfe contented in an other stra-
unge Realme and nation. When Rome
was Rome, and Italye was named greate
Greece, thither came of all sortes of people
and nations, to learne vertues and nobles-
ties, and others for to geue them selues to
vices and pleasures. Bycause (if Titus Livi-
us deceiue me not) Rome spent al her treas-
urers in Asia, and Asia employed all her
vices, and delicatenes in Rome. Thou wyrt-
elle to me in thy letter of so many thinges,
and Fronton thy seruante hath tolde me
so many newes of that land, that by the in-
mortall gods, I sweare vnto the, I can not
tell what for to wyrtte vnto the, nor what to
aunswere thy seruante: for the more the
straunge newes do please the eares in hea-
ringe them, so much the more do they seeme
to be vncredible. The noble and stout per-
sonages, though they woulde be reassured
and Iudged true in their sayinges, ha-
vinge sene many wonders with their eyes:
yet when they doe counte them, then they
oughte to be very moderate in their tonges

For it is a shame to the honest man, to de-
clare a thinge, wherein may be any doubte,
whether it be true or not. I wyll bypelys
aunswere all the thinges of thy letter, and
thy aunswere shalbe, not accordidg to thy
desire: but accordinge to that I perceyue
of the, and the worlde.

And before I begine, I beseeche the, that
yf my penne shall erre in wyrtinge, that thy
harte pardon me. For thy fewe yeares,
as yet doth not lette the knowe the worlde:
and my whyte heares, and hoied bearde,
dothe geue me audacitye to aduertise the
of that whyche is to come, and to condemne
the, of that whyche is passe.

Thou sayeste, that in the sea thou haste
passe many daungers, and that for to ligh-
ten the shippe, thou dydeste caste muche
of thy goodes into the sea. In this case, me
thinketh thou oughteste greatly to thanke
the tempestuous waues, whiche hauinge
power to drowne the, contented them sel-
ues with thy marchaundise. For they
whiche sayle the Seas oughte to haue res-
pecte, not onely to the goodes which they
losse: but also to thy lyfe whiche they saued.

Thou sayeste, that in the sea thou were
greately accompanied with passengiers,
and that thou haste tarried lenger in thy vi-
age then thou thoughteste, or diddeste de-
sire. This I saye vnto the, my frende De-
dalus, that though the dayes were manye
thou diddest stay: yet notwithstandinge the
griefes were more, whiche thou recetuedst.
For it is vnpossible, that those men whiche
saile much, should not be troubled with the
martiners, and also in feare of tempestes.

To that I aunswere the, the more thou
were loden with companions, the lesse thy
money weyed: for it is a generall rule, that
where the iorney is longe, and the compa-
nye great, there the purce of necessitie must
nedes wae thinne. Thou sayeste, that tho-
rough the moisture of the sea, asone as
thou were landed, thou diddest feelee thy self
taken with the goate,

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To thys I aunswere the, that thou hast the goute in thy feete, or els in thy handes: and if thou haste it in thy feete, it shalbe an occasion that thou shalte kepe thy house, and if thou haste it in thy handes, it shalbe an occasion that thou shalte playe no moze at Tables (as thou were wonte to doe) and also thou shalte not wasse (as thou haste done) thy owne money. And if thou haste not chaunged the condicjon (whiche thou haddeste) I am assured, that onelye for to encrease thy goodes, thou wilt thinke thy golvre welcome. Thou sayest, in that Countrey thou haste founde many soueraine and experte Phisitians, for to remedye thy diseases. To that I aunswere, as Plato sayeth, that in the countrey where there is many Phisitians, there are manye byces, and manye bitious: For man by excessyue delicatenes commeth to syckenes, and by the meane tranayle, he is healed. As longe as our auncient fathers were wythoute Phisitians in Rome, whiche was .4. yeares: so longe, and no moze, they helwed them selues sober, in eatinge and drynking. For euen as by temperaunce, healthe proceedeth: so of Whilicke, proceedeth glotony.

* Thou sayeste, that the countrey is verye aboundaunte, and that amongeste other thinges there is muche woode, whiche wee lacke here in Rome. To this I aunswere, that if thou haste muche woode, thou haste litell bzead: For it is an auncient prouerbe,

* that where the fyers are greate, the barnes are fewe. And if thou sayeste, that thou arte contente with the woode of that countrey: I lette the knowe, that I am not discontented with the bzeade of Italpe. For in the ende, a man shall soner finde woode to heate the ouen: then corne, to carpe to the mille. Truelye it is a good thinge, to haue woode for the winter: but it is better to haue corne, for the winter, and sommer.

* For they call it no hunger, when woode lacketh for the aged: but when bzeade wanteth for the yonge.

Thou sayeste, in that Countrey there are manye waters, and that the water is verye cleare, and colde: and furder, that the aboundaunce thereof is such, that euery house hath a fountaine. To this I aunswere the, that where the waters doe abounde, there wanteth health continually.

And I doe not maruelles thereat, for the moiste and dankysse places, are allwaies daungerous, vnhealthefull, and noysome. If this hadde bene in the tyme of the golde woelde, when men knewe not what wine mente, but that all dranke water: withoute comparisson, that Countrey had bene better then this. For the moze the drunkenenes of wine is infamous: the moze sweter and profitable is that of the water.

Thou knoweste well, that a fountaine which I haue in my gardein (by the streete Salaria) was occasion that at on tyme seuent of my house died togethers. And if I hadde not made a conduyte to bolde the standing water: I thinke it hadde made an ende of me, and of all my familie. Wherefore I prase the haue respede vnto the healthe of thy personne, rather then to enioye the freshenes of the water. For my parte, I thinke him onelle happie, who harthe his bodye healthfull, and his harte at ease.

Prasse as muche the lande as they will, enioye thou the freshenes therof as muche as thou canste, and fill the with the freshe and colde water, and wypte vnto thy frendes howe plentie it is, in the ende I sweare vnto the my frende Dedalus, that moze money shall issue out of Rome, to bye wine in Candia: then buttes of the colde water of that countrey shall enter into Rome.

Thou sayeste, that in that Countrey there is suche aboundaunce of frutes, that thou thinkeste thou shalte neuer be satisfised therewith. To that I aunswere. That thinge whiche I beste like, is a winter frute: yet neither seinge it, nor eatinge it, I can contente my selfe. For the Countrey where fruptes abounde in wynter, is neuer without

without fevers and sicknesses in sommer.

Octavian Augustus the famous Emperour of memorie, seeinge that Rome in sommer was very subiect to diseases, commaunded on greuous peines, that the frutes of Saloni shoulde not enter into Rome to be sold. And this is a marueylous thing,

¶ Rome by this meanes dyd not only send her selfe hole: but also the Philistians went out of Rome of theyr owne wylls and afflictions. For it is a greate token that the people is healthfull, when the Philistynes are poore. Thou sayeste, in that Countrey there are many iuglers and players. To this, I aunswere the. That their pastimes shall not be vnto the, suche, and so pleasaunte: as the greekes and displeasures thou shalt haue, when they craftelye shall pycke thy pourse. For iuglers and players make playes and spozte in rest: but they wyll be payed in good earnest.

Thou sayeste, in that Countrey there is greate aboundaunce of vyne, and that the wine is sauourye so smell, and verie swete and pleasaunte to taste: whereunto I aunswere. That there shall not be so many vyne in the feldes, as dyonchardes amongeste the people: for as thou knowest, the daye that I maryed Topina my niece, my vncle Getellius hadde but onely one vyne tree, and yet with the wine that came thereof, he made hym selfe, his houtholde, and all those that were at the maryages dyoncke. That whyche I wyll saye, is not wythoute weeping, that in Rome, in the olde tyme, Mars was the Godd most honozed, and esteemed, beyng the Godd of battayles: but now Bacchus, whyche is Godd of wyne, is moste honozed, serued, and crated.

For the tyme that a Roman was wont to employ in the marshall campe, to handle weapons: now they consume, in playeng, and dyynkyng in the Tavernes. Titus Livius in hys Annales sayeth, that those of Gallia Transalpina, vnderstandinge

that the Italyans had planted vyne, came to conquere the Countrey. So that yf they hadde neuer planted vyne in Italye, the frenche men hadde neuer destroyed the Countrey.

The aunclent Romanes (whyche were prouided agaynst all inconueniences) consideringe, that wyne was the cause of their destruction, commaunded to destroye all the vyne of the Emperre, though the whiche pollyce, they were deliuered from all the frenche men: for when the warres were ended, ther remainned not one frenche man in all Italye, when they knewe, that there were no more vyne therein. Thou sayest, that in that countrey there are many gentillmen, and honozable senators, wyth whom thou talkest, and passest a waye the time. To this I aunswere. That yf it be true, there are manye ydle men, and also fewe true talkers: for those men whyche haue spent their youth in the warres, when they are aged, doe not employe the tyme, but in heartye newes, and tellinge lyes. Thou sayedest, that there are verie saye women in that Countrey, of gesture seemelye, and of their parsonnes comelye. To this I aunswere. That if ther be many whiche be saye, there are as many whiche are dishoneste: for if the woman, with her beautie, hath not wysdome and honestye in her selfe, she putteih her selfe in peryll, and her husbände in muche care.

Thou sayeste, that in that Countrey there are women, which are sooth sayers, sozceries, and Enchaunters: the whiche doe boaste and vaunte them selues, that they wyll heale infantes, and that they can weyne them, better then others. To this I aunswere. That I woulde Iudge it muche better, that chyldren shoulde neuer be healed, then that they shoulde be healed by the handes of so euill women: For the profytte that they doe by theyr experience openlye, is nothinge in respect of the daunger, wherein they put the creatures by

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by these sorceries secretlye. Torquatus Laertius my vnckell, had a daughter of a marueylous beautie, the whiche (because he had none other childe) was heyze of all hys patrimonye. The case therfore was suche, that as the daughter wepte one day a litell to much, the nource which gaue her sucke, to appease and styll her, thinkinge to geue her sorceries to calke her in a sleape, gaue her poyson to destroye her: so that when the teares of the innocent haue ceased, then the cryes of the wofull mother beganne. Calpignula, which was the sonne of Germanicus Secundus the great (though emongest the Cefars he was the fourth, & amongest the Tyrauntes y firste) when in Rome they vled to geue litell seroules witten, whiche they saide to be of suche vertue, that they coulde heale al maner of agues and diseases of yonge children, he comaunded by the consent of the Senate, that the man or woman whiche should make them, should dye immediatlye by iustice: and that he whiche should bye them, and carye them to sell, or geue them thzough Rome, shuld be whipt, and banished for euer. Thy seruauit Fronton hath tolde me newes, that thou haste a sonne bozne, whereof I am very glad: and moreover he saide, that a womā of Sannia did nourishe it, & geue it sucke. The whiche (as by an euill chaunce) hath a teate of sorcerie. By the immortall gods I do confute the, and for the loue I beare the, I despye the. that immediatly thou put her out of thy house, and suffer not so wicked a woman to eate bread there one day: for euery creature whiche is nourished by sorceries and charmes, shall eyther haue his life shorte, or els fortune shalbe contrary vnto him. I let the were my frende Dedalus, that I haue not meruayled a litell at many Romaines, the whiche doe permitte, and also procure, that their children should be healed and cured, with charmes and sorceries. For my parte, I take it to be a thinge to be certayne, that the men which by the wyll of god fall sicke,

shal neuer heale for any diligente that man can do. And where as children are sicke by euill humours, or that they are not verye healthfull, because the Gods will take lyfe from them: in this case, if their disease proceede of an euill humour, let them aske physicians for naturall medecyns. And if their disease come, because the gods are prouoked: then let their fathers appease the gods with sacrifices. For in the end, it is vnpossible that the diseases of the harte should be healed, by the meanes of any medecyns of the body. Do not meruayle my frend Dedalus, if I haue spoken moze in this article then in others, that is to wete, to perswade the so much to kepe thy children from wytches: for otherwise the cursed women wyll doe them moze harme, then the good mylke shal profytte them. I haue bene moued and prouoked to wryte thus muche vnto the, for the great loue whiche I doe beare the: and also calling to mind that, which thou (when we were in y sacred senate) oft times toldest me, whiche was, that thou diddest desire a sonne. And since now thou hast thy petition, I woulde not thou shouldest prouoke the gods wryth by sorceries: For in the sayth of a good man I do sweare vnto the, that whe the fathers are in fauoure wryth the Gods, ther neadeth no sorceries vnto the children. I had manye other thinges to wryte vnto the, some of the whiche I wyl communicate with thy seruauit Fronton, rather then to sende them by letters. And meruayle not at this, for the letters are so perillous, that yf the man be wise, he wyll wryte no moze in a close letter, then he woulde declare openly in Rome. Pardonne me, my frende Dedalus, though in dede I wryte not vnto the as thy appetyte woulde, noz yet as my wyll desireth: For thou haste neade to know many thinges, and I haue not leaue by letter, to put the in trust therewith. I can not tell what I shoulde wryte to the of me, but that alwaies the goutte doth take me, & the worst of all is, that the moze I growe in yeares, the

the more my health deminisheth: for it is an olde course of mans frailtye, that where we thinke to goe moste suerest, there haue we moste let. The Poppingaye which thou diddest sende me, as sone as I receyued it, my wyfe dyd sease it, and trulye it is a meruaylous thinge, to heare what thinges it doeth speake: but in the end, the womē are of such power, that when they wyl, they impose silence to the lyuinge, and cause that in the graues the dead men speake. Accordyng to that I doe loue the, and accordyng to that I owe the, and as I haue bled, that whiche I doe sende the, is veraye lypyl. I saye it, bycause that presentlye I doe sende the but 2. hoyses of barbarye. 12. swerdes of Alexandrye, and to Fronton thy seruauente for a newe yeares gifte for his good netwes, I haue gotten hym an office, which is woorth to hym. 20. thousand Sexterces of rente in Cecyl. Faustine dyd byd me I should send thy wyfe Pertusa a coser full of odyferous odors of palestine, and another coser ful of her owne apparel: the whiche as I thinke, thou wylte not lycei esteeme. For naturallye women are of their owne goods nigardes: but in wastynge & spendyng of others, veray prodigal. The almighty gods be with the, and pserue me from euyl fortune. The whiche I humbly beseeche to graunt, that vnto the and me, and vnto my wyfe Faustine, and thy wyfe Pertusa, that we al mete merely together in Rome: for the harte neuer receitue such toye, as when he seeth hym selfe with his desired frende. Marcus of Mounte Celio writeth to the, with his owne hande.

The. xxv. Chapter.

Howv decente a thinge it is for a gentelma to haue an eloquent tonge.



Ne of the chiefe things, that the creature gaue to man, was to know, and be able to speake: for otherwise (the soule reserved) the brute beastes are of more value, then doōm men. Aristotle in his æconomices, without comparyson prayseth more the Pithagoricall sorte, then the Stoical: sayeng that the one is more conforme to reason, then the other is. Pithagoras commaunded, y al men which were dōm, and without speache, shuld immediately, and without contradiction be banished, and expelled from the people. The cause why this philosopher had commaunded suche thing was, forsomuch as he saied, that the tonge is moued by the motions of the soule, and that he whiche had no tonge, had no soule. And he which hath no soule, is but a brute beaste: and he that is a beaste, deserueth to serue in y felde among brute beastes. It is a woorthy thinge, to speake as the reasonable mē do speake: but it is much more woorthy to speake wel, as the eloquent philosophers do. For otherwise, if he which speaketh doeth wey the sentences more then the wordes, oftentimes y poppingayes shal content them more, which are in the cage: then the mien, whiche doe blase in scooles. Iosephus in the booke De bello Iudaico saiet, that kinge Herode, not onely with his personne & goods, but also with all his frendes and parentes, folowed and gaue ayde to Marcus Anthonius, and to his leuer Cleopatra, howbeit in the end, Octauian had the victorie. For the man which for the loue of a woman doeth enterpryse conquestes, it is impossible that either he loose not his life, or els that he liue not in infamy. Herodes seing that Marcus Anthonius was dead, determynd to goe towarde the emperour Octauia, at whose fete he lased his crowne, and made a notable oration, wherein he spake so pleasaunte wordes, and so hygh sentences,

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sentences,

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sentences, that the Emperoure Octavian
dyd not onelye pardon hym for that he was
so cruel an enemye: but also he confirmed
hym agayne into hys realme, and toke him
for hys deare and specyall frende. For as
mong the good men & noble hartes, many
euyl workes are amended by a fewe good
wordes. Of Blundus, in the booke intytuled
Roma triumphante, doe not deceiue me,
Pirrus the greate kynge of the Epirotes,
was stout and hardye, valiaunt in armes,
lyberall in benefittes, pacient in aduersi-
tyes, and aboue all renowned to be veraye
swete in wordes, and sage in his answers.

They sayed, that this Pirrus was so elo-
quente, y^e the man to whom once he had spo-
ken, remayned so muche hys, that from that
tyme forward, in hys absence he toke hys
parte, and declared hys lyfe and state in
presence. The aboue named Blundus
saied, and Titus Liuius declareth the same,
that as the Romaynes were of all thinges
prouyded (seinge that kynge Pirrus was
so eloquente) they prouyded in the Senate,
that no Romaine ambassadoir shuld speak,
vnto hym, but by a thirde person: for o-
therwise he would haue so perswaded them
thoroughe hys swete wordes, that they
shoulde haue returned agayne to Rome,
as hys procurers.

✱ Albett Marcus Tullius Cicero was Se-
natoure in the Senate, consul in the Em-
pire ryche amongst the ryche, and hardye
amongst men of warre: yet trulye none of
all these quantitties caused hym eternal me-
morie, but onelye his excellent eloquence.
This Tullius was so esteemed in Rome for
the eloquence of hys tongue only, that ofte
tymes they harde hym talke in the Senate,
3. hours togethers, without anye man spea-
kyng one worde. And let not this be lytel
esteemed nor lyghtely passed ouer: for worlde-
lye malice is of suche condepyon, that some
man maye more easelye speake. 4. howers,
then another man shall haue patience to
heare hym one mynute.

Anthonius Sabellicus declareth, that
in the tyme of Amilthares the Affricans,
a Philosopher named Afronio floreyshed
in great Carthage, who being of the yeres
of. 81. dyed in the firste yeare of the warres
of Punica. They demaunded this Philoso-
pher, what it was that he knewe: he aun-
swered. He knewe nothinge but to speake
well. They demaunded hym agayne what
he learned: he answered. He dyd learne
nothinge but to speake well. Another tyme
they demaunded hym what he taught: he
answered. He taughte nothinge but to
speake wel. He thinketh that this good phi-
losopher in. 80. yeares and one, sayde that he
learned nothinge but to speake well, he
knewe nothinge but to speake wel, and that
he taughte nothinge but to speake wel. And
trulye he had reason: for the thinge whiche
most adozneth mans lyfe, is the swete plea-
saunte tongue to speake wel. What is it to
see. 2. men in one counsell, the one talkyng
to the other, the one of them hathe an euell
grace in propoundyng, and thother excel-
lente in speakyng. Of suche there are some,
that in hearyng them talke. 3. hours, we
would neyther be trobeled nor wepyed: and
of the contrarye parte, there are others so
tedyous, and rude in their speache, that so
sone as men perceiue they begin to speake
they auoyde the place. And therefore in
myne oppynyon, there is no greater trou-
ble, then to harken one quarter of an houre
a rude man to speake: and to the contrary,
there is no greater pleasure, then to heare a
dyscreate man, though it were a whole
weke. The deuyn Plato in the booke of
lawes sayed, that there is nothinge wherby
a man is knowen more, then by the wor-
des he speaketh: for of the wordes which we
heare hym speake, we iudge hys intencion,
eyther to be good or euell. Laertius in the
lyfe of the Philosophers saith, that a yong
chylde bozne at Athens, was brought vnto
Socrates the greate Philosopher, being
in Athens, to the ende he shoulde receiue
hym

hym into hys companye, and teache hym in hys scoole. The yonge chyld was straunge and shameshafte, and durste not speake before hys mayster: wherefore the Philosopher Socrates saied vnto him, speake frend, if thou wylte that I knowe the. This sentence of Socrates was veraye profounde: and I praye hym that shall reade this wyrtynge, to pause a whyle thereat. For Socrates wyl not that a man be knowen by the gesture he hathe, but by the good or euil wordes whiche he speaketh.

Thoughe eloquence, and speaking well to euerye man, is a cause of augmentynge their honoure, and no demynyshe of their goods: yet withoute comparyson it shyneth muche more, and is moste necessarye in the pallaces, of Princes and great Lordes. For men whiche haue common offices, oughte of necessitye harken to hys naturall contrymen, and also to speake with straungers. Speakynge therefore more playnely I say, that the Prince oughte not to trauaile only to haue eloquence, for the honour of his personne: but also it behoueth him, for the common wealthe. For as the prince is but one, and is serued of all: so it is vnpossyble that he haue somuche, as wyl satisfie and contente them all. And therefore it is necessarye, that he requyte some with money: and that he contente others with good wordes.

The noble harte loueth better, a gentle worde of a free harte: then a rewarde or gyfte, with the tonge of a rude man. Plato, Lilius, Herodotus, Vulpicius, Eutropius, Diorus, Plinie, and manye other innumerable auncyente hystoryographers, doe not cease to prayse eloquence of greke Princes, and latynes, in their workes.

O howe blessed were those tymes, when there were sage Princes, and dyscreate lordes: trulye they haue reason to exalte them. For manye haue obteyned, and wonne the royall crownes and septures of the Empire, not somuche for the greate battayles they haue conquered, nor for the highe bloude

and generation from whence they are dyscended: as for the wysedom, and eloquence, whiche they had. Marcus Aurelius was naturall of Rome, borne in mounte Celio, he was pooze in patrimonye, and of base lynage, lytell in fauoure, lesse and forsaken of hys parentes, and besydes all this, onely for beyng vertuous in hys lyfe, profounde in doctryne, and of so hyghe eloquence, the Emperoure Anthonius called Pius, gaue hym hys doughter Faustyne for wyfe: who beyng reprovied of manye, because he gaue hys doughter to so pooze a philosopher, answered. I had rather haue a pooze Philosopher, then a ryche foole.

Pulio in hys seuenth booke of the Romayne lawes sayeth, that in Rome there was a lawe veraye well kepte, and obserued of the consules, by a custome broughte in, that the Dictatours, Censors, and Emperours of Rome, entered into the Senate once in the weke at the leaste, and in this place they shuld geue and render accompte, in what state the common wealthe remayned. And woulde to God that at this presente this lawe were so kepte, and obserued: for there is none who doeth minister so good iustyce, as he whiche thinketh to geue an accompte of hys doinges.

They saye that Calligula (the fourth Emperoure of Rome) was not onely deformed, in famous, and cruell in hys lyfe: but also was an Idote in eloquence, and of an euyl bitteraunce in hys communycation. So that he amonge all the Romayne princes, was constrained to haue others to speake for him in the Senate. This wycked man was so vnfortunate, that after hys cruel and infamous deathe, they drew him thorooweout Rome, and set vpon his grave this Epitaphe.

¶ Calligula lyeth here, in endeles sleape
That stretcht his raygne, vpon the empires heade
Vnsitte for rule, that coulde suche foly heape
And fyte for death, where vertue so was deade.



Cannot tell why Princes doe prayse them selues to be strong and hardy, to be wel disposed, to be runners, to winne wel, and do not esteeme to be eloquente: sinse it is true, that those gyftes doe profite them onely for their life, but the eloquence profiteeth them, not only for to honour their lyfe, but also to augment their renowne. For we doe reade, that manye Princes dyd pacifye greateseditions in the common wealthe, and besydes that, they deserved immortall memoire. Suetonius Tranquillus in the first booke of Césars sayeth, that the aduenturous Iulius César (beinge as yet but, 16. yeares of age) when there died in Rome an aunte of hys called Cornelia, at her buryal he made an oration, in the whiche he (being so yong) shewed marvellous great eloquence: which was so acceptable that daye to all people, that in the ende, euerye man iudged hym to be a valyaunte Romaine captaigne. And as Appianus declareth, they saye that Silla spake these wordes.

That whiche I perceyue of this yonge man Caius César is, that in the boldenes of hys tongue, he declareth howe valyaunt he oughte to be in hys personne. Let therefore Princes and greates Lordes see, howe muche it maye profite them, to knowe to speake well, and eloquentlye. For we se no other thinge daylye, but that a man of base lynage, by hys eloquence cometh to be exalted: and the other whiche of lynage is nobelye borne, for wante of speakyng wel, and being eloquente, is the firste that dyscendeth moste vilest of al other.

The intention wherupon I wrote these thinges was for no other, but to admonish, perswade, and praye al Princes, and greates lordes, that whyles their chyldren are yong, they shoulde put them to wyse and learned men, to the ende they shoulde teache them: not onelye howe they oughte to lyue, but also howe they oughte to speake. For two

personnes of estate, it is a greates infamye, to doe, or to intuent to doe a thinge, and afterwarde nat to knowe howe to geue a reason thereof. Polidorus in the third booke of his commentaries sayeth, that when the Lacedemonians were put to flyghte by the Athenians at Millina (it is called Millina, bycause the battayle was in the ryuer of Milline) the Lacedemonians sent a philosopher, called Heuxinus, to treat of peace with the Athenians: who made such an eloquente oration to the Senate of Athens, that he dyd not onelye obteyne the peace whiche he desired for hys contry, but for hym selfe also he wanne perpetuall renowne. At the Philosophers retourne, the Athenians gaue hym a letter, which sayeth in this sorte.

The xxvi. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Athenians sente to the Lacedemonians.



He Senate, people, and Sages of Athens, wissheth helth to the persons, & peace to the common wealthe, of you of the senate, and people of the Lacedemonians. We take y immortall gods to record, that in the last battayle, we had no lesse dyspleasure to se ye overcome: then on the contrary we had pleasure, to see vs remayne victoriosis. For in the ende, the dangers and inconueniences of the cruel warre are so great, that the euell and danger is certayne, to them y are bainquished: and the profite is doubtful, to them that hane ouercommied. We would gladly, that that whiche now yee wil, yee would hane willed soner: & that whiche now yee require and demand, that before ye had requyred, and demanded.

mainded. But what shal we do, sinse it was ordeined to your and oure woful deskenies, that ye shuld loose the battayle, & that we of your losse ca take no profite. For it is a rule vnfallible, that al that which the gods haue ordeyned, no worldye wight can amende, nor humayne powet resiste. We demaunde that warre may cease and leaue of, and that we take truse for .3. monethes, and that during this time, peace and con corde may be concluded. To this we make answer. That the senate of Athens hath not accustomed to graunt peace, afterwar des for to retourne to warre. For amongst vs Athenians, we haue an auncient lawe, that frely we do accept the cruel warre, and lyberal ye we doe graunt perpetual peace. In our scholes and vniuersities we traunyle to haue Sages in tyme of peace, for to healepe vs with their counsaylles, in the tyme of warre. And they doe counsayle vs, that we neuer take vpon vs truse, vpon suspecte condicion. And in deade they counsayle vs well. For the sayned, and dyssembled peace, is muche more perrillous: then is the manifest warre. The philosopher Heuxinus your embassadour, hath spoken to vs so highely, and eloquent ly, in this Senate, that it semed to vs very vniuste, if we should denye him, and againe saye he requirerh vs. For it is muche more honeste, to graunte him peace, whiche by swete and plesauit wordes doeth demaund it: then him, whiche by force, and sharpe swerde doeth requyzerh it. Let the case therfore be, that the Senate, people, and Sages of Athens haue ordeyned, that warre doe cease with the Lacedemonians, and that all dyscordes, contentions, dissensions, and debates doe ende and that perpetuall peace be graunted vnto them. And this thinge is done, to the ende all the worlde shoulde knowe, that Athens is of such courage with the hardye, and so veray a frende to the Sages: that she knoweth howe to punyssh the folye captaynes, and suffererh to be commaunded, and gouerned, by sage

philosophers. We knowe ryghte wel, that all oure warre hath not bene, but onelye for the possession of ciyties, and limytes of the ryuer Milina.

Wherefore by this letter we declare vnto you, and by the immortall Gods we sweare, that we doe renounce vnto you all oure ryghte, on suche condycyon, that you doe leaue vs Heuxinus your embassadour and Philosopher. The greate Athens desyzerh, rather a philosopher for her scholes: then a hole prouynce of youre realmes. And doe not you other Lacedemonians thinke, that that which we of Athens doe, is light or folye, that is to wete, that we desire rather one ma to rule vs: then to haue a whole prouynce, whereby we maye commaunde manye. For this Philosopher shal teache vs to lyue well, and that lande gathe vs occasion to dye euill: and sythe we nowe of youre olde enemies: doe become youre true frendes, we wyl not onelye gette you perpetuall peace, but also counsayle, for to keape it. For the medycyne whiche preseruethe healt he, is of greater excellencye: then is the purgacion which healeth the dysease. Let the counsaile therefore be suche, that as ye wyl the yonge men doe exercyse them selues in weapons: that so ye doe watche and see that your chylde in tyme doe learne good letters. For euen as the warre by the cruell sworde: is folloved so lykewyse by plesauite wordes, peace is obteyned.

We Lacedemonians do not thinke, that withoute a cause we doe perswade you, that you put youre chylzen to learne, when as yet they are but yonge, and tender, and that ye doe not suffer them, to runne to vices. For on the one parte, wyse men shal wante to counsayle, and on the other, fooles shall abounde to make debate.

We Athenians in lyke maner wyl not, that ye Lacedemonians doe thinke, that we be frendes to bablers. For our father Socrates ordeyned, that the firste lesson whiche shoulde be geuen to the scholer of

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by pnerspetye shoulde be, that by no meanes he shoulde speake anye worde for the space of .2. yeares: for it is vnpossyble that anye man shoulde be wyse in speakynge, vnles he haue pacyence to be sylente.

We thinke, if you thinke it good, that the Philosopher Heuxinus shuld remaine in oure Senate: and thinke you, if we porsyte by hys presence, that ye maye be assured yee others shall not receyue anye damage, by the counsailes he shall geue vs.

For in Athens it is an auneyent lawe, that the Senate cannot take vppon them warres, but that by the Philosophers first it muste be examyned, whyther it be iust or not. We wyte none other thyng, but that we beseeche the immortall Gods, that they be with you, and that it please them to conserue vs in this perpetuall peace. For that onelye is perpetuall, whiche by the gods is confirmed.

The.xxvii.Chapter.

That nurces vvhich geue sucke to the chyldren of Princes, oughte to be dyscreate, and sage vvemen.



THE PILGRAMES, whiche trauaile through vnknewe contries, & straunge mountaynes (with greate desire to goe forwarde, and not to erre) doe not onely aske the way whiche they haue to goe: but also do impo-rtune those whom they mete, to pointe them the waye with their finger. For it is a gre-

uous thing, to trauaile doubtfully in feare, and suspicion.

By this comparison I meane, that sinse I haue muche perswaded, that the fathers do learne, and teache their chyldren to speake wel, it is but reason, that they do seke them some good maisters. For the counsaile hath no authorite, if he whiche geueth it, sekerh not speedely to execute the same. It is much for a man to be of a good nature, or els to be of an euyl inclination, to be rude in vnderstandynge, or els to be lytelye in spirite: and this not onelye for that a man oughte to doe, but also for that he oughte to saye.

For it is no small thinge, but a great good benefite, when the man is of a good nature, of a good vnderstandynge, and of a cleare iudgemente. This notwithstanding I say, that all the good and cleare iudgements, are not alwayes eloquente: nor all the eloquentest of linely spirites, and vnderstanding. We se many men, whiche of a smal matter, can make muche: and for the contrarie, we see manye men, whiche haue greate knowledge, and yet no meanes to viter it. So that nature hath geuen them highe vnderstanding, and through negligence of bringynge vp, it is hidde. Oftentimes I doe meruaile, that the soule of the babe when it is borne, for thone parte is of no lesse excellencye: then the soule of the old man, when he dieth. And on the other syde, I muse at the babe which hath the members so tender (wherewith the soule doeth worke hys operacions) that they lytle seme to partycypate with reasonable creatures. For where the soule doeth not shewe her selfe mystris, it wanteth lytle, but that the man remaineth a beaste.

It is a wonder to see the chyldren, that as yet beinge .2. yeares of age, they lyfte their feete for to goe, they holde them selues by the walles for faulynge, they wyll open their eyes to knowe, & they fourme a defused voyce to speake: so that in that age, a creature is none other wyse, then a tree at the firste sprynge.

For the tree .2. monethes beinge past, beareth leaues immediatly: and the childe after .2. yeares, beginneth to frame his wordes. This thinge is spoken, for that the fathers whyche are wyse, shoulde beginne to teache their children at that age: For at that tyme, the bynes beare grapes, and other trees their fruite. For the perilles of this lyfe are suche, that if it were possible, the father before he see his sonne borne, oughte to admonyssh him howe he shoulde lyue. In myne opinion, as they conuey the water aboute, to turne the mylle: so from the tender youth of the infante, they oughte to shewe and teache him, to be eloquent, and affable. For trulye, the chyld learneth distinctly to pronounce his wordes, when he dothe sucke the mylke of his nourse.

Wee can not denye, but that the children being but .2. or .3. yeares old, it is to sone to giue them maisters, or correcters. For at that age, a nourse to make the cleane is moze necessary: then a maister for to correct their speache. On the one parte, the children are very tender for to learne to speake wel: and on the other parte, it is necessarye, that when they are verie yonge and lytle, they shoulde be taught and learned. I am of that opinion, that Princesses and greate Ladies shoulde take suche nourses, to giue their children sucke: that they shoulde be sounde to giue them their mylke, and sage for to teache them to speake. For in so yonge and tender age, they doe not suffer, but that the which giueth them sucke, doth teache them to speake the first wordes. As Sextus Cheronsensis in the booke of the diuersities of the languages saith. The Hetruscanes were the first, which called the tongue naturall of the countrey, a naturall tongue (which is to say, our mother tonge) to fend we shoulde take it of the mother, which bringeth vs forth: and of the nourse, which giueth vs sucke. And in this case, we haue

lesse neade of a mother, then of the nourse.

For the children before they knowe they mothers, which broughte them into the worlde, doe call the nourse mother, whyche gate them sucke. Plutarcke in the seconde booke of the regiment of Prynces saith, that one of the greatest things the Romaynes hadde in their commen weale was, that of all the languages and maners, which they speake thoroughoute the hole earth, they hadde Collegies and Schooles in Rome: so that were he neuer so Barbarous that entred into Rome, immediatly he founde that vnderstoode hym.

The Romaynes vsed that craft and subtiltie, to the ende that when Rome sente Embassages into straunge countreies, or that some straunge Countreies came to Rome, they woulde that the Interpretours and brokers shoulde be of theyr owne nation, and not of a straunge tongue or countrey. And the Romaynes truely had reason, for the affaires of greate importance, are oftentimes craftely compassed by a straunge tongue. A man wyll marueylle greatly to reade, or heare thys that I speake, which is, that the women whyche nourishe the chyldren of Prynces be eloquent. And truly he that at thys doth meruaile, hath sene litle, and reade lesse.

For I can not tell which was greater, the gloire that the attyentes hadde, to enioye so excellent women: or the infamy of them that are presente, to suffer so dishonest harlottes. I wyll not denye, when I drewe neere thys mater, that my spiryte were not in greate perplexite.

Firste to see in thys my wytyng, of what women my penne shoulde write, that is to wete, the dissolute byces of women whyche I haue sene: or els the prouesses and vertues of women, whereof I haue rede.

Finally, I am determined to entreate of pure graine, and cozne, & to leane the rottenne
Crawe

THE DIAL

strate on the earthe, as withoute profite.

For the tongue whiche is noble, oughte to publithe the goodnes of the good and honeste women, to the ende that all knowe it: and for the contrarie, the frailenes of the wycked oughte to be dissembled, and kepte secreete, to the ende that no man folowe it. Men whiche are sage and noble, treatinge of women, are bounde to serue them, to vylite them, to preserue them, and to defende them: but in no wyse they haue licence to sclander them. For the man whiche speaketh of the frailenes of women, is like vnto him that taketh a swoorde to kyll a flye.

Therefore touchinge the mater Pryncesses and greate Ladyes oughte not to cease, to teache their yonge chyldren, all that they can, sonnes or daughters.

And they oughte not to deceyue them selues, sayenge that forasmuche as theyr daughters are women, they are vnable to learne sciences. For it is not a generall rule, that all men chyldren, are of cleane vnderstanding: nor that all daughters are of rude spirite and wytt.

For yf they and the others dydde learne togethers, I thynke there woulde be as manye wyse women, as there are foolyshe men. Though the world in tymes past dyd enioye excellent women, there was neuer any nacion hadde suche as the Grekes hadde.

For though the Romaynes were glorious in weapons: the Grekes were of immortal memorie of letters. I wyll not denye, that in the common wealthe of Rome, there hath not bene nourished, and taughte, manye women of great science: but that the difference of the one and the others was, that the Gretian women were learned in Philosophye, and the Romaine women in Rethorike, and Poetrie. And hereof came, that in Athens they esteemed to knowe howe to teache well: and

in Rome they vauunted howe to speake wel.

Euphronius in the thirde booke of the Romayne gestes sayeth, that in the thyrde yere of the Consulshyppe of Lelius Sylla, by chaunce a Greeke Embassatour, and an Embassatour of Rome, were at wordes, in the Senate of the Rhodians, and the Greeke Embassatour saide to the Romayne Embassatour. It is true that amongeste ye other Romaynes, ye are aduenturous in armes: but for all that ye are vnable in sciences. For trulpe the women of Grece knowe more in letters: then the men of Rome in weapons.

As sone as the Senate of Rome vnderstoode these wordes, immediatlye here vpon grewe the cruell warres betwene Rome and Carthage, aboute the possession of Scicill.

And no man dought hereat to meruaile, for in the ende, wee see moe warres arysse by iniurious wordes: then for to recouer the good that is losse.

The Romaynes and the Gretians, therefore beinge readye the one to despye the other, the Rhodians came in the myddeste, and kepte them from suche debate: and in the ende appointed them in thys sorte,

That is to wete, that as this insurpe should by weapons haue bene determined, they ordeyned that by the disputacions of women it shoulde be argued.

And trulpe the Romaines were counsayled well, for it was greater shame to the Grekes to be overcome, with the tongues of women: then with the swordes of men.

The case therefore was suche, that by appointment, assembled at Rhodes tenne Romayne women, and tenne Greeke women. All women verie well learned, the whiche in their charyes reade certayne lessons, euerye one after other, and afterwards the one disputed against the other, of sundrye and diuers maters.

And

And finallye, there was betwene them greate difference, for the Greekes spake verie highe thinges, not so profounde, but with an excellent style. We oughte not to marueyle that suche gyftes were in those women: For we dayly see it by experience, that profound science, and hygh eloquence, seldome meeteth in one personage.

The Greekes were verie well pleased, to heare the Romayne women: and the Romaines remayned astonied, to heare the Greekes. And vpon this occasion, the Rhodians iudged in thys sorte, that euery one of them shoulde be crowned with a crowne of Laurell as vanquishers.

And they iudged, that in graue sentences, the Gretians hadde the beste: and in eloquent speache, the Romaines hadde the victorie. As the aboue named Euphronius saith, these disputations beinge ended, the Romaine women returned to Rome: and the Greeke women to Grece, where they were receyued with suche triumph and gloire, as if they hadde wonne a battaylle. The senate of the Rhodians for the memorie of those women (in the place of the disputations) caused to be sette by twenty myghty pylers, in euery one of the which, were the names of the women. Whyche was so sumptuous a buildinge, that in Rhodes there was none lyke vnto it, save onelye the greate Collyse. Those pylers stood, vntyll the tyme of Heliogabalus Emperour, who was so euill, that he inuented newe vices, and destroyed the aunciente memorie. The wyters whyche wrote in that tyme, declare yet an other thinge, wherein the women of Grece were difference, from the women of Rome.

That is to wete, that the Greeke women were founde more fayrer, then the Romain women: but the Romaynes hadde a better grace, and more ryche in apparell, then the Greekes.

They saide also, that the Greekes were

more hardye and stoute, then the Romaynes: but the Romaynes were more honeste, pleasaunt, and gracious, then the Greekes. And if thys be true, I doe counsaile pryncesses and greate Ladies, that they haue no more enuye at the honestye of the Matrones of Rome: then at the boldnesse of the Ladies of Gretia. For women were not bozne to slepe men in the warre: but to spynne, sewe, and lyue well, in the house.

The. xxviii. Chapter.

That women maye be no lesse wise then men, and though they be not, it is not through the faulte of nature, but for wante of bringing vp.



E A S I N G E to speake ingenerallye, it is but reason we speake particulerlye, and that we reduce to memorye some aunciente Hystories, of wise and discrete women, aswell Greekes, as Romaines: and for that these Ladies (saynge what others were in times past) maye knowe what theyr dutye is at this presente.

In myne opinion, the duetie that the men of this presente haue to folowe the courage, that the auncientes had in fyghting: the selfe same desyre women of thys present ought to haue, to folowe the aunciente women

women in deuoute luyunge.

For there is no good thyng in the worlde as this daye present, but the lyke hath bene sene of our auncientes heretofore. When any sodayne, newe, and vnaccustomed thyng dothe happen, men that neuer sawe the lyke, vse to saye that there was neuer the lyke in the worlde, yet in dede they saye not true: For though the thinge be vnto them newe, it is thowghe their ignoraunce, and symplenes, whyche neyther haue read it by them selues, nor hearde it of others.

For thys is the excellencye that the man hathe whyche is well learned: that for what so euer he heareth, or sayeth, he is nothyng abashed. Synce the women now a dayes are so ignoraunte, that scarcely any of them can reade well, he whyche shall reade thys, wyl marueylle why I doe perswade them to learne: but the truthe knowen, what the auncientes were, and what they dyd knowe, from this tyme forward, I beleue they would greatly reprove the women of thys present.

For the tyme whyche the auncent women spente, in vertues and studies: these of this presente, consume in pleasures and byces. Boccace in the booke of the prayse of women sayeth, that Lelius Sylla was a greate compaignon of Marius the Consul, in the tyme of the warre of Jugurtha: and was no lesse a frende of Caius Cesar, in the tyme of the firste cyuill warres.

My penne needeth not to be occupied, to wyte any thynges of the lyfe of Sylla. For all the Hystorographers doe not onely reprove the cruelties, whyche he vsed to his enemies: but also condempne hym for the lytell sayeth, that he obserued to his frendes.

This Consul Sylla hadde thre daughters, the one of them was named Lelia Sabyna, the whyche of all the Syllers was lesse sayre: but emongeste all the Romanes, she was molle sagest.

For she redde openly in Rome in a chayre, bothe Greeke and Latyn. After the warres of Mithridates, Lelius Sylla came to Rome; where thre thousande Romanes he beheaded, whyche came to salute hym: althoughe before by his worde, he hadde them all assured.

And in deade, and also in selfe, Lelius Sylla hadde bene bitterly vndone for thys fact, if his daughter hadde not made to the Senate a wyse oration: For ofte tymes it chaunceth, that the wysedome of the good chyld, dothe remedye the follye of the wycked Father.

The Hystorians saye, that thys Lelia Sabyna hadde not onely a greate grace in readyng: but also she hadde muche excellencye in wytyng. For she wrote manye letters and Oratons, wyth her owne hande, whyche her Father Lelius Sylla afterwarde learned by harte: and as he was in deede quicke of spirite, so he vsed to recyte them to the Senate alwayes for his purpose.

And let no man meruaile hereat, for there are some of so rude vnderstandyng, that that whyche they wyte and studie, they can scarcely vtter: and others agayne are of suche lyuelye wyttes, that of that onely whyche they haue heard, it seemeth meruaylous to heare, wyth what eloquence they wyl talke. Bycause Sylla hadde suche, and so excellent a daughter in his house, he was esteemed for a sage and wyse Councillour, thowgheoute all the common wealth.

He was counted verie absolute in executinge, stronge in mainteynyng, and for ryghte eloquente in speakinge.

Finallye, of thys came thys aunyente prouerbe, whyche sayeth. Lucius Sylla governeth his owne Countrey, wyth the eloquence of his Tongue: and is Lord of other straunge nacpons, by the force of his sword.

What

What the great Plato hath bene, and what greate authoritie he hath hadde amongeste hym and amongeste the straungers it is apparaunte: for so muche as the Greekes doe acknowledge hym of all other Philosophers to be the Prince: and lyke wyse the Latyns, by one consent call hym demyne.

And me thynketh that in doinge thys, they do no philosopher iniury: for as Plato in his lyfe tyme had greate modestie, so trulye in his wryttinge, he exceded mans capacitye. An Hyksosian called Hyzearchus, declareth that Lasterna and Axiothea were true Greekes very well learned, and amongeste the scollers of Plato, cheafelye renowned. The one was of so perfect a memorye, and the other of so hyghe an understandinge, that Plato oftentimes beyng in the chapyre (and these two not readye) he woulde not beginne to reade. And beinge asked wherefore he read not his lecture, he answered: I wyl not reade, for that there wanteth here understandinge, whiche shoulde vnderstande: and also memorye, that shoulde it retayne. Meanyng that Lasterna was absent, that Axiothea was not yet come.

The wysedome of those two women ought to be muche, synce Plato withoute them woulde not utter one worde, vnlesse they were pte in hys scoole. For Plato esteemed more the vnderstandinge and memorye of those two women alone: then he dyd the Philosophye of all his other Scollers together. Aristippus the Philosopher, was Scoller to Socrates, and of the most renowned of Athens. He hadde a daughter called Aretha, the whiche was so wel learned in Greeke, and Latyn letters, that the common renowne saide, that the soule of Socrates was entred into Aretha: and the cause that moued them to saye thys was, because in suche wyse the doctryne of Socrates she read, and declared, that it

seamed to most men she hadde rather wryte by hande, then learne by studye.

Boccace in the Seconde booke of the prayse of women sayeth, that thys Aretha was so excellent a woman, that she dyd not onelye learne for her selfe, but also to teache others: and dyd not onelye teache in dyuers Schooles, but also she wrote manye ond sondrye bookes, one inespelye in the prayse of Socrates, an other of the maner of bynginge by chyldren, an other of the warres of Athens, an other of the tyrannycall force, an other of the comon wealth of Socrates, an other of the infelicitie of women, an other of the Tyllage of the auntyentes, an other of the wonders of Mounte Olympus, an other of the bayncate of the Sepulchre, an other of the proouision of the Antes, an other of the woorkemanshippe of the bees in honey: and she wrote two others, the one of the vanities of yowth, and the other of y miseries of age. Thys woman dyd reade openlye naturall and morall Philosophye, in the Schooles of Athens, for the space of fyue and twentye yeares: she made fortye bookes, she hadde a hundred and tenne Philosophers to her Scollers, she dyed beinge of the age of seuentye and leuen yeares, and the Athenians after her death, engrained on her graue these wordes.

*He sliced stones within their bowels keape
T Wise Aretha, the great and onely wight
That forceib enuie gentel teares to weape
For Grekes decay, on whom the losse doth light.*

*The eye of fame, the hart of vertues life
The head of Greece, he here engrained, lo
more heuently forme then had that heuently wise
Which vnderminde the phryges toyes with noe*

*Within the chest of her vnspotted minde
lay Thymas troth, and eke her honest faith
Within her hande (as by the gods affinde)
Stood Aristippus, perne that vertue wayeth.*

These

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*Within the dongeon of her body eke
Imprisonde was, wise Socrates his soule
That liued so well, and did so wisely speke
That follies brest, he could to wisdom teulle.*

*Within her head sooner beapt with witte
Lay Homers tonge, to stayne the poetes arte
First was the golden age not halfe so fitt
For vertues Impes, as when her life did parte.*

As Marcus Varro saileth, the sectes of the philosophers were more then .70. but in the end, they were reduced into .7. and in the ende, they were broughte into .3. sectes chiefly. That is to wete, Stoicques, Peripateticques, and Pithagoricques. Of these Pithagoricques, Pithagoras was h prince. Hyzearcus, Annius Rusticus and Lactertius, with Eusebius, and Boccace, all affirme one thinge, whereunto I dyd not greatlye geue creditt, whiche is: that this Philosopher Pithagoras had a siffer, not onely learned, but (if it be lawfull to speake it) excellently learned. And they say, that not she of Pithagoras, but Pithagoras of her, learned philosophye. And of truth it is a matter whereof I was so greatly abashed, that I can not tell who coulde be master of such a womā: since she had Pithagoras the great Philosopher to her scoller. The name of the woman was Theoclea, to whom Pithagoras her brother, wrote and sente a letter, when he red Philosophie at Rhodes, & she at Samothracia doinge the like. The Pistle was thus as foloweth.

The .xxix. Chapter.

Of a Letter xvhiche Pithagoras
sent to a siffer of his.

Pithagoras thy brother, and discipule to the Theoclea his siffer, health and increase of wisdom wysheth. I haue red the booke whiche thou diddest send me,

of fortune and misfortune, from the beginninge to the endinge: and nowe I knowe, that thou art no lesse grane in making, then gracious in teaching. The which dothe not chaunce very oft to vs, which are men: and much lesse (as we haue sene) to you women. For the philosopher Aristippus was rude in speaking, & profound in witting: & Amnides was briefe in witting, and eloquent in speaking. Thou hast studied and witten in such sorte, that in the learning that thou shewest, thou seemest to haue red al the philosophers: and in the antiquities that thou doest declare, it seemeth that thou hast sene all the tyme past. Wherin thou being a woman shewest thy selfe more then a woman: bycause the nature of women is, to cast their eyes onely in that that is presente, and comonly to forget that that is passe. They tell me, that thou doest occupye thy selfe nowe in witting of our countrey. And truly in this case I can not say but that you haue matter ynoughe to wyte on: For the warres and trauayles of our tymes haue bene suche, and so great, that I had rather reade them in bookes, then see them wyth my eyes. And if it be so, as I suppose it is, I beseeche the hartelye, and by the immortall gods I coniure the, that in wytyng the affaires of thy countrey, thou doest ble thy penne discrearly. I meane, that thou do not in this case bleam the thy wytyng, by puttinge therein any flatterye, or lesinge. For oftentimes Hystorographers, in blaspyng more then trouth, the gyftes of their countrey: cause woorthelpe to be suspected the wytyng. Thou knowest very well, howe that in the battaile past, the Rhodians were ouercome, and that ours remained victorions. We thinketh thou shouldest not in this case greatly magnify, extolle, or exalt ours, by cause in the ende they foughte to reuenge their insurpe: neither thou oughtest to blame the Rhodians, for they did not fight but in the ayde of Rome. I speake thys (my Sytler) bycause for to defende their owne women

women thewe them selues sports, and for to
 defende the thinges of another man, do thewe
 them selues chikens. For in the end, he on-
 ly may be counted stronge, the whiche de-
 fendeth not his owne house: but whiche dy-
 eth, defendynge his, and another mans. I
 wyl not denye the natural loue of my coun-
 trey, nor I wyl not denye, but that I loue
 them that wyte, and speake wel therof: but
 me thinketh it is not reason, that the good-
 nes & trueth of other countries, they should
 dyspraise, nor the euell and bilenes of their
 owne so highly commend. For there is not
 in the world this daye so barren a realme,
 but may be comended for some thing there
 in: nor there is so perlyte a nation, but in
 some thinges may be reproued. Thou canst
 not denye me, but that amongst thy bre-
 thren I am the eldest, and thou canst not
 denye, but that amongst all thy dysciples,
 I am the yongest: and since that for being
 thy dysciple I ought to obeye thee, thou like
 wise, for that I am thy eldest brother, ought-
 est to beleue me. By the sayeth of a pupil
 I doe counsel the, my syster, that thou doe
 traunce muche to be profound in thy wo-
 des, byryghte in thy lyfe, and honest of thy
 parson: and besydes all this, true in thy wy-
 tyng. For I let the vnderstande, that if
 the bodye of the man withoute the soule is
 lytel regarded: I sweare vnto the, that the
 mouthe of a man withoute trueth is muche
 lesse esteemed.

The. xxx. Chapter.

The auctour foloweth his pur-
 pose, perswading princeesses and
 other ladyes to endeouour them
 selues to be vyf, as the vyemen
 were in olde time.



HIS therfore was the letter,
 the which Pithagoras sente to
 his syster Theoclea, wherby is
 shewed the greate humyltite of
 him, & the high eloquence of her. Hiarthus
 the greke, & Plutarche also in the booke of
 the gouernment of princes saye, that Pitha-
 goras had not only a syster (which was cal-
 led Theoclea) of whō he learned somuche
 philosophy, but also he had a daughter, the
 wisdom & knowledge of whom, surmoun-
 ted her aunty, & was equal to her father. I
 thinke it no lesse vncredible which is spokē
 of the daughter, then that whiche is spoken
 of h̄ aunty, which is that those of Athenes
 dyd relyse more to here her speake in her
 house, then for to here Pithagoras rede in
 the scoole. And it ought to be beleued: for the
 sayeng of the graue aucthors in h̄ on parte:
 and by that we dayly se on the other parte.
 For in the end, it is more pleasure to here a
 man tel mery tales, hauing grace & comli-
 nes in his wordes: then to here a graue mā
 speake the trueth, w̄ a rude & rough tōgue.
 I haue found in many wrytinges, what they
 haue spokē of Pithagoras, & his daughter:
 but none telleth her name, save onely in a
 pissele ȳ Phalaris the tyraunt wrote, I found
 this word writē, where he sayeth. Polichra-
 ta, that was the daughter of the philosopher
 Pithagoras, was yong, & exceeding wyse,
 more faire, then riche, & was somuch hono-
 red for the purty of her life, & so high este-
 med for her pleasaunt tōgue: that the worde
 which she spake spinning vpon her distaffe,
 was more esteemed: thē the philosophy ȳ her
 father red in the scoole. And he sayed more.
 It is so great a pity to se, & here ȳ women at
 this present, in their life so dishonest, and in
 their tonges so malicious: ȳ I haue greater
 pleasure in the good renoume of one ȳ is
 deade, then in the infamy of al them, which
 are aliue. For a good womā is more worthe
 w̄ her distaffe spinning then a hūdyed euell
 queenes, w̄ their roial scepters raigninge.
 By the wordes which Phalaris sayed in his
 letter

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letter, it seemed of this daughter of Pithagoras was called Polichrate, Pithagoras therfore made many commentaries, aswel of his owne countrey, as of strangers. In the end he dyed in Mesopotania, where at the houre of his death, he spake vnto his daughter Polichrate, & saied these wordes. I se my daughter, & the houre wherein I muste end my life appoche. The gods gaue it me, & now they wil take it from me: nature gaue me birth, and now she geueth me death: the earth gaue me my bodye, & now it retourneth to ashes. The woful fatal destinies gaue me a litel goods, mingled w many trauayles, so that (daughter) of all thinges whiche I enioyed in this worlde, I cary none w me: for hauing al as I had it, by my way of bozwing: now at my death, each man taketh his owne. I die so fully not for I leaue the riches: but for I leaue the learned. And in token of my tender harte, I bequeth vnto thee all my bookes, wherein thou shalt find the treasure of my trauayles. And I tel the, & that I geue the, is the riches gottē w myne owne sweate: not obtained, to my prejudice of another. For I lone I beare vnto the, daughter I pray the, & by the immortal gods I cōsure the, & thou be such, & so good, & althoughe I die, yet at my least thou maiest keape my memory: for thou knowest wel what Homere saith, speaking of Achilles, & Pirrus, that the good life of the child, & is alive, keapeth the renowne of the father & is deade. These were my wordes, which this philosopher spake vnto his daughter lyeng in his death bed. And though he perhappes he spake not these wordes: yet at the least this was the meaning. As the great Poet Mantuan saith, king Euander was father of my grandfather Pallas, and he was a great frēd of kyng Eneas, he vaunted him selfe to disced of his lineage of the troians: therfore whē king Eneas, & prince Turnus, had great warres betwene them, which of the shuld haue the pryncesse Lavinia in marriage (the which at that tyme was on lyf heire of Italy) king Euander ayded E-

neas, not only w goods: but also sendyng him his owne sōne in parly. For the frēdes ought for their true frēdes, willigly to shed their blood, & in their behalf, wout crumding, they ought also to spende their goods. This king Euander had a wyfe so wel learned, & by which the grekes saide of her, semeth to be fables. That is to say (of her eloquence and wisdom) for they say, that yf that which this woman wrote of the warres of Troy, had not ben brought eny cast into the fire: the name of Homere had at this day remained obscure. The reaso hereof is, because my woman was in that tyme of the destruction of Troy, & wrote as a witnes of sight. But Homere wrote after the destruction of Troy, as one affectioned vnto the prince Achilles, as a frēd of the grekes, & enemy of the Trojans. And truly whē a writer is affectioned to any person, his writing of force must be suspected. The wyfe of this king Euander was called by her name Micostrata, albeit others called her Carmēta, for the eloquence she had in her verber, for they saye, that she made as easely in meter, as others doe in prose. The historiographers saye, & the prophesied the destruction of Troy, 15. yeares before. She told the coming of Eneas into Italy, & spake of the warres, that shuld be for the marriage of Lavinia, and sayed howe Ascanius, the sōne of Eneas, shuld bylde Alba longa. She saied further, that of her late kings, shuld descēd the romaines: & that the reuenge whiche rome shuld take of Grece shuld be greater, then that which Grece did take of troy. And she sayed also that the greatest warre which rome shuld haue, shuld be against the princes of Affrike: that in the end, rome shuld triumphe ouer all the realmes of the earth, & finally, a nation unknowne, shuld triumphe for ever of rome. As Eusebius Cesarien saith, the romaines kepte these writings in as great estimaciō in the high capital: as the christiā religio keapeth the sacramēt in the temple. King Darius, after that he was vanquished in the first battail by

king

king Alexāder the great (befoze he was in the secōd battaille utterly destroyed) trauayled & sought many waies & meanes, to the end that he myght be frēd vnto Alexāder: and in very dede, king Darius was sage to seke it, but not so happy to obtēne it. For to p̄inces, the peace is moze worth than is honestie: the is the victorie, which is bluddy. Betweene those two so stout p̄inces, trence was made for .3. monethes, & in the meane tyme the p̄iestes of the Caldeans treated peace, with these cōditiōs: that the great Alexander shuld mary h̄ daughter of kinge Darius, and that Darius shoulde geue her a greate quantite of gold, & besides this, that he shuld endowe her w̄ the thirde parte of his realme. And trulye these meanes were good, for among p̄inces there is nothing that soner pacifieth olde iniuries: then to make betwene them new mariages. The kyng Alexāder excused him selfe of this mariage, saying that he was but .24. yeares of age, & that he was to yong to be married, bycause amongst the Macedoniās there was a custome: that the womā could not be married vntil .25. yeares of age, nor h̄ man vntil .30. The daughter of kinge Darius was faire, riche, & noble, but the best she wanted, for she was not wyse. And this was h̄ cause, why king Alexāder refused her for his wyfe: for in those dayes, women were not married because they were riche, but beloued because they were wyse: & finally the woman that had studied best, came cōmonly to the highest marriage. Annius Rusticus, & Quintus Seuerus say, h̄ the great Alexander (after he had soylakē h̄ daughter of king Darius) married a wyfe, which was a poore womā, & deformed, called Barcina, which in dede was neither with riches, nor beauty, endued: but without doubt in h̄ Greke & Latine tongue, most excellently learned. And whē the p̄inces of Macedony would haue withdrawē him frō that marriage, asking him why he eschamed the riche, lesse thē h̄ poore, he answered. I se my frēdes, in mariages it sufficeth h̄ husbād to be rich,

& the womā wyse: for the office of the husbād is, to winne h̄ which is lost, & h̄ office of the wyfe is, to keape that which is wōne. Strabo de situ orbis saith, that the first queene of Lides was Mirtha, the which of her boode was so lytell, that she seemed to be a dwarffe: & in quickenes of witte so hyghe, that they called her a gyante. For the man that hath a stout stomake, & litel body, maye wel be called a giānt: & he that hath a great body, & a cowardes hart, maye iustly be named a dwarffe. For h̄ this excellent Queene Mirtha was such a wyse wyfe whē she was married, & afterward also a widow very honest, and aboue al thinges in philosophy excellently learned: the Lides counted this queene Mirtha among the seven kinges, of the which they vaunted them selues to be gouerned, as of gloriuous p̄inces. For the ancientes gaue as much glozy, to women learned in letters: as to the ballaunt and stout mē, experte in armes. Cornificius the poet, as Laertius saith, had a sister called Cornificia, the which in Greke and latin letters, was not onely learned: but also in makinge meter, and epigrames, very experte. They wyte that of this woman, which of fewe men the like hath ben harde. That is to wete, that she made verses and epigrames better, at the first sight: then her brother did, with muche studye. And it is not so muche incredible, to put anye doubt in that h̄ is spokē. For h̄ pen hath moze swiftenes, of the liuely sp̄ite: then the tongue hath, of the smal vnderstāding. This poet Cornificius was. residēt a lōg tyme in rome, & was alwaies poore & vnde of al fauoure, though in dede he was better learned then others, which were in greater estimatiō: the which thing daily chaunceth in the court of p̄inces. For there is no difference, whether they be fooles or wyse: but whether they be acceptable to the P̄inces. Aristotle saith, Vbi multū de intellectu, ibi parū de fortuna. Meaning therby, that mē which of memory and vnderstāding are most rich, of h̄ goods

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this world, are commonly most poore: This poet Cornificius, therfore going throughe Rome wout ayde, bichauce, a roma named Chalphurni⁹, to seke at him sated. Tel me Cornificius, hast thou had anye fortunate day, sence thou were bozne: for in these .20. yerres y^e I haue knowe the, I neuer sawe the in favour, and if I be not disceaue, it is .15. yerres sins I knowe the haue this rote. The poore poet answered him, I let the knowe my frende, y^e I can not tel which is greater thy euill lucke, or my great felicity. The Roman Calphurnius replied, tell me Cornificius, how canst thou call thy selfe happy, sins thou hast not one lose of bread to eate, nor one gowne to put on thy backe, & why saist thou that I am unhappye, sins thou & al thy family may be fed wth y^e alone, whiche at my table remayneth. To this y^e poet Cornificius answered, I wil that thou knowe my frende and neighbour Calphurnius, y^e my felicitie is not, for that I haue litell, but for that I desire lesse then I haue, & thy euill lucke is not for that y^e hast much, but for that y^e desirest more, & dost litell esteame that that thou hast. And if thou be rich, it is for that y^e neuer speakest truth, & if I be poze it is because I neuer told lie. For the house that is wth riches stuffed: is commonly of the truth void. And I tel the further, that I cal my selfe happy, because I haue a sister whiche is the best esteamed in all Italy, & thou hast a wife, the most dishonell in all Rome. And sith it is so betwene the & me, I referre it to no mās iudemēt, but to thine, which is better: either to be poze, as I am wth honour, or els to be riche as y^e art, & to liue wth infamy. These wordes passed betwene the Roman Calphurnius, & the poet Cornifici⁹. I desire to declare the excellēcy of those fewe aunciet womē (as wel Grekes, as Latines, & Romaines) to intent y^e princesses, & great ladies may know, y^e the aunciet womē were more esteemed for their sciēces, thē for their beauties. Therfore y^e princesses & great Ladies ought to thinke, y^e if they be womē, they

were also in like maner: & if they be scaples, the others were also weake. If they be married, the other also had husbands: if they haue their willes, the other had also, what they wanted: if they be tender, the others were not strōg: Finally, they ought not to excuse them selues, saying y^e for to lerne wemē are vnnmete. For a woman hath more ability to learne sciēces in the scooles: then y^e parate hath to speake wordes in y^e rage. In my opinion, princesses & great ladies ought not to esteame thē selues more then an other, for y^e they haue sayrer heares, thē another, or for that they are better appareled thē another: or that they haue more riches, thē an other. but they ought therfore to esteame thē selues, not for that they cā do more thē others: but for y^e they knowe more thē others. To say the truth, the sayre & pelow heares, the riche & bzane apparel, the great treasours, the sumptuous pallaces, & strōg buyldinges, these & other like pleasures are not guides & leders to vertues: but rather spēs & scout watches for vices. What a noble thinge were it, y^e the noble ladies would esteime thē selues not for y^e they can do: but for y^e, that they knowe. For it is more cōmendatiō to knowe howe to teach. 2. philosophers: thē to haue auctority to cōmaūd a. 100. knyghtes. It is a shame to write it, but it is more pytiable to se it, that is to wete, to read y^e we read of y^e wisdom & worthines of y^e aunciet matrones past, & to se as we do se, the frailenes of these yōge ladies present. For they coueted to haue disciples both learned & experimēted: & these of this presēt, desire nothing but to haue seruāts, not only ignorant, but desceitful & wicked. And I do not meruaile seeing which y^e I se, which is, y^e at this present she is of litell value, & lest esteemed amongs the ladies, which is of fewest desired. What shal I say more in this matter but y^e they tīmes past strīued who shuld write better, & cōpile the best bookes: & these at this presēt do not strīue, but who shal haue y^e richest & most sumptuous apparel. For the ladies

think

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thinke it a folier matter, to weare a gowne of a newe inuention: the y^e auncientes did to read a lesse of philosophy. The auncient ladies strived which of the was wisest: but these of our dayes contend who shall be fairest. For at this day, the ladies would chose rather to haue y^e face wth beauti adozned: the y^e heart wth al y^e wisdom in Gretia endued. The auncient ladies contented which shuld be better able to teach others: but these ladies nowe a dayes, contend how they may most finely apparel the selues. For in these dayes, they giue more honour to a womā richly appareled the they giue to an other wth honestye beautified. Finally wth this worde I do conclude, & let him marke y^e shal read it, y^e in y^e old time y^e wemē were such that their vertues caused al mē to kepe silence: & now their vices be such, y^e they copel al men to speake. I wil not by this my word any mā shoulde be so bold ingenerally to speake euil of al y^e ladies: for in this case, I sweare that there are not at this day so many good vertuous wemē in y^e world: but that I haue more enuy at y^e life they lead in secret, the at al the sciēces which the auncient wemē red in publike. Wherfore my pen doth not shoue it selfe extreme but to those which only in sumptuous apparel & in vaine wordes do consume their whole life: & to those which in reading a good booke wold not spend one only houre. To proue my intēcio of y^e I haue spokē, y^e a boue writtē suffiseth. But to y^e end princesses & great ladies maye se at the lest, holue much better it shalbe for them to knowe lytel, then to haue & possesse much, & to be able to do more. I wil remembre the of y^e which a Romaine womā wrote to her children, wherby they shal perceyue howe eloquent a womā she was in her sayinges and howe true a mother in her counsel. For in the ende of her letter she perswadeth her children of the traunyles of the warre, not for any other cause, but to auoyd the pleasures of Rome.

¶ Of the vvorthines of the ladye cornelia, and of a notable epistle she vvrote to her.ii. sōnes vvhi- che serued in the vvarres, disvva- dinge them frō the pleasures of rome, and exorting them to en- dure the trauailes of vvarre.



¶ Nnius Rusticus in the booke of the antiquities of y^e Romaines sayth, y^e in Rome there were.5. principall linages, that is to wete Fabritii Torquatii. Brutii Fabii and Corneliis, though thethera were in Rome other newe linages, wherof ther were many excellēt personages: yett alwayes the se wich came of the.5. linages were kept, placed, & preferred, to the first offices of the cōmon wealth. For Rome honozed those y^e were present in such sort, that it was wout the prejudice of those that are gone. Amongest those.5. linages, y^e Romaines alwayes counted the Cornelies most fortunate y^e which were so hardy & couragious i fight & so modest in life y^e of their familie, there was neuer found any cowardly man in the feld, nor any defamed woman in the towne. They say of this linage of y^e Corneliis, amonge many other there were.4. singular & notable wemē amōge y^e which the chiefe was the mother of Gracchi whose name was Cornelia & liued wth more honoz for y^e sciēces she red in Rome, the for the cōquestes y^e her childzē had in Affricke before her childzē were brought into empyre, they talked of none other thing but of their strength & hardines, throughout al y^e world: & therfore a Romaine one daye asked this woman Cornelia whereof she toke moste vaine glozy, to se her selfe mistres of so many disciples or mother of so balliant childzē The lady Cornelia answered, I do esteeme the science more, which I haue learned the

the Children whiche I haue brought forth.
For in the ende, the children kepe in honour
the lyfe: but the disciples continue the re-
siduue after the death.

And she saide further. I am assured that
the disciples dayelye will ware better and
better: and it maye bee, that my Children
will ware worse and worse. The desyes
of yonge men are so variable, that they da-
ly haue newe inuentions. With one accoꝝd
all the wyrters do greatlye commende this
woman Cornelia, inespically for beinge
wyse and honest, and furthermoze bycause
she red philosophy in Rome openlye.

And therfoze after her death, they set vp
in Rome a Statue, ouer the gate called Sa-
laria, whereupon there was grauen this
Epigrame.

*This heape of earth, Cornelse doth enclose
Of wretched Gracches, that loe the mother was
I wyse happye in the skollers, that she chose
Vnhappye thirse, in the offsprynge that she bas.*



Monge the latines, Cicero
was the prince of all the Ro-
maine rethorike, and the chiefe-
fest with his pen inditinge of
Epistles: yet they saue, that
he did not only se the wrytinges of this Cor-
nelia, but red the, & did not onely read them
but also with the sentences thereof profited
him selfe. And hereof a man ought not to
meruaile: for there is no man in the worlde
so wise of him selfe, but may furder his do-
inges wth the aduice of another. Cicero so
highly exalted these wrytinges, that he saide
in his rethorike these or such other like woꝝ-
des. If the name of a woman had not bleas-
mished Cornelia, truly she deserved to be
head of al philosophers. For I neuer sawe
so graue sciences procede fro so fragile fleshy.
Cicero spake these woꝝdes of Cornelia, it
cā not be, but y^e the wrytinges of such a wo-
man in her time were very liuely & of great
reputaciō: yet notwithstanding there is no

memory of her, but that an author for his
purpose declarith an epistle of this maner.
Sextus Cheronensis in his booke of the
prattle of women, reciterh the letter whiche
she sente to her children, She remaininge
in Rome, and they beinge at the warres in
Affrike.

2. The letter of Cornelia to her. ii.
sonnes Tiberius and Gaius, o-
therwise called Gracchi.



Cornelia the Romaine
y^e by thy fathers side am of the
Cornelii, & on y^e mother syde
of the Fabii to you my .2. son-
nes Gracchi, which are in y^e warre of Af-
frike, such health to you do wishe, as a mo-
ther to her children ought to desire. Ye haue
vnderstode right wel my children, how my
father died, I being but .3. yeres of age, and
that this .22. yeaeres I haue remainned wy-
dowe, & that this .20. yeaeres I haue red re-
thorike in Rome. It is .7. yeres sins I sawe
ye, & .12. yeaeres sins your bretherne my chil-
dren died in the great plage. You knowe .3.
yeres are past, since I left my study & came
to se you in Cicilia, bicause you should not
forsake the warres, to come se me in Rome:
for to me could come no greater paine, thē
to se you absēt fro the seruice of the cōmon
welth. I desire my childre to shew you, how
I haue passed my life in labour & traual, to
the intent you shoulde not desire, to spend
yours, in rest & idlenes. For if to me y^e am
in Rome therē cā want no trauals: be ye as-
sured that vnto you which are in y^e warres,
shal wāt no perils. For in warres renowne
is neuer solde: but by weight or chaunged
with losse of lyfe. The yong Fabius, son of
my aunt, y^e aged Fabia, at the .3. Calēdes of
March brought me a letter, the whiche you
sent: and truly it was moze bziess then I
would haue wished it. For betwene so dere
children

childre, & so louing a mother, it is not suffer-
 red, & the absence of your persones shuld be
 so far, & & letters which you wryte so byrse.
 By those & go fro hence thither, I alwaies
 do send you commendacions: & of those & come
 from hence thither, I do enquire of newes.
 Some say they haue sene you, other tell me
 they haue spoken w you: so that w this, my
 hart is somewhat quieted. For betwene the
 that loue greatly, it may be endured that &
 sight be seldome, so & the health be certain.
 I am sole, I am a widow, I am aged, & now
 al my kindred is dead: I haue endured many
 traualles in Rome, & the greatest of all is
 (my childre) of your absence. For the paine
 is greater, to be void of assured frendes: the
 assault is dangerous, of cruel enemies. Since
 you are yong, & not very riche, since you
 are hardy, & brought vp in the traualles of
 Afrik, I do not doubte but that you do de-
 sire to come to Rome, to se & know & knowe
 you are men, which you haue sene whē you
 were children. For men doe not loue their
 countrey so much, for that it is good: as they
 do loue it, for that it is natural. Beleue me,
 childre, ther is no mā living & hath sene, or
 hard speake of Rome in times past: but hath
 great griefe, sorrow, & pitie, to see it at this
 presente. For as their hartes are pitiful, &
 their eyes tender: so they cā not behold & w-
 out great sorrow, whiche in times past they
 haue sene, in great glory. O my childre, you
 shal know, & Rome is greatly changed fro
 that it was wont to be. To reade that & we
 do reade of it in times past, & to se & whiche
 we se of it now present: we must nedes este-
 me & whiche & auncientes haue wryten as a
 gest, or els beleue it but as a dreame. There
 is no other thinge now at Rome, but to see
 iustice corrupted, & cōmen weale oppressed,
 lyes blowen abroade, the truth kept vnder,
 the satires silent, & flatterers opē mouthed,
 the inflamed personnes to be lordes, & the
 pacient to be seruantes: & aboue all, & worse
 then al, to se the euil line in rest & cōtented,
 & the good troubled & displeased. For sake,

for sake (my children) & cite, where the good
 haue occasiō to weape, & the euil haue liber-
 ty to laugh. I can not tel what to say in this
 mater, as I would say. Truly & cōmō wea-
 le is at this day such and so woful, that eche
 wise man, wout comparisson, woulde haue
 greater pleasure to be in the warres of A-
 frik: then in the peace at Rome. For in the
 good warre, a man seeth of whom he shuld
 take hede, but in & euil peace, no mā know-
 eth whom to trust. Therefore my children,
 since you are naturall of Rome. I will tell
 you what Rome is at this presente. I let you
 know, & the befall virgines are now dis-
 solute, the honour of the gods is forgottē, &
 profit of the cōmon weale no man seeketh, of
 the exercise of chivalry ther is no memory:
 for the orphanes & widowes, there is no mā
 that doth aunswere, to minstre iustice they
 haue no regard, & & dissolute vices of & youth
 are wout measure. Finally, Rome that in
 times past was a receypte, of al the good &
 vertuous: is now made a dēne, of al theues
 and bitious. I feare me, I feare me, leasse
 our mother Rome in shorte time will haue
 some sodein & great fall. And I say not with-
 out a cause. Some great fall, for both men &
 Cities, that fall fro the top of their felicitye,
 purchase greater infamy with those & shall
 come after: the the glory & they haue had of
 the that be past. Peraduenture (my children)
 you desire to see the walles and buildinges
 of Rome: for those thinges which children
 se first in their youthe, the same they loue &
 kepe alwaies in memorye vntill their age.
 As the auncientē buildinges of Rome are
 destroyed, & the few that are now builde: so
 woulde I you shoulde loose your earnest af-
 fection to come to se the. For in dede, & noble
 hartes are ashamed to se that thing amisse,
 which they can not remedy. Do not thinke,
 my children, though Rome be made worse
 in maners, that therefore it is diminished in
 buildinges. For I let you vnderstande, yf
 you knowe it not, that if a wall doth decay,
 there is no man that doth repaire it.

THE DIAL

If a house fall, ther is no man that wil raise it. If a strete be foule, ther is man that will make it cleane. If the riuer cary away any bridge, there is no man that will set it by againe. If any antiquitie decayeth ther is no man that wil amend it. If any wood be cut, ther is no man that will kepe it. If the trees were old, ther is no mā that will plant the. If the pavement of the streates be broken, ther is no man that will ley it. Finally, ther is nothing in Rome at this day so euil handled, as those thinges, which by y^e comen votes are ordered. These thinges (my childre) though I do greatly lament (as it is reason) yet you ought the al, litle to esteeme: but this alonly ought to be esteemed, & w^{ch} dropes of bloud to be lamented. That now in Rome, when y^e buildinges in many places fall downe, y^e bices al wholly together are raised by. O woful mother Rome, since that in y^e, the more the walles decay, the more y^e bices increase. Peradventure (my childre) since you are in those frontiers of Africk, you desire to se your parentes here in Rome. And ther at I meruaile not, for y^e loue, which our natural countrey do glue, y^e straunge countrey can not take away. Al those which come fro those parties, do bring vs no other certaine netwes, but of the multitude of those which dye, & are slaine in Africk, therfore since you send vs such netwes fro thence: loke not y^e we should send you any other, then the like fro hence. For death hath such auctoritie that it killeth the armed in the warres: & slepeth y^e quiet in peace. I let you knowe that Licia your sifter is deade. Drusio your vnckle is dead. Torquar^{us} your neighbour is dead. His wife our cousin, & her .3. daughters are dead. Fabius your greate frend is dead. Euader & his childre are dead. Bibul^{us} which red for me in the chaire, the last yere is also dead. Finally ther are so many, & so good w^{ch} al, y^e be dead: that it is a great shame, & pitie to se at this presēt, so many euyl, as do liue. Know ye my children, that all these & many others which ye left aliue, ful high in rome: are now become woymes meate, ful low in

der the yearth, & death also dothe summon me vnto the graue. If you (my children) did consider what shal become of you hereafter, truly you wil think it better, to weape .1000. yeares w^{ch} the dead: then to laugh one houre with those y^e be aliue. Remēbringe y^e I bare ye in great paine, & haue nourished you in great trauell, & that ye came of my proper intrailles: I would haue you, as children about me, for y^e comfort & consolatio of my paynes. But in the end beholdinge y^e prowellers of those that are past, y^e blindeth their bettes, I am cōtent to suffer so lōg absence of your persons, onely to the end, you may get honour in chinalrpe. For I had rather heare tel, you should liue like knightes in Africk: the to se you bitterly lost here in Rome. My childre, as you are in y^e warres of Africk, so doubt not, but y^e you desire to se y^e pleasures of rome: for ther is no man in this world so happye, but at his neighbours prosperitie hath some enuy. And they haue no enuy at y^e bitious, for truly bices ar of such a quality, y^e they bring not w^{ch} the so much pleasure whē they come: as they leaue sorow behynd the, when they depart for y^e true pleasure, is not in the daily which sodenly banisheth: but in y^e truth, which euermore remaineth. I thanke the immortal gods, for al these thinges, first for y^e they made me wise, & not foolish: for to a woman it is a small mater to be called so fraille, that in dede she be not foolish. The second I thank y^e gods, bycause in al times of my troubles, they haue geue me patience to endure the: for y^e mā only in this life may be called vnhappy, to whom the gods in his troubles, hath not glue patience. The third, I thank the gods for that these .605. yeares which I haue liued, neuer hytherto was defamed: for that woman by no reason can complaine of her fortune, yf none of her troubles she hath lost her honour. The fourth, I thanke the Gods, bycause thys forty yeares. I haue lyued in Rome, & remained widow, ther was neuer no mā nor womā y^e cōtēted w^{ch} me: for since we womē profite litle y^e common

common wealthe; it is but reason, that the
 which with euill demeanoures hath passed
 her life: should by iustice receaue her deatch:
 The life I giue the gods thankes, that they
 gaue my childzen, the which are better con-
 tented to suffer the traualles of A frike: the
 to enioy the pleasures of Rome. Doe not con-
 pitre me (my childzen) for so unhauingly a mo-
 cher, that I woulde not haue you alwayes
 before my eyes: but considering that many
 good mens childzen haue bene lost, only for
 being brought by in the excessive pleasures
 of Rome: I do contente my selfe with your
 absence: For that man that desireth perpe-
 tuall renowne, though he be not banished:
 yet he ought to absent him selfe fro his na-
 tive countrey. My deare childzen, I moste
 earnestly desire you, that alwaies you acco-
 payne your selues with the good, with the
 moste auncientes, & with those, whiche are
 graue, and most expert in counsel, and with
 those, that haue most sene the worlde: and do
 not vnderstand most of the worlde, by those
 that haue sene moste cotreies. For the right
 counsel proceedeth not fro the man that hath
 trauelled in many countreies: but from him
 that hath felt him selfe in many dangers,
 Since the nature of the countrey (my chil-
 dzen) doth knocke to the harnet, at the gate
 of the harte of man, I feare, & if you come
 and se your frendes and parentes, you shall
 alwaies lye in care & pensifnes, and being
 pensife, you shall alwaies lye eul contented,
 & you shall not do that which becometh Ro-
 maine knights to do. And you not being va-
 liant knights, your enemies shall alwaies
 reioice ouer you, & your desires shall neuer
 take effect: for of those men, which are care-
 full & heauye, proceedeth alwaies seruices
 unworthy. I desire you hartely, and by this
 presēt letter I counsel you, & you wil not in
 any wise seke to come to Rome: for as I haue
 told you shall know few of those & did know
 you, for cythter they are deade, or banished,
 poore or sicke, aged, or come to nought, sad
 or eul contented: so that sithens you are not

able to remedy their greues, it is beste you
 should not come hyther to se their troubles.
 For no man cometh to Rome, but to weape
 to the liuing, & to sigh for the that be deade.
 Truly (my childzen) I know not what plea-
 sure is in Rome, & shuld cause any good man
 to come hyther, and to forsahe A frike: for
 if there you haue enemies, here you shall
 want frendes. If you haue & sword & percerth
 the body, we haue & tong here, & destroyeth
 the renowne. If you be bered to the theues
 of A frike, we are wounded to the traytors,
 flatterers, & liers of Italy. If you lack rest,
 we haue here to much trouble. Finallye sea-
 ling that & I do se in Rome, & hearinge that
 which I heare of A frike: I commend your
 warre, & abhorre our peace. If you do great-
 ly esteeme & which I haue said, esteeme much
 more & which I shall say, whiche is, that we
 alwaies here that you are conquerours of &
 A frickans, & you shall here alwaies & we
 are choqued by vices. Therefore, if I am a
 true mother, I had rather see you winne a
 perpetual memory among strangers: then
 to lye to infamy at home in your cotreie.
 Peraduenture with hope that you shall en-
 herit some goodes, you wil take occasion to
 come to Rome. When this thing shall come
 to your minde, remeber (my childzen) that
 your father being alive, had not much, and
 that vnto your mother being a widow ma-
 ny thinges wanted. And remeber, & your fa-
 ther bequested you nothing but weapōs, &
 know, & fro me you shall enherite nothinge
 but bookes. For I had rather leaue my chil-
 dzen good doctrine, wherby they may liue:
 the eul riches, wherby they may perishe. I
 am not riche, nor I neuer traualled to be ri-
 che, & & cause was & I saw many mē chil-
 dzen vndone, only through & hope they had
 to enherite their parentes goodes, & after-
 ward went a hunting after vices. For they
 seldom times do any worthy seates, which
 in their youth enherit great treasures. This
 thing therfore being true (as it is in deade)
 I do not say only & I woulde watche, & toyle

as many do, to get riches and treasures: but also if I had treasures, before I would giue them vnto you, I would (as the philosopher did) cast the into the fyre. For I had rather haue my children poore, & vertuous, in Africa; then riche, and vicious in Rome. You know very wel my children, that there was amongst the Tharentins a law wel obserued, that the sonnes should not inherite any other thinge of their fathers, but weapons to fight: and the daughters should inherite the goodes, for to marry the selues with all. Truly this law was very iust, for the sonne that hath alwayes respect to the inheritaunce: will not haue to his father any great confidence. For he ought to be called a baliaut Romaine knight, that to his life hath wone honour, and by the sword hath gotten riches. Since you are in strange realmes, I pray you hartely, if you be conuersant with the good, as good brethren, remembryng alwayes that you were my children, and that I gaue you both sucke of mine owne proper breasts. And the daye that I shall hereof your disagreemēt, the same day shall be the end of my life. For the discorde in one citie of parietes, doth more harme: then a hole armie of enemies. It is good for you (my children) to liue in loue, and concord together: but it is more requisite, to kepe you to the Romaine knightes. The which, to you, & you to the, if you do not loue together in this warres: you shall neuer haue the vpper hand of your enemies. For in great armies, the discordes which amongst them rise do more harme: then the enemies do, against whom they fight. I think wel (my children) if you would be very desirous to know of my estate (that is to wete) whether I am in health, whether I am sick, whether I am poore, whether I am pleased, or whether I am discontented. In this case I know not why you should desire to know it, since you ought to presuppose, that accordinge to the troubles whiche I haue passed, & the miseries that with mine eyes I haue sene, I am filled with this worlde: for

wise men, after, so, yeares and bywarde, ought rather to apply their mindes how to receiue death: then to seke pleasures to prolonge life. When mans flethe is weake, it alwayes desireth to be well kept, euen vnto the grave. And as I am of flethe, and bone: so I do feele the troubles of the worlde, as all mortall men do. But for all this do not thinke, that to be poore or sicke is the greatest affliction; neither thinke I to be hole, & riche is the cheefest felicity: for ther is none other felicity of the old fathers, but for to se their children vertuous. In my opiniō, it is an honour to be content, if the fathers haue such children, that will take profit with their counsell: & contrary wise, that the children haue such fathers, whiche can giue it them. For the child is happy that hath a wise father: & more happy is the father that hath not a folye sonne. I do write oft times vnto you my children, but there is a law, that none be so hardy to write to men of warre in the fildes, excepte first they inuole the letters in the senare. Therefore since I write vnto you more letters then they would, they do send lesse then I desire. Though this law be painefull to mothers which haue children: yet we must cōfesse it is profitable for the weale publicke. For if a man should write to one in the warre, that bys family is not wel: he would forsake the warres to remedye it. If a man write vnto him that is prosperous, he hath then a desire to enioye it. We not displeased (my children) though all the letters I do sende vnto you, come not to your hands: For all that, I doe not cease to besythe the temples for your owne health, nor yet to offre sacrifices to the Gods for your honour. For if we do please the gods, we haue not cause to feare our enemies. I saye no more in this case, my children, but that I beseeche the immortall Gods, that yf your lyues maye profite the common wealthe, then they shorten my dayes and lengthen your yeares: but yf your lyues should be to the damage of the common wealthe, then those

those immortall gods I desire, that firste I may vnderstand the end of your daies, before that the wormes should eate my flesh. For rather then by your euyl life the glory of our predecessours should be blemished: it were muche better both your lines were ended. The grace of the Gods, the good renowne amongst men, the good fortune of the Romayns, the wisdom of the greekes, & blessing of Scippio, & of al other your predecessours, be alwayes to you my chyldren.

The. xxxii. Chapter.

Of the education and doctrine of childre, vvholes they are very yong. VVherin the auctour declareth many notable histories.



ALL mortal men, vvhich will trauell, & see good fruite of thesē trauell, ought to doe as the chiefe artificer did, that painted the world: For y mā

that maketh god the head of his workes, it is impossible that he should erre in y same. That whiche we beleue, and reade by wyrtinges, is that the eternall creator created the world, in short space by his mighte: but preserved it a longe time by his wisdom. Wherof a man maye gather, y the time to do a thinge is short: but the care & thought to preserve it is long. We see dayly, that a ballaunt captaine assaulteth his enemies: but in the end, god doth giue him y victory. but let vs aske the conquerour, what trauell it hath bene vnto him, or wherein he hath perceaied mosse daunger (that is to wete) either to obtayne the victory of his enemies. or els to preserve them selues, amongst the enuious & malicious, I sweare, & affirme, y such a knight will sweare, y ther is no comparison betwene the one & the other: for by the bloody sword, in an houre the victorye is obtained, but to kepe it with reputation, the sweet of al the life is required. Laertius

in y booke of the life of the philosophers declareth, & Plato also hereof maketh mention, in the bookes of his comon wealth, y those of Thebes, vnderstandinge y the Lacedemonians had good lawes (for y which they were of the gods fauoured, & of men greatly honoured) determined to send by comon assent & agreement, a wise philosopher, y best esteemed amongst them (whose name was Phetonius) to whom they commaunded, that he should aske the lawes of the Lacedemonians, & that he should be very circumspect and ware, to see what there rules and customes were. Those of Thebes were then very noble, balliunt, and honest: so that their principal end was, to come to honour & renowne, to erect buildinges, & to make the selues of immortall memory, for being vertuous. For in building, they were very curious: & for vertues, they had good Philosophers.

The philosopher Phetonius, was more the a yere in y realme of the Lacedemonians, beholding at soday times all thinges therein: for simple mē, do not note thinges, but only to satysfy the eyes: but the wise men beholdeth them, for to know & vnderstande theyr secrettes. After y the philosopher had wel & plainely sene and behelde all the thinges of the Lacedemonians: he determined to retourne home to Thebes, & beinge arrived, al the people came to se him and heate him. For the vanitie of the common people is of such a qualitie, y it foloweth new inuētōs: and despiseth auncient customes. Al the people therefore gathered together, the good philosopher Phetonius set vp in y middell of the market place a gybet, boote prons, a sword, a whip, & fetters for the feete: y which thing done, the Thebains were no lesse (as they thought, slandered, then abashed. To the which he spake these wordes. You Thebains sente me to the Lacedemonians, to the entent I should learne their lawes and customes, & in dede I haue bene ther more then a yere, beholding al thinges very diligently: for we philosophers ar bound, not only to note

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to note that which is done, but also to know why it is done. knowe ye Thebains, that this is the aunswere of my Ambassage.

That the Lacedemonians hange vpon this Gybet, theues, with this same sworde they behede traytors; with these hoothe Irons, they tormēt blasphemers and lyers, with these rodde, they whippe vacabōdes, and with these Irons, do keape the rebels, and the others are for players, and vnchistnes. Finally I say, that I do not bring you the lawes written, but I bring you the Instruments wherewith they are obserued.

The Thebans were abashed to see these thinges, and spake vnto him suche wordes. Consider Phetonius we haue not sente the to the Lacedemonians, to bring instruments to take away life: but for the good lawes to gouerne the common wealth. The philosopher Phetonius replied again, and answered. Thebains, I let you wete, that yf ye know what we philosophers knowe, you shoulde see howe farre your myndes were from the truth: for the Lacedemonians are not so vertuous thorough the lawes which were made, of them that be dead: as for the meanes they haue sought, to preserve them that be alpye. For maters of Justice consist more in execution: then in commaunding or ordeining. Lawes are easely ordeyned, but with difficultye executed: for there are a thousande to make them, but to put them in execution, there is not one. Fullittle is that which men know that are present: in respect of that those know, which are past. But yet accoordinge to my litle knowelledge. I proffer to giue as good lawes to you Thebains, as euer were obserued amonge the Lacedemonians. For there is nothing more easy, then to know the good: and nothinge more comen, then to folow the euill. But what profiteth it, if one wyll ordeine, and none vnderstand it. If ther be, that doth vnderstand the, there is none that executeth them. If there be, that executeth them, there is none that obserueth them.

If there be one, that obserueth them, ther is a thousand that reproueth them. For wythout comparisson, mo are they that murmur and grudge at the good, then those whiche blame and despise the euill. You Thebains are offended, because I haue brought suche Instrumentes, but I let you wete, yf you wyll neither Gybet, nor sworde to kepe that which shalbe ordeyned, you shall haue your bookes full of lawes, and the comon wealth full of vices. Wherefore I sweare vnto you, that there are mo Thebains, which folowe the deliciousnes of Denis the tyrant: then there are vertuous men, that folowe the lawes of Lyncurgus. If you Thebains doe desire greatly to knowe, with what Lawes the Lacedemonians doe preserve their comon wealth: I wyll tell you them all by sworde, and if you wyll reade them, I wyll shewe you them in writinge. But it shalbe vpon condition, that you shall sweare all openly, that once a daye you shall employe your eyes to reade them, and your persones to obserue the. For the prince hath greater honour, to se one onely law to be obserued in dede: then to ordeine a thousand by writinge. You ought not to esteeme muche to be vertuous in harte, nor to enquire of the vertue by the mouthe, nor to seeke it by labour & trauaile of the feete: but that which you ought greatly to esteeme is, to knowe what a vertuous lawe meaneth, and that knowe, immediatly to execute it, and afterwards to kepe it. For the chiefe vertue is not, to doe one vertuous work: but in sweet & trauaile, to continue in it. These therefore were the wordes, that this philosopher Phetonius saide to the Thebains. The whiche (as Plato saith) esteemed more his wordes that he spake: then they did the lawes which he brought. Truly in my opinion, those of Thebes are to be praised and comended: and the philosopher for his wordes is worthy to be honoured. For the end of those, was to searche lawes, to liue well: and the ende of the Philosopher, was to seke good mea-

nes for to kepe them in vertue. And therfore he thought it good, to shewe them, and put before their eyes the gibbet, and the sword, with the other instrumentes and tozmetes. For the euill do refraine from vice more for feare of punishmente, then for any desire they haue of amendement. I was willynge to bringe in this Historie, to shende that all curious and vertuous men, may se & know, howe lytell the auncientes did esteeme the beginninge, the meane, and the ende of vertuous woorkes, in respect of the perseuerance and preseruacion of them. Cominge therfore to my matter, which my pen doth tolde and seke: I aske nowe presently, what it profiteth princes and great ladies, that God do gyue them great estates, that they be fortunate in marriages, that they be all reuerenced and honored, that they haue great treasures for thire inheritaunces, and aboue all that they se their wiues great with childe, & that afterwarde in toy they se them deliuered: that they se their mothers geuing theyr children sucke, and synally they se them selues happie, in y they haue found them good nources, helthfull and honest. Truly al this auaieth lytle, if to their children (when they are yonge) they doe not giue masters to instruct them in vertues: and also if they do not recomend them to good guydes, to exercise them in feates of Chynallise. The fathers, whiche by lyghes, penetrate the heauen, by prayers importune the Saindes, onely for to haue children, ought first to thinke, why they wil haue children: for that iustly to any man may be denyed, which to an euill ende is procured. In my opinion, y father oughte to desyre to haue a chyld, for that in his age he may susteine his lyfe in honour: and that after his deth he may cause his fame to liue. And if a father desireth not a sonne for this cause, at the leaste he ought to desire him, to the ende in his age, he may honor his hoirehed: and that after his deth, he may enheryte his goodes, but we see fewe children doe these thinges to their fathers in theyr age:

yf the fathers haue not taught them in their youth. For the fruite doeth neuer growe in the harvest: vnlesse the tree did bere blosomes in the springe. I se oftentimes many fathers complaine of their Children, saieinge, that they are disobediente, and proude vnto them: and they do not consyde, that they them selues are the cause of all those euilles. For to moche aboundaunce and lybertie of youth is no other: but a prophesie and many fesse toke of disobedience in age. I know not why the princes and great lordes do toyle, and oppresse so moche, and scrache to leaue their children great estates, and on the other syde we see, that in teachinge them they are and shewe them selues to neglygente: for princes and great lordes ought to make account, that all that which they leaue of their substance to a wicked heyre, is vtterly lost. The wyse men, and those whiche in their consciences are vprighte, and of their honours carefull, ought to be very diligent to bringe vp their children, and chiefly, that they consyde whether they be mete to inherite their estates. And yf perchaunce the fathers se that their children be more giuen to follye, then to noblenes and wysdome: then should I be ashamed, to se a father that is wise, traualle all the dayes of his lyfe, to leaue moch substance, to an euill brought vp childe after his death. It is a grieve to declare, and a monstrous thinge to se, the cares which the fathers take to gather ryches: and the dyligence that children haue to spende them. And in this case I saye, the sonne is fortunate, for that he doeth inherite, and the father a foole, for that he doth bequeth.

In my opinion, fathers are bounde to instructe theyr Children well, for two causes: the one for that they are their children, the other for that they are nearest, and also because they ought to be theyr heyres. For truly with great greife and sorrowe, I suppose he doth take his death: whiche leaueth to a foole, or an vnhysite, the toyle of all his lyfe.

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Hyzearcus the Greeke hyffozten in the booke of his antiquities, and Sabellique in his general hystorie saierth, that a father, and a sonne, came to complayne to a philosopher, named Solon Solinon: the sonne complained of the father, and the father of the sonne.

Firste the sonne informed the quarel to the Philosopher, sayeng these wordes. I complayne of my father, because he being ryche hathe dysherpyed me, and made me poore, and in my steade, hathe adopted another heire, the whiche thinge my father oughte not, nor cannot doe. For sence he gaue me so fragile fleshe, it is reason he geue me his goods to maintayne my feblenes. These wordes aunswered the father. I complayne of my sonne, because he hathe not bene as a gentle sone, but rather as a cruel enemye, for in all thinges, since he was bozne, he hathe bene disobedient to my wil, wherefore I thoughte it good to dysherpye hym, before my death. I woulde I were quite of all my substance, so that the gods had quyte hym of his lyfe: for the earthe is verie cruel, that swalloeth not the chylde alyue, whiche to his father is dysobedyent. In that he sayeth, I haue adopted another chylde for myne heire. I confesse it is true: and forsomuche as he sayeth, that I haue dysinherpyed hym, and abiected hym from my herpytage, he beinge begotten of my olone bodye, hereunto I aunswere.

That I haue not dysinherpyed my sonne, but I haue dysinherpyed his pleasure, to the intent he shall not enioye my trauayle: for there can be nothinge more vnjust, then that the yonge and bytious sonne, shoulde take his pleasure, of the swette and droppes of the aged father. The sonne replied to his father, and sayde. I confesse I haue offended my father, and also I confesse that I haue liued in pleasures: yet if I may speake the trueth, though I were disobedient and euyl, my father oughte to beare the blame and if for this cause he doeth dysherpye me,

I thinke he dothe me great injury. For the father that enstracteth not his sone in vertue in his yowthe: wrongfullye dysherpyeth hym, though he be dysobedyent in his age. The father agayne replyeth, and sayeth. It is true my sonne, that I brought the vp to wantonlye, in thy yowthe, but thou knowest well that I haue taughte the sondrye tymes, and besydes that, I dyd correcte the when thou camest to some dyscretion. And if in thy yowthe I dyd not instructe the in learnynge, it was for that thou in thy tender age dydest wante vnderstandynge: but after that thou haddest age, to vnderstand, dyscrecyon, to receiue, and strengthe to exercise it. I began to punyshe the, to teache the, and to instructe the. For where no vnderstandynge is in the chylde: there in vaine they teache doctryne. Sence thou arte olde (quoth the sonne) and I yonge, sence thou arte my father, and I thy sonne, for that thou haste whyte heres of thy bearde, and I none at all: it is but reason, that thou be beleued, and I condemned. For in this world, we se oftentimes, that the smal authorytye of the parson: maketh hym to lose his greates iustyce. I graunte the (my father) that when I was a chylde, thou dydst cause me to learne to reade: but thou wylte not denye, that if I dyd commit anye faulte, thou wouldest neauer agree I shoulde be punysshed. And hereof it came, that thou sufferynge me to doe what I woulde in my yowthe, haue bene dysobedyent to the euer since in my age. And I saye to the further, that if in this case I haue offended, teulye me thinketh thou canste not be excused: for the fathers in the yowthe of their chylzen, oughte not onelye to teache them to dyspute of vertues, and what vertue is: but they ought to inforce the to be vertuous in dede. For it is a good token, when the yowth befor they knowe byces, hathe bene accustomed to practyse vertues. Bothe parties then dilygentlye harde, the good Philosopher Solon Solinon, spake these wordes.

I geue indgemente, that the father of this chylde be not beried after hys deathe: and I commaunde, that the sonne bycause in hys yowthe he hath not obeyed hys father, who is olde, shoulde be disinherited whyles the father lyueth from all hys substaunce, on suche condycion, that after hys death, hys sonnes shoulde inheryte the heretage, and so returne to the heires of the sonne, and lyne of the father: For it were brutish, that the innocencye of the sonne shoulde be condemned, for the offence of the father, I doe commaunde also, that al the goods be committed vnto some faythful parson, to theend they may geue the father meate and drinke durynge his lyfe, and to make a graue for the sonne after his deathe. I haue not withoute a cause geuen suche indgemente, the whiche comprehendeth lyfe and deathe: for the Gods wyl not, that for one pleasure the punishment be double, but that we chastise and punyssh the one in the lyfe, takynge from hym his honoure and goods: and that we punyssh others after there death, taking from them memoire and beryall.

Trulye the sentence whiche the Philosopher gaue, was graue, and woulde to God we had hym for a iudge of this worlde presently: for I liuere, that he shoulde fynde manye chyldren, nowe a dayes for to dyscypyle, and mo fathers to punyssh. For I cannot tel whiche is greater, the shame of the chyldren to disobey their fathers: or the negligence of the father, in brynging vp their chyldren. Sextus Cheronensis in the seconde booke of the saynges of the Philosophers, declareth that a citezen of Athens sayede on daye to Diogenes the Philosopher, these wordes. Tel me Diogenes, what shall I doe to be in the fauoure of the gods, and not in the hatred of men: for oft tymes amongst you Philosophers, I haue harde saye, that there is great difference betwene that y the Goddes wyl, and that which men loue. Diogenes answered. Thou speakest more then thou thoughtest to speake, that

the gods wyl one thinge, and men another: for the gods are but as a center of mercy, and men are but as a denne of malyce: if thou wylte inioye rest in thy dayes, and keape thy lyfe pure and cleane: thou must obserue these thre thinges.

The firste, honour thy gods deuoutlye. For the man whiche doeth not the gods serue and honoure, in all hys enterpryses shalbe vnfortunate.

The seconde, be very dyligent, to bryng vp thy chyldren well. For the man hath no enemye so troublesome, as his olone sonne, if he be not wel brought vp.

The thirde thinge, be thankfull to thy good benefactours, and frendes. For the Oracle of Apollo sayeth, that the man who is vnthankfull, of all the worlde shalbe abhorred. And I tel the further my frend, that of these thre thinges the most profitable (though it be more troublesome) is for a man to teache and bryng vp his chyldre wel.

This therefore was the aunswere, that the Philosopher Diogenes made to the desmaunde of the Cytezen. It is a greate pyrie and grieve to see, a yonge childe, howe the bloud doth stirre him, to se howe the fleshe doth prouoke him to accomplishe his desire, to se sensualitye go before, and he him selfe to come behinde, to se the malitious worlde to wathe him, to se howe the deuill doth tempt him, to se howe byces bynde him, and in all that whiche is spoken, to se howe the father is negligent, as if he had no chyldren: where as in deed the old man, by the fewe vertues that he hath had in his youth: maye easelye knowe the infyrmyte byces, wherewith his sonne is compassed. If the expert had neuer ben ignorant, yf the fathers had neuer ben chyldren, yf the vertuous had neuer ben vicious, yf the fyne wittes had neuer ben deceived, it were no meruaille, yf the Fathers were negligent in teachynge their chyldren: For the lytell experyence, excuseth men of great offences: but synce thou arte a father, and that fyrst thou were a sonne, synce thou

THE DIAL

art olde, and haſt beſt yonge, and beſydes al
this, ſynce that pryde hath enflamed the, le-
chery hath burned the, wꝛath hath wounded
the, neglygence hath hindꝛed the, couetouſ-
nes hath blyned the, and glotonie ſuffered
the, tel me cruell father, ſince ſo many vices
haue reigned in the: why haſte thou not an
eye to thy childe, whom of thy owne bloude
thou haſt begotten: And yf thou doeſt it not
bycauſe he is thy childe, thou oughteſt to do
it, becauſe he is thy neareſt. For it is vnpoſ-
ſible y the chyld which with many byces is
aſſaulted, and not ſuccoured: but in the ende
he ſhould be infamed, and to the diſhonoure
of the father moſt wickedly ouercome. It is
vnpoſſible to kepe fleſhe well ſauozed, vn-
leſſe it be fyrſte ſalted. It is vnpoſſible that
the fyſhe ſhoulde lyue without water. It is
vnpoſſible but that the roſe ſhoulde wyther
which is of the thozne ouergrowen. So like
it is vnpoſſible, that the fathers ſhould haue
any comfozte of their chyldzen in their age,
vnleſſe they haue inſtructed them in vertue
in their youth. And to ſpeake further in this
matter, I ſay, y in the chꝛiſtia catholike reli-
gion, where in dede there is good doctrine,
there alwayes is ſuppoſed to be a good con-
ſcience. Amongeſt the wyrters it is a thing
wel known, how Eſchines the philoſopher
was banyſhed from Athens, and with all
his ſamply came to dwel at rhodes. The oc-
caſion was, bycauſe that he, and the philoſo-
pher Demoſthenes were in great cōten-
tion in the common wealth. Wherefoze the
Athenians determined to banyſhe the one,
and to keape the other with them. And tru-
lye they dō wel, for of the contentions and
debates of ſages, warres moſte commonly
ariſe amongeſt the people. This philoſopher
Eſchines being banyſhed at rhodes, amon-
geſt others made a ſolēpne oration, wher in
he greatly reppꝛoueth the rhodiens, that they
were ſo neglygēt in bꝛynging by their childe-
zen, ſaying vnto them theſe wordes. I let
you vnderſtande (Lordes of rhodes) that
your pꝛodeceſſours aduanced them ſelues

to diſcende, and to take their beginninge of
the Lides: the which aboue al other natiōs,
were curioſus, and diligent to bꝛyng by their
chyldezen: and hereof came a law, that was
amonge them, whiche ſaid.

We ordeine and commaunde, that if a
father haue manye chyldezen, that the moſte
vertuous ſhoulde enherite the goods, and
riches: and if there were but one vertuous,
that he alone ſhuld inherite the whole. And
if perchaunce the chyldezen were vitious,
that then al ſhould be departed from the he-
ritage. For the goods gotten with trauaile
of vertuous fathers, oughte not by reaſon,
to be inherited with vitious chyldezen. Theſe
were the wordes, that the philoſopher ſpake,
to the ſenate of the Rhodes: and becauſe he
ſaid in that Oration manye other thinges
whiche touche not oure matter, I wyl in
this place omit them. For amonge excels-
lent wyrters, the wyrtynge loſeth muche
aucthoritye, when the aucthour from hys
purpoſe, into another matter digreſſeth.
To ſaye the truthe, I doe not meruaile, that
the chyldezen of pꝛinces and greate lordes be
adulterers, and belly gods, for that on the
on parte youthe is the mother of Idlenes,
and on the other that lyttel experyence, is
the cauſe of greate offences. And further-
moze, the fathers being once deade, the chil-
dezen enherite there goods as quietly, being
with vices laden: as if (in dede) they were
with vertues endued, if the yonge chyldezen
dyd knowe, for a certayne, that the lawes
of the lydes ſhoulde be obſerued (that is to
witte) that they ſhould not enherite vnleſſe
they were vertuous: it is vnpoſſible, but
that they woulde leade a good lyfe, and not
in this wiſe to runne at large in the world.
For they do abſteine moze from doing euil
fearynge to loſe that whiche they do poſſeſſe:
then for anye loue to doe that, whiche they
oughte. I doe not denye, but accordynge
as the natures of the fathers is dyuers, ſo
the inclinacions of the chyldezen are varya-
ble. For ſomuche as ſome folowynge their
good

good inclination are good, and others not
resistinge yuel sensualities, are yuel. But
yet in this matter I saye, that it lieth much
in the father, that doeth bringe them vp,
when as yet they are yonge: so that the iuel
whiche nature gaue, by good bringinge vp
is refrayned. For oftentimes the good cus-
tome, doeth ouercome all yuel inclination.
Princes and great lordes that wylbe dylig-
gente in the instruction of their chyldren,
ought to enforme theiſt maſters, and tutoꝝ
that ſhall teache them, to what vyces and
vertues their chyldren are moſte inclyned:
and this ought to be, to encourage them in
that that is good, and contrary, to reprove
them in al that is euil. For men are vndone
for no nother cause, when they be olde: but
for that they had ſomuche pleasures, when
they are yong. Sextus Cheronenſis in the
ſecond booke of the ſatenges of the auncien-
tes ſaith, that on a day a citizeen of Athens
was byeng thinges in the market, & for the
qualitie of his perſon, the greateſt parte of
them were ſuperfluous and nothing neces-
ſary. And in this caſe the poore are no leſſe
culpable, then the riche: and the riche then
the poore. For that is ſo litle, that for to ſuſ-
teine mans life it is neceſſary: that he which
hath leſſe, hath therunto ſuperfluous. There-
fore at that time, when Athens and her com-
mon wealth was the lanterne of al Grece,
there was in Athens a law long vſed, and
of great time accuſtomed: y nothing ſhould
be bought, befoze a phyloſopher had ſet the
pryce. And truly the law was good, & would
to god the ſame lawe at this preſente were
obſerued: for there is nothing that deſtroieth
a commo wealth moze, then to permit ſome
to ſel as tirauntes, & others to by as fooles.
When the Thebane was byeng theſe thin-
ges, a phyloſopher was there preſent, who
ſaied vnto him theſe wordes. Tel me I pray
the, thou man of Thebes, wherefoze doeſt
thou coſume & waſte thy money, in y which
is not neceſſarye for thy houſe, noz profita-
ble for thy perſon: the Thebane aunſwered

him. I let the know, that I doe bye all theſe
thinges for a ſonne I haue of the age of .20.
yeares, the whiche neuer did thing that ſea-
med vnto me euil, noz I neuer denaied him
any thinge, that he demaunded. This philo-
ſopher aunſwered. O how happy were thou,
if as thou arte a father, thou were a ſonne,
and that whiche the father ſayeth vnto the
ſonne, the ſonne would ſay vnto the father:
but I am offended greatlye, with that thou
haſte tolde me. For vntyl the chylde be .25.
yeares old, he ought not to gaine ſay his fa-
ther: & the good father, ought not to condeſ-
cend vnto the appetites of the ſonne. Nowe
I cal the curſed father, ſinſe thou arte ſub-
ſeite to the will of thy ſonne: & that thy ſonne
is not obedient, to the will of his father, ſo that
thou altereſt the order of nature. For ſomuch
as the father is ſonne of his ſonne, and the
ſonne is father of his father. But in the end,
I ſweare vnto the by the immortall Gods,
that when thou ſhalt become old, thou ſhalt
weape by thy ſelfe at that, whiche (with thy
ſonne) thou dideſt laughe, when he was yonge.
Though the wordes of this phyloſopher were
fewe: yet a wiſe man wyl iudge the ſentences
to be many. I conclude therfoze, that prin-
ces and great lordes ought to recommend
their chyldre to their maſters, to theend they
may teache them, to chaunge their appeti-
tes, & not to followe their owne will: ſo that
they wold aſwe them fro their owne will, and
cauſe them to learne the aduiſe of another.
For the moze a man geueth a noble man
ſonnes the bydel, the moze harder it is for
them to receiue good doctrine.

The. xxxiii. Chapter.

Princes ought to take hede that
their children be not brought vp in
vaine pleaſures. For ofte times they
are ſo vicked, that the fathers vould
not only haue them with ſharpe
diſcipline corrected: but alſo
with bitter teares buried.



BY experience yve se,
that in warre (for the de-
fence of men) rampiers
& fortres are made accord-
ding to the qualty of the
enemies, & those which
saile the dangerous seas, doe chose greate
shippes, whiche maye brooke the waues of
the raging sea: so that al wise mē accordyng
to the qualty of the daūger, do seke for the
same in tyme some remedye. Oftentimes I
muse with my selfe, and thinke if I coulde
finde any estate, any age, any land, any na-
tion, any realme, or any world, wherin ther
hath bene any mā that hath passed this life
without tassing, what aduersite was: for if
such a one were found, I thinke it shuld be
a mostrous thing thoroughout al the yearth,
and by reaso, both the ded & liuing shuld en-
uise him. In the end, after my count made, I
finde the which yesterday was riche, to day
is poore: he the which was hole, I se him to day sick:
he that yesterday laughed, to day I see him
wepe: he the which had his hartes ease, I se him now
soze afflicted: he the which was fortunat, I see him
vn lucky: finally, him whom we knew aliue
in the towne, now we se beried in the graue.
And to be beried is nothing els, but to be vt-
terly forgottē: for māns frendshipp is so fraile
that whē the corpe is couered wth earthe, im-
mediately the dead is forgottē. One thing me
thinketh to al men is greuous, & to those of
vnderstandyng no lesse paineful, which is,
that the miseries of this wicked world are not
equally deuided, but the oftentimes al worldly
calamities lieth in the necke of one mā alone.
For we are so vnfortunat, the world ge-
ueth vs pleasures in sight, and troubles in
prose. If a mā shuld aske a sage mā now a
daies, who hath liued in meane estate, & that
he wuld be cōtured to tel him what he hath
past, sinse .3. yeares that he began to speake,
vntil .50. yeares that he began to ware olde:
what thinges thinke you he wuld tel vs, the
which hath chaunced vnto him: truly all these that
here folloiw. The grefes of his children, the

assaultes of his enemies, the importunitees
of his wyfe, the wantonnes of his dought-
ters, sickness in his person, greate losse of
goods, generall sampe in the cytye, cruel
plagues in his countrey, extreame colde in
winter, noisome heate in sommer, sorrowful
deathes of his frendes, & enniuous prosperi-
ties of his enemies: finally he wil saye, that
he passed such & so many thinges, that ofte-
times he bewailed the woful lyfe, & desired
the swete death. If the miserable man hath
passed such thinges outwardly, what wuld
he saye of those, which he hath suffered in-
wardly: the which though some dyscreate
men maye know, yet truly others dare not
tel. For the traiaples which the body pass-
eth in .50. yeares, maye welbe counted in a
daye: but that which the harte suffereth in
one daye, cannot be counted in a hundred
yeares. A man cannot denaye, but that we
wuld counte him rather, which with a rede
wuld mete another that hath a sword: and
him for a foole, that wuld put off his shoes, to
walke vpon the thornes. But without com-
pariso, we ought to esteame him for the moste
foole, that with this tender fleashe thinketh
to preuaile against so many euil fortunes:
for withoute doubt, the man that is of his
bodye delicate, passeth his lyfe with much
paine. How happy maye that man be cal-
led, which neuer tasted what pleasure mea-
neth. For men which from their infancy
haue bene broughte vp in pleasures, for
want of wysedome knowe not howe to
chose the good, and for lacke of force can-
not resiste the euil: which is the cause, that
noble mens children oftentimes comyt son-
dry heynous offences. For it is an infallible
rule, that the more a man geuerth hym selfe
to pleasures, the more he is entangled in vi-
ces. It is a thinge woorthy to be noted, and
wofull to see, howe politike we be to aug-
mente thinges of honour, howe bolde we be
to enterpryse them, howe fortunat to
come passe them, howe dyligent to keape
them, howe circumspecte to susteyne them,
and

and afterwarde what pitie is it to see, hows
 vnfortunate we are to lose all that, whiche
 so longe time we haue searched for, kept, &
 possessed. And that whiche is most to be la-
 mented in this case is, that the goodes and
 honour are not losse for want of diligence
 and trauayle of the father: but for the abo-
 undaunce of pleasures, and vices of the son-
 ne. Fynally, let the ryche man knowe, that
 that whiche he hath wonne in labour and
 toyle wakyng: hys sonne (beyng euill
 brought vp) that consume in pleasures slea-
 ping. One of the greatestte vanities that
 raygneth at this daye amonge the children
 of vanitie is, that the father can not shewe
 vnto his sonne the loue whiche he beareth
 him, but in suffering him to be brought vp
 in the pleasures & vanities of this life. Tru-
 ly he y is suche a one, ought not to be called
 a pitiefull father, but a cruel stepfather: for
 no man wil denye me this, but that where
 there is youth, libertie, pleasure, & money,
 there wil al the vices of this world be resy-
 dent. Lyncurgus the greatesse kinge, gener of
 lawes, & sage Philosopher, defined to the
 Lacedemonians, that al h children which
 were borne in cities, & good towne, should
 be sente to bringe vp in villages, till they
 were. 25. yeares of age. As Lyuius sayeth
 that the Lygures were, which in old tyme
 were confederate with those of Capua, &
 great enemies to the people of Rome. They
 had a law amongst the, y none should take
 wages in the warres, vnlesse he had bene
 brought vp in the felde, or y he had bene
 a hard man in h mountaines: so y through
 one of these. 2. waies, their fleshe was hard-
 ned, their ioyntes accustomed to suffer the
 heate, & the cold, & their bodies more meete
 to endure h trauailes of the warres. In the
 yeare of the foundation of Rome. 440. the
 Romaines made cruel warres to the Ly-
 gures, against whom was sent Cneus Fa-
 bicus, of the whiche in the end he triumphed:
 & the day folowing this triumph, he
 spake vnto the Senate these wordes. Wor-
 thy Senatours, I haue bene this. 5. yeares

against the Lygures, & by h immortal gods
 I sweare vnto you, y in all this time there
 passed not one weke, but we had either bat-
 taile, or some perillous scarmuche. And that
 which a man ought most to meruaile at is,
 y I neuer perceaued any feare or cowardli-
 nes to be in those barbarous people, wher-
 by they were constrained to demaund peace
 of h people of Rome. These Lygures pour-
 sued with such fearcenes the warres, y ofte
 times they toke away from vs, all hope to
 winne the victorie: for betwene armies, the
 greatesse might of h one, doth put alwaies the
 others in feare. And I will tel you (fathers
 conscript) their bringing vp, to the ende the
 Romaine youth shoulde take hereby exaple.
 When they are yonge they are putte to be
 sheaperdes, because they should accustome
 their fleshe in the mountaines to endure tra-
 uailes: by the whiche custome, they are so
 muche maisters of the selues (the countrey
 being alwaies full of snow & yce in h win-
 ter, & also noysome throughe the extreame
 heate in the somer) y I sweare by the God
 Apollo, in al this time of. 5. yeres, of those
 we haue not sene one presse to the fyre in h
 winter, nor cooet the shadow in the somer.
 Do not ye thinke worthy Senatours, that I
 was willing to declare vnto you these thin-
 ges in the Senate, for any desire I haue, y
 you shoulde esteeme any thinge the more my
 triumph: but I do tell it you to this end, y
 you maye haue an eye, & take hede to your
 me of war, to thend they may alwaies be oc-
 cupied, & y you suffer the not to be idle. For
 it is more perillous for h Romaine armies,
 to be overcome to vices: the to be discōfited
 to their enemies. And to talke of these mat-
 ters more at large, me thinketh they shoulde
 prouide & comaund, y riche me shoulde not be
 so hardy, to bring vp their children to dely-
 cately: for in the ende, it is vnpossible that
 the delicate parson shoulde winne wpyth his
 handes, the honoure of manye victories.
 That whiche moued me to say so much as I
 haue said (worthy Senatours) is to the ende
 you may know, that the Lygures were not

ouercome by the power of Rome: but by cause fortune was against them. And since in nothing fortune sheweth her selfe so variable as in the thinges of warre: me thinketh, that though the Ligures are now vanquished & ouercome, yet notwithstandinge you ought to enterteine them in loue, & to take them for your confederates. For it is not good counsell, to hazarde that into the handes of fortune, which a mā may copasse by frendshippe. The auctor of this which is spoken, is called Iunius Prætor, in þe booke of the concord of realmes, & he saith in þe place, that this captaine Cneus Fabritius, was counted no lesse sage for that he spake: then esteemed valiaunte, for þe he did. In the olde time, those of þe Isles Balleares (which now are called Maioreque, and Minorque) thoughte they were not counted wise: yet at the last in byringinge by their children, they shewed them selues not negligent. Bycause they were broughte by in hardnes in theyr youth, & could not endure al painefull exercises of þe warres. Those of Carthage gaue 5. prisoners of Rome, for .i. slaue of Maioreque. Diodorus Siculus sayth, In those Isles, the mothers did not geue the children bread with their owne handes: but they did put it on a highe pole, so that they might se the breade with their eyes, but they could not reache it with their handes. Wherefore when they would eate, they shoulde firste with hurling of stones, or slinges winne it, or els fast. Though the worke were of children: yet the inuention came of a hygh wit. And hereof it came that the Balleares were esteemed for valiaunte men aswell in wrestling, as in slinges for to hurle: for they dyd hurle with a slinge to hit a whyte, as the Lygures shoote now in a crosse bowe, to hit þe pricke. Those of great Britayne, which nowe we call Englande, amongeste al the Barbarous, were men moste Barbarous: but you ought to knowe, that wythin the space of fewe yeares, þe Romanes were vanquished of them many times. For time

in all thinges bringeth suche chaunge, and alteration, that those which once we knewe great lordes: within a while after, we haue sene them slaues. Herodian in the hyffory of Sererus, emperour of Rome sayth, that an Imballatour of Britaine beinge one day in Rome (as by chaunce they gaue hym a froward aunswere in the Senate) spake stoutely before them all, and saide these wordes. I am sozy you will not accepte the peace, nor graunt truce: the whiche thyng shalbe for þe greater iustificatio of our warres. For afterwarde none can take, but þe which fortune shal giue. For in the end, the delicate fleshe of Rome shal sele, if þe bloody swordes of Britaine wil cut. The Englishe hyffory sayth, and it is true, that though the countrey be very colde, & that the water freseth ofte: yet the women had a custome to cary their childre wher the water was frozen, & breakinge the yce with a stone, wch the same Ise they vled to rubbe the body of the infant, to the end, to hardene their fleshe, & to make them moze apter to endure traualles. And without doubt, they had reason, for I wishe no greater penitence to delicate me, then in the winter to se them without fyre: and the sommer, to wante freashe shadow. Sith this was the custom of the Britans it is but reaso we credyt Iulius Cesar in that he saith in his comentaries, that is to wete, that he passed many daungers before he could ouercome them: for they with as litle feare did hide them selues, & dyed vnder þe cold water, as a weary man woulde haue rested him selfe in a pleasaunt shadowe. As Lucanus Appius, & Alexander saye, amongest other nations which came to succour the great Pompei in Pharsalia, were the Messagetes, the which as they saye, in their youth did sucke no other, but þe mylke of dumbledozies: & eate bread of Akornes. These Barbarous did these thinges, to the end to harden their bodys, to be able to endure traual, & to haue their legs lighter for to rone. In this case we can not cal the Barbarous,

barons, but we ought to cal the mē of good
 vnderstandinge: for it is vnpossible for the
 man that eateth much, to runne fast. Viri-
 atus was kinge of the Lusytaines, and a
 great enemye of the Romaines, who was so
 aduenturous in the warre, & so valiaunt in
 his parsonne: that the Romaines (by the ex-
 periēce of his dedes) found him vnuticible.
 For in the space of .13. yeares, they could ne-
 ner haue any victorie of him: the which whē
 they sawe, they determined to poyson hym;
 and did so in dede. At whose death they more
 reioysed, then if they had wonne the sygna-
 rpe of all Lusitanye. For if Viriatus had
 not dyed, they had neuer brought the Lusit-
 aynes vnder their sublecion. Iunius Ru-
 sticus in his eptomisē sayeth, that this Vi-
 riatus in his youth was a herde man, & kept
 cattell by the ryuer of Guadiana, and after
 that he waxed older vsed to robbe, & assault
 men by the highe waies. And after that he
 was .40. yeares of age, he became kinge of
 the Lusitaines, and not by force, but by ele-
 ction. For when the people sawe them seluys
 environned & assaulted on euery side with
 enemies: they chose rather stout, strong, &
 hardye men for their capitaines, then noble
 men for their guydes. If the auncient Hy-
 storographers deceiue me not, when Viri-
 atus was a thefe, he led wyth him alwayes
 at the leaste a hundred theues: the which
 were shodde with leaden shoes, so that whē
 they were enforced to runne, they putte of
 their shoes. And of this sort although in the
 daye they wente with leaden heales, yet in
 the night they ranne lyke swift buckes: for
 it is a generall rule, that the losier the ioynt-
 es are, the more swifter shall the legges be
 to runne. In the booke of the gesses of the
 Ambardes, Paulus Diaconus sayeth,
 that in the olde tyme, those of Capua had a
 law, that vnill the chylde were marped,
 the fathers shoulde giue them no hedde to
 scape, nor permittē them to syt at the table
 to eate: but that they shoulde eate their meat
 in their handes and take their restē on the

ground. And trulpe it was a commendable
 lawe, for restē was neuer inuented for the
 yong man which hath no beard: but for the
 aged, beinge lame, impotent, and crooked.
 Quintus Cinciatius was seconde Dictator
 of Rome, and in dede. For his desertes
 was the first emperour of the earth. This
 excellent man was brought vp in so greate
 trauaile, that his handes were found full of
 knottes, the ploughe was in his armes, and
 the swette in his face, when he was sought
 to be Dictator of Rome. For the auncients
 desired rather to be ruled of them that
 knewe not, but how to plough the ground:
 the of them that delited in nothing els, but
 to lyue in pleasures amonge the people. Cal-
 igula whiche was the fourth emperour of
 Rome (as they saye) was broughte vp wyth
 such cost and delicatenes in his youth, that
 they were in doute in Rome, whether Dru-
 sius Germanicus, bys father imployed
 more for the Armies: then Caligula bys
 sonne spent in the cradell for his pleasures.
 This reherfed againe, I would now knowe
 of Princes & great lordes, what part they
 would take (that is to wete) whether wth Cin-
 ciatius, whiche by his stonnes wanne so
 many straunge Countreys: or wth Calig-
 ula, that in his splithy lasses, spared not
 his proper sister. In mine opinion, there
 nedeth no greate deliberation to answerē
 this question (that is to wete) the goodnes
 of the one, and the wickednes of the other:
 for there was no battayle but Cinciatius
 did overcome, nor there was any byce, but
 Caligula did inuent. Suetonius Traquil-
 lus in the seconde booke of the emperours
 saith, & when the chylde of the emperour
 Augustus Cesar entred into the high ca-
 pitoll, where all the senat were assembled,
 the Senatours rose out of their places and
 made a reuerence to the chylde, the which
 when the Emperour Augustus sawe, was
 displeased, & called them backe againe. And
 on a day beinge demaunded, why he loued
 his chylde no better, he answered in this
 wyse

THE DIAL

wise. If my children will be good, they shall live hereafter where I sit now: but if they be euill, I wyll not their vices should be reuerenced of the Senatours. For the auctoritie and grauntie of the good, oughte not to be employed in the seruice of those that be wicked. The .xxv. Emperour of Rome was Alexander, the whiche (though he was yonge) was as much esteemed for his vertues amongest the Romaynes: as euer Alexander the greate was for his valyauntnes amongest the Grekes. We can not say, that longe experfence caused him to come to the gouernement of the common wealth, for as Herodian sayth, in his fyfte booke, the day that the Senatours proclaimed him emperor, he was so litel, that his owne me bare him in their armes. That fortunate emperor had a mother, called Mamea, the whiche brought him vp so well, and diligently, that she kept alwaies a great garde of men to take hede, that no vitious man came vnto him. And let not the diligence of the mother to that child be litel esteemed: For princes oft times of their owne nature are good, and by euill conuersation onely they are made euill. This worthy woman keepinge alwaies suche a faithfull garde of her child, that no flatterers should enter in to flatter him, nor malicious, to tell him lyes: by chaunce on a day a Romayne sayd vnto her these wordes. I thinke it not mete (most excellent princeesse) that thou should be so diligent about thy sonne, to forget the affaires of the common wealth: for princeesses ought not to be kept so close, that it is more easie to obtayne a sute at the gods, then to speake one worde with the prince. To this the emperesse Mamea answered, and saide. They whiche haue charge to gouerne those that do gouerne, without comparisson oughte to feare more the bites of a king: then the enemies of the realme. For the enemies are destroyed in a battaile, but vices remaine during the life: and in the end, enemies do not destroy but the possessions of the lande, but

the vitious prince, destroyeth the good manners of the common wealth. These wordes were spoken of this worthy Romayne. By these hy storics which I haue declared, & by those which I chynise to recyte, all vertuous men may know, how much it profiteth them, to bringe vp their children in trauayles, or to bringe the vp in pleasures. But nowe I ymagine, that those which shall reade this, wyll praise that which is well written: and also I trust, they wyll not geue their children so much their owne wille. For men y reade much, & worke litte: are as belles, the which do sound to tal others, and they them selues neuer enter into the church. If the fathers bid not esteeme y seruice they do vnto God, their owne honour, nor the profite of theyr childre: yet to preserve them from diseases, they ought to bringe them vp in vertue, and withdraue them from vices. For trulpe the children which haue bene brought vp daintely, shall alwaies be diseased & sikely. What a thing is it to se y sone of a labourer, y cote without pointes, the thyrt tottered, & torne, their feete bare, their head without a cappe, the body without a girdle, in somer without a hat, in winter without a cloke, in the day ploughyng, in y night drying his herb, eatinge breade of Rye or Otes, lyenge on the earthe, or els on the strawe: and in this trauaile, to se this yong man so holpe and vertuous, that euery man desireth and wisheth, that he had suche a sonne. The contrary cometh of noble mens sonnes, the whiche we see are nourished and brought vp betwene two fyne hollande sheetes, layed in a costlye cradell, made after the newe fashon: they geue the nource what she wyll desire, if perchance the child be sick, they chaunge his nource, or els they appoynt him a diet. The father and the mother slepe neither nighte nor daye, all the house watcheth, they lette him eat nothing, but the broth of chyckins, they kepe him diligently that he fall not downe the staires, the chylde asketh nothinge but it is geuen hym immediatlye.

Fynallye

Finally they spende their time in seruyng
them, they wast their riches, but in geuing
thē their delights, they occupye their eyes,
but to beholde them, and they imploye not
their harts, but to loue them. But I sweare,
that those fathers (whiche on this wyse doe
spende their riches, to pomper them) shall
one day water their eyes to bewaile them.

What it is to see the waste, that a bayne
man maketh in bzinginge by his chyldre:
spectallye yf he be a man somewhat aged,
and that at his desyre hath a childe bozne.
He spendeth so much goodes in bzinginge
him by wantonly, whyles he is yonge: that
oft times he wanteth to marye him when
he cometh to age. And that whiche worste
of all is, that that whiche he spendeth and
employeth, he thinketh it well bestowed,
and thynketh that to muche that he geueth
for gods sake. Though the fathers are berye
large in spendinge, the mothers berye cu-
rions, and the nources full of pleasures, and
the seruantes very diligent and attentiu:
yet it foloweth not, that the chyldren shoulde
be more hoole, then others. For the more
they are attended, the more they be discom-
forted: the more they eate, the more they are
weake: the more they reioyce, the worse they
prosper: the more they wast, and spende, so
much lesse they prosper. And all this is not
without the secret permission of God: For
God will not that the clowdes of chyldren be
of greater value, then the garmentes of the
poore. God withoute a greate miserte take
not in hande the custodie of the poore, and
doth not suffer that the chyldren of the riche
men shoulde prosper: For the poore bzingeth
by his chyldren without the prejudice of the
riche, & to the profit of the common wealth:
but the riche bzingeth by his chyldren both
the swete of the poore, and to the damage of
the common wealth. Therefore if this thing
be true (as it is) it is but reason that the
wolfe whiche deuoureth vs, doo dye: and the
shepe whiche clotheth vs, doo lyue. The
fathers ofte tymes for tendernes wyll not

teache nor bzing by their chyldren in do-
ctrine, sapenge, that as yet he is to yonge,
and that there remaineth tyme enough for
to be learned, and that they haue leysure en-
noughe to be taughte: and further for the
more excuse of theyr erroz, they affirme,
that when the chyldre in his youthe is chast-
ned, he runneth in daunger of his health.

But the euill respecte whiche the fathers
haue to their chyldren, God suffereth after-
wardes that they come to be so flaundes-
rous to the common wealth, so infamous
to their parentes, so dysobediente to theyr
fathers, so euill in their conditions, so vni-
advised and lyght in their behauiour, so vni-
meate for knowlege, so vncorrigible for di-
scipline, so inclined to lyes, so enteynge the
truth: that their fathers woulde not onely
haue punished them with sharpe correction:
but also they woulde reioyce to haue them
buried, with hytter teares. An other thing
there is in this matter worthy to be nota-
ted, and muche more worthy to be com-
mended, that is, that the fathers and Mo-
thers vnder the couller that their chyldren
shoulde be somewhat grattous, they learne
them to speake, to bable, and to be greate
mockers and scoffers, the which thinge af-
terwardes, redoundeth to the greate infam-
y, and dishonour of the father, to the
greate peryll of the sonne, and to the grea-
test greife and dyspleasure of the mother.

For the chyldre, whiche is broughte by
wantonly withoute doctrine in his youthe:
of necessity must be a foole when he is old.
If this whiche I haue saide be trypill, this
whiche I wyll saye is worse: that the fa-
thers, and the mothers, the gouernours, or
nources, doe teache them to speake dysho-
nest things, the whiche are not lawefull,
and therefore oughte not to be suffered to
be spoken, in that tender age: nor the gra-
uittie of the auncientes oughte not to lyffen
vnto them. For there are no men (vnlesse
they be shamelesse) that wyll permytte their
chyldren to be greates bablers.

Those

Those whiche haue the charge to gouerne good mens children, oughte to be very circumspect, that they kepe them in awe, feare, & subiectiō, & that they ought not to be contented, though the fathers saye they are pleased. For the disordinate loue that fathers haue to the, is the cause that they can not see, whether they be mockers, or euill broughte vp. And if it chaunced (as oft times it doth) that the father should come to the master to cause him to withdraue correction, in this case, if the master be a wise man, he ought no lesse to reprove and admonyshe the father: then to correct the sonne. And yf this did not auayle, I counsell him to forsake and leaue his charge. For the man of an honeste nature, after he hath taken any charge in hande, wyll ether bringe it to passe, or els he wyll dye in the same. I wyll not denye, but that it is reason noblementes sonnes be more gently brought vp, handled, and honoured; then the sonnes of the Plebeians: for more delicately is the palme tree which bringeth forth dates, cherished: then the oke which bringeth forth Akornes, wherewith the hogges are nourished. Let princes and greate Lordes beware, that the pleasures which they geue their children in their youthe, be not so excessive, nor of so longe continuance: that when they would withdraue them, the world hath not alredey fettered them. For the children brought vp with too much delicatenesse, are disobedient to their fathers and mothers; or els they are sicke in their bodies; or worse then that, they are vicious in their behauiours: so that their fathers should be better to hurte them quick, then to bringe them vp vicious.

The xxxiii. Chapter

That Princes and greate Lordes ought to be carefull in seekinge wyse men to brynge vp theyr children. Of .x. conditions, that good maisters oughte to haue. Of an offyce whiche was in Rome, the officer whereof had auctoritie to chastise all yongemen, idle loyterers. It is a notable chapter for him that hath a sonne, vvhom he entierlye loueth and desired to haue hym well brought vp.



WHEN he that is withoute end gaue beginninge to the worlde, in this sorte he beganne. The Sunday he created heauen and earth, The Monday he created the element, the Tuesday he created the Planetes, the Wednesday he created the Sonne and the Moone, the Thursday he created the birdes in the ayre, and the fishes in the sea, the frydaye he created Adam and Eue his wyfe, and truly in that he created, and holwe he created, he shewed hym selfe as God. For as sone as the house was made, he furnished, & peopled it, with that that was necessary, as he coulde well do. Omittinge therfore the creator, and talking of creatures: we see by experience, that a householder in plantinge a vineyarde, immediately maketh a dyche or a hedge, to the ende that the beastes do not hurt it, and eate it vp. And whē it is well growen he bypeth some poore laborer to watche, that traynblers do not gather, nor eate the grapes therof. The riche man that traffiqueth by Sea, after he hath

hath made a great shippe, and bestowed 6.
 or 7. thousand ducates, if he be wyse, he wil
 firste prouide a man that may gouerne her,
 before he wyl seke marchaundise for to fraite
 her: for in perillous tempestes, the greatnes
 of the shippe lytel auayleth, if the pilot ther-
 of be not experte. The householder that hath
 manye cowes and shepe, and likewise hath
 faire feeldes, and pleasaunt pastures for his
 cattel, doeth not only seke herdemen to keape
 the cattel, but also dogges to feare the wol-
 fes, and cabannes to lodge the herdemen.
 For the cabanne of the sheperdes, and the
 bayning of the dog, is but as it were a saues
 garde of the shepe, from the rauening of the
 wolfe. The myghtye and valpauant princes
 whiche in the frontiers of their enemyes
 keape strong fortresses, seke alwayes skoute
 and hardye captaynes to defende their wal-
 les: for otherwyse, it were better the forte
 shoulde be battered to the grounde, then it
 shoulde come into the power of their enne-
 myes. By the comparysons aboue named,
 there is no discreete man, but doeth vnder-
 stande to what ende my penne doeth wryte
 them: that is, to know, to keape, and proue,
 howe that men whiche loue their chyldren
 wel (adding this vnto it) haue greate neede
 of good maisters and gouernours, to teache
 and bring them vp. For whyles the palme
 tree is but lytel, a frost doeth easely destroye
 it. I meane, whyles the childe is yonge, if he
 haue no tutour: he is easely deceiued with
 the world. If the lord be wise, and of vnder-
 standinge, there is no fortresse so esteemed,
 neither ship so faire, nor herd so profitable,
 nor vine so fruitfull, but that he better este-
 meth to haue a good sone, then al these thin-
 ges together; or anye other thinge in the
 world. For the father ought to loue his chil-
 dzen, as hys owne proper: and all the reser-
 due as gyftes of fortune. If it be so (as it is
 in deede) sinse that for to keape and watche
 the herde, they seake a good sheperde, if for
 the vine they seake a good labourer, if for
 to gouerne the shepe, they seke a good mai-

ster, and if for to defende a forte, they seke a
 good captayne: why then wyl not the wyse
 fathers seke for good maisters, to teache,
 and bringe vp theire chyldren? Princes
 and greate lordes, I haue nowe tolde you,
 and agayne doe saye, that if you trauayle
 one yere, to leaue your chyldren goods: you
 oughte to sweate 50. yeres, to leaue them
 wel brought vp. For it auayleth lytel, to car-
 ry much corne to the myl: if the mil be out
 of frame. I meane that in vayne riches and
 treasures are gathered: when the childe that
 shall inherite them, hath not witte to vse
 them. It is no smal matter, to knowe howe
 to choose good gouernours. For the prince
 is sage, that findeth suche a one: and muche
 more happy is he, that of him shalbe taught.
 For in my opinion, it is no smal charge for
 one man to bringe vp a Prince, that shall
 gouerne many. As Seneca, saith, the wyse
 man ought to conferre all thinges with his
 frend, but first he ought to knowe, who he is
 that is his frend. I meane, that the wise fa-
 ther ought for his chyldren to seke one good
 maister, and to him he shoulde recomende
 them al: but first he ought to knowe, what
 he is. For that man is beary simple, which
 wil bye a horse before he se, and proue him,
 whether he be hole, or lae. He ought to haue
 manye, and good conditions, and qualities,
 that shoulde bringe vp the chyldren of prin-
 ces and greate lordes: for by one waye, they
 nourishe the tender trees in the orcharde,
 and after another forte, they plante the wild
 trees, in the mountaynes. Therefore the
 case shalbe this, that we wyl declare here
 what conditions, and behauiours, the may-
 sters, and gouernours, of noble mens sones
 ought to haue, whiche maye bringe them to
 honour, & their dysciples to be wel taught,
 and brought vp. For the glozy of the disciple,
 alwayes redoundeth to the honour & prayse
 of his maister.

The first condition is, that he which ought
 to be tutor to noble mens sones, shuld be no
 lesse then 40. yeres of age, & no more then

THE DIALL

So, because the maister that is yong, is ashamed to commaund, and if he be aged, he is not able to correct.

The. 2. it is necessary that tutors be very honest, & that not only in purenes of conscience: but also in the outward apparāce, and cleanes of life. For it is impossible, that the childe be honest, if the maister be dissolute.

The. 3. it is necessary that tutors & gouernours of princes, and greate lordes, be true men, not only in their wordes: but also in their conuēntes. For to say y^e trueth, y^e mouth which is alwaies ful of lyes, ought not, by reasoⁿ, to be a teacher of the trueth.

The. 4. condition, it is necessarye that the gouernours of princes and great lordes (of their owne nature) be liberal: for oftentimes, the greate couetousnes of maisters, maketh y^e hartes of princes, to be greedy & couetous.

The. 5. it is necessarye that the maisters and gouernours of princes, & great lordes, be moderate in wordes, & beary resolute in sentences: so that they ought to teache the childe to speake litle, and to harken muche. For it is the chiefest vertue in a prince, to heare wth paciēce, and to speake wth wysedom.

The. 6. condition is, it is necessarye that the maisters & gouernours of princes and great lordes be wise men, and temperate: so that y^e graunte of the master, may restrayne the lightnes of the schollers, for there is no greater plagues in realmes, theⁿ for princes to be yong, & their maisters to be light.

The. 7. it is necessarye y^e the maisters and tutors of princes and great lordes, be wel learned in diuine, & humaine letters, in such sorte, y^e that whiche they teache the princes by word, they may shew it by w^{riting}, to the end y^e other princes maye execute, & put the same in bre: for mens hartes are soner moued by the exāples of those whiche are past, then by the wordes of them that are present.

The. 8. condition, it is necessarye that the maisters & tutors of princes be not geueⁿ to the vice of the flesh: for as they are y^{oung}, and naturally geuen to the fleshe, they haue no

strength to abide chast, neither wysedom to beware of the snares. Therfore it is necessary, that their maisters be pure, & honest: for the disciples shal neuer be chast, if y^e maister be vitiuous.

The. 9. it is necessary that the maisters and tutors of princes, & great lordes, haue good conditions: because the chyldre of noble men (being daintely brought vp) alwaies learne euil conditions, y^e which their maisters ought to reforme, more by good couersation, then by sharpe correctioⁿ. For oftentimes it chaun-
reth, y^e wheras the maister is cruel, the scoller is not merciful.

The. 10. it is necessarye y^e the maysters and tutors of princes, & greate lordes, haue not onely sene & red many thinges: but also that they haue proued, chaungeable, & sickle fortunes. For sene noble mens sones (by the gift of god) haue greate estates, they oughe therfore to prouide, to speake to manye, to answer to manye, & to entreate with manye, & it is very profitable for them to be couersant with experie mē, for in the end, the approued mā, in councel hath preeminēce. I was willing to bring in these rules in my w^{riting}, to the end that fathers may keape them in their memo^{ry}, when they doe sele maisters to teache their childe: for in my o^{pinion}, the father is more in faulte to sele an euil maister, then the maister is to make an euil scoller. For if I choose euil rassours to cut my gowne, it is my faulte that my cloth is lost, & my gowne matted. Albest the romaines were in all their doings circumspect, yet for this one thing, I must enuy the good doctrine which they gaue to noble mē's children. For without doubt, it is impossible that in any city there be a good common wealth, vnlesse they are very circumspect, to bring vp yong childe. Sabellic^{us} in his rap-
sodies saith, that in the. 400. & 15. yeares, of the foundatioⁿ of Rome, Quint^{us} Seruilius, and Lucius Geminus, then cōsulles, being in the warre againste y^e Volces, y^e stout ad-
uēturous capitaine Camillus, raised a great
Arise,

strife, and contention in Rome, amongst the people, & the knightes: & that contentio was vpon the prouision of offices. For in greate comon wealthes it hath ben an auncient quarrel, that in knightes & gentlemen, there succoundeth pride in commaunding: and amongst the people, there wanteth patience in obeying. The knightes & gentlemen would, they shuld chose a tribune Militare in the senate, to speake in the name of al the knightes, that were absent and present: for they saied, that sence they were alwayes at the warre, the whole common wealth remained in the power of the people. The commons on the other parte importuned, and desired, that a newe officer shuld be created, which shuld haue the charge to examine and take accompte, how the youth of Rome were brought vp: because the comon people did accuse the knightes, and gentlemen, that the longer they remained in the warres, the moze sensuallye their childre liued in Rome. It was decreed then, that a Tribune Militare shuld be erected, the which in authoritie and dignitie, should be equall with the senators, & that he shuld represent the state of warlike knightes: but that office continued no longer, then .4. yeares in Rome (that is to wete) til the time that Camilla returned from the warres. For thinges that are grounded of no reason, of them selues they come to nought. All the knightes & gentlemen sought, to the uttermost of their power, to mainteine their preheminence: on the other side, all the commonalty of Rome was agaynst it. In the end, the good capitaine Camilla called al the knightes, and gentlemen together, and sayed vnto them these wordes. I am greatly ashamed, to see that the stoutnes shuld be so little of the romaine knightes, which they shuld condescend to the will of the plebeians: for in dede, the mightie do not get somuch honour, to ouercome the litel: as the litel doeth, to strue with the great. I saye, that the strife and debate amongst you in Rome, doth displease me much: therefore (you knightes) if you wyl not lose your

honours, you must either kill them, or other come them. You cannot ouercome them, because they are many: & kill them you ought not, for in the end they are yours, & therefore there is no better remedye, then to dissemble wth them. For thinges which suffer no force nor obserue not iustice, ought alwayes (vntil conuenient tyme) to be dyssembled. The immortal gods did not create romaine knightes, to gouerne people: but to conquer realmes. And I say forder, that they did not create vs, to teache lawes to oures: but to geue lawes to straungers. And if we be the children of our fathers, & imitators of the auncient romaines: we wil not content oure selues to commaund in Rome, but to commaund those, which do commaund in Rome. For the harte of a true romayne, doeth litel esteeme to se him selfe lord of this world: if he know that there is another to conquer. You others did creat this tribune Militare, we being in the warre: wherof now ther is no necessity, since we are in peace. And the cause why I was willing there shuld be none in the common wealth, was for that there was not riches in Rome sufficient, to acquite the desertes of the romaine chivalrye. And if you esteeme it an honorable office, to be a tribune Militare: since you cannot all haue it, methinketh you shuld all wante it. For among the noble men & plebeians, it is not mete, that one alone shuld enioy it, which manye haue deserted. This history Sabellicus declareth, & allegeth Pulio for his author, and reciteth, that for this good worke that Camilla did in Rome (that is to wete) to set the great and the smal at one: he was as wel beloued of the romaines, as he was feared of the enemies. And not withoute a iust cause: for in my opinion, it is a greater vertue to pacify his owne, then to robbe straungers. As touching the office of this tribune, wherevpon this greates contention rose in Rome: I cannot tel which was greater, the folishness of the knightes to procure it, or the wisdom of Camilla to abholishe it. For to

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say the truneth, the arte of cheualry was in-
 uented, moze to defend the common wealth:
 then to bide at home, and haue the charge of
 iustice. For to the good knight, it seemeth
 * better, to be loden with weapōs, to resiste e-
 nemies: then to be enuironed with bookes
 to determine causes. Returning therfore to
 that which the people sayd against the soul-
 diars, it was ordeined (by the consent of all)
 that in rome an office should be erected, and
 that he which shuld haue it, should haue the
 charge to go thorough rome, to se what they
 were in rome, & did not instructe their chyl-
 dzen in good doctrine: and if perchaunce he
 found any neighbours childe that was euil
 * taught, he chastised & banysed the father.
 And truly & punishment was verie iust, for
 the father deserueth moze punishment, for
 that he doth therunto consent: then the childe
 deserueth, for & offences which he doth com-
 mitte. Whē rome was rome, & that of al the
 world the cōmon wealth thereof was com-
 mended, they chose for an officer therein, the
 most auncient and vertuous romaine, who
 was called the general visiter of the childe-
 of rome: & it seemeth to be true, for somtyme
 as he which had this office one yeare, hoped
 to be consul, dictatour, or cēsoz the next. As
 it appereth by Marcus Portio, who desired
 to be correcter of & chylde: and afterwardes
 succeeded, to be censoz of the Romayne peo-
 ple. For the romayns did not offer the office
 of iustice to any man, vnlesse he had had ex-
 perience of al offices. Patricius Senēses in
 the booke of the cōmon wealth sayeth, that
 before the warres were betwene Carthage
 and Rome, the common wealth of Car-
 thage was verie wel gouerned, and as it
 be seemed such a noble citie: but it is an aun-
 cient pꝛeuyldege of the warre, that it killeth
 the parsones, consumeth the goods, and ac-
 houe al, engendzeth a newe passion and mis-
 serye, and in the ende, destroyeth all good
 auncient customes. The Carthaginiens
 therfore had a custome, that the childe, and
 especiall ye those which were of honest men,

shoulde be put in the Temples, from 30
 yeares, tyl 12. and so fro 12. tyl 20. they lea-
 ned craftes, sciences, and occupations: and
 from 20. vntill 25 they instructed them in the
 feates of warre: and at the ende of 30. yea-
 res, they gaue them selues to mariage. For
 amongst them, it was a lawe inuolable,
 that no man shoulde marie, vntill he were
 30. yeares of age: and the woman, vntill 25.
 And after that they were married, & monethly
 followyng, they oughte to present them sel-
 ues before the Senate, and there to chose
 what kynde of estate they would take vpon
 them to liue in, and what their mindes most
 desyred (that is to wete) yf they would serue
 in the Temples, followe the warre, or tra-
 uayle the seas, or get there lyuing by lande,
 or followe there occupation which they had
 learned. And loke what estate, or office that
 day they chose, the same they kepte and oc-
 cupied pꝛouryng their lyfe: and trulye the
 lawe was very good, bycause such chaunge
 of estates, and offices in the world, are oc-
 casyon that presentl ye, so manye come to
 destruction. All the excellent, and auncient
 * pꝛinces, had manye great philosophers for
 their maisters: and this seemeth to be true,
 by this, & king Darius had Lichanius the
 philosopher, for his maister. The greates
 Alexander had Aristotel the philosopher for
 his maister. King Astarges, had Pindarus
 the philosopher for his maister. The aduen-
 turous & hardye capytayne, of the Atheniās
 Palimo, had Xenocrates the philosopher
 for his maister. Xerxes (only king of the
 Corinthians) had Chilo the philosopher for
 his maister, and tutor, to his chyldezen.
 Epamynundes, pꝛince of the Thebaines,
 had for his maister and counsellor Mar-
 chus the philosopher. Vlisses the Greke
 (as Homere saith) had for his maister and
 compaignon in his trauelles, Catinus the
 philosopher. Pirrus (whiche was king of the
 Epirotes, and great defendour of the Tha-
 rentines) had of his maister and cronycler,
 Arthemius the philosopher. Of whom Ci-
 cero

Cero speaketh ad atticum; that his swerde was sharper to fighte then his penne ready to wyte. The greate kynge Ptholomeus Philadelphus was not onely scholer of the moste singuler Philosophers of Grece: but also after he was kynge, he sente for 72. Philosophers whiche were Hebrues. Cirus kynge of the Persia, that destroyed the greate Babylon, had for hys master Priscus the Philosopher. Traian the Emperoure had Plutarche for hys master, who byd not onelye teache hym in hys yowthe: but also wyte hym a booke, how he oughte to gouerne him selfe, this common wealch. By these felwe examples whiche I haue expressed, and by many others which I omit, Princes at this present may see, how careful princes were in times past, to geue their chyldren wyse and learned men. Princes and great lordes, since you that are at this presente, doe presume and take vpon you, that whiche yowre forefathers byd: I would that now you would consider, who brought them to so hyghe estate, and who leaueth of them eternal memozy. For without doubt, noble men neuer waine renoume, for the pleasures they had in vyces: but for the trauayles, they toke in vertues. Againe I say, that Princes in tymes paste were not famous for their stoutenes, and apte dysposicion of their bodyes, neyther for discent of high and noble linage, nor yet for hys possessiō of many realmes, or heapinge vp of greate treasours: but they wāne and obreynd immortal renoume for y^e their fathers in their yowth, put them vnder hys tutiō of wyse and learned tutours, whiche taught them good doctrine, & whē they were of age, gaue them good counsaillers to gouerne hys comō wealch. Laertius in the lyfe of hys philosophers, & Boecace in the booke of the linage of gods say, That among the philosophers of Athens, there was a custome, that no straunge philosopher shuld reade in their scooles, before he were first examyned, in natural & moral philosophy: for amonge the Grekes it was

an auncient proverbe, that in the scoole of Athens, no vittous man coulde enter, nor sole word be spoken, neyther they did consent, that any ignorant philosopher shuld come in to rede there. As by chaunce many philosophers were come from the mount Olympus, amongest the residue, there was one came to se the philosophers of Athens, who was natife of Thebes, a man (as afterwarde, he declared him selfe) in moral & natural philosophy very wel learned: & since he desired to remaine in Athens, he was examyned, and of manye and dyuers thinges dechaunded. And amongest the others these following were some of them.

First they asked him, what causeth women to be so frowarde, since it is true, that nature made them shantefast, and created them simple: the philosopher answered.

A woman is not frowarde, but bycause she hath to much her wyl, and wanteth shame.

Secondarily they asked him, why yonge men are vndone: he answered: bycause tyme aboundeth them for to do euil, & masters wanteth, to enforce them to doe good.

Thirdly they asked him, why are wise men deceiued, as wel as the simple: he answered, The wise mā is neuer deceiued but by him, that vseth faire wordes, & hath euil conditiōs. Forthly they asked him, of whom mē ought most to beware: he answered. That there is to a mā no greater enemy, then he which seeth that thing in the, whiche he desireth to haue in him selfe.

Fifthly they asked him, why many princes begynne wel, & end euyl: he answered, princes begynne wel, bycause their nature is good: and they end euil, bycause no man againe saue them.

Sixthly they asked hym, why do princes comit such follies: he answered, Bycause flatterers aboundeth that deceiue them: & true men wanteth which shuld serue them.

Seuenthy they asked him, why the auncientes were so sage, and men at this present so simple: he answered. Bycause the aunc-

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How his other sonne Commodus shoulde be gouerned, and thys befoze that eyther of age or bodye he were greater. For we can not deny, but when princes are men, they will be such as in their youth they haue ben brought vp. The good father therfore knowing y^e the euill inclinacions of his sone shuld do him damage, and the empyze in like manner: he commaunded & sent throughe oute all Italy, for the most sageste & expert mē to be gouernours and Tutorz of Commodus, the Prince. He made thē seke for the most profoundest in learning, the most renowned of good fame, the most vertuous in dedes, and the most deepest in vnderstanding: for as y^e dust is not sweapt wth fyne cloth, but wth dye broomes: so the lightnes & follies of yonge men are not remedied, but by the harde discipline of the aged. This commaundement being published & proclaimed in Rome, and the buyt scattered throughe Italye, there came & ranne thither diuerse kind of sages, whom he commaunded to be examined. He beinge informed of the bloude of theyr predecessours, of the age of their parsones, of the gouernement of their houses, of the spendinge of their goodes, of their credit amongeste their neighbours, of the sciences they knewe, & aboute all, they were no lesse examined of the purenes of their liues, thē of the grauitie of their parsones: for there are many men, whiche are graue in open wordes, & very light in secret woorks. Speaking therfore moze particularly, he commaunded they shoulde examine the Astronomers of astronomy, the philosophers in philosophy, the musitiens in musike, the Oratoz in oratōs. And so forth of other sciences in order, wherein euery one said he was instructed. The good emperour was not so cōtented to do this once, but sōdy times, not all in one day, but in many, not only by another mā, but also by him selfe. Finally, they were al examined, as if they had ben al one, and y^e the same one shoulde haue remained & bene kept for all, to be onely master & tutor

of the yong child, & prince Commodus. To acquire a perfit knowledge, & to be sure not to erre in choyce of thinges, in my opinion, is not only required experiece of him self & a cleare vnderstanding: but also the aduise of an other. For the knowledge of thinges wholly together, is easie: but the choyce of thē particularly, is hard. This thing is spoken bycause y^e good emperour sent, & commaunded to chole gouernours & masters of his childzē. Of many he choise few, & of few the most wisest, of the most wisest the most expert, of the most expert the best lerned, of the best lerned the most tēperate, of y^e most temperate the most auncient, & of the moste auncient the most noble. Certainly such election is woorthy praise, bycause they be true masters & teachers of Princes, whiche are noble of blood, auncient in yeaeres, honeste in life, mē of litle folly, & of great experiece. According to the .7. liberal sciences, .2. masters of euery one were chosen, so that the prince was but one, & the others were: .14. but this notwithstanding, the woorkes of thys prince Commodus, were cōtrary to the expectation of his father Mar. Aur. bycause the intention of the good father was, to teache his sone al sciences: & the study of the sonne was, to lerne all wises. At the buyte of so great a thinge as this was, y^e the emperour soughte to prouide tutors, for y^e prince Commodus, & that they shuld not be those whiche were best fauoured, but those whiche were found the most wisest: in shorte space, there came so many philosophers to Rome, as if the diuine Plato had bene returned again in Grece. Let vs not inuertue at al, if y^e sages desired the acquaintaunce & familiaritie of this good emperour. For in the end, ther is no man so sage, nor so vertuous in this life, but sometime wil seke after y^e fauours of y^e world. Since ther were many sages, & that of those he chose but .14. It was necessarie he shoulde honestly and wisely dispatche and geue the others leaue, as did behoue him. And herein the good emperour shewed him selfe

selfe so wise, that thewinge to some a very
 countenance, to others speakinge gently,
 and to others by a certain hope, & to others
 by giftes & presentes, al the good cōpany of
 the sages departed: & the good Emperour
 dispatched them, not one beinge sad whiche
 departed, but very wel pleased. For it is not
 comely for the magnificence of a Prince,
 that the man which cometh to his pallace
 only for his seruice, should returne murmu-
 ring, or without rewarde. This good Em-
 perour thewed him selfe sage, to seeke so
 many sages, he thewed him selfe wise, in
 choyce of some, & of a good vnderstandinge
 in dispatching others, & in contēting the al.
 For as we se daily by experiēce, though the
 elections be good, cōmonly great affections
 ther by engender. For those for not being
 chosen are sovy, & to se the others chose, are
 shamefast. In such case likewise, let it not be
 esteemed litle to serche a good remedy. For
 goldsmith oft times demaundeth more for
 his workmanship, the siluer is worth: I meane,
 that sometime princes do deserue more ho-
 nour for the good meanes they vse in their
 affaires: the for the good successe wherunto
 it cometh. For the one aduēture gydeth, but
 the other wisdomē aduanceth. The good
 Emperour not contented w this, prouided
 that those 14. philosophers which shuld re-
 maine in his pallace, should sit at the table,
 & accompany his parson: the which thing he
 did, to see if their life were conforable to
 their doctrine, & if their wordes did agree to
 their workes. For ther are many mē, which
 are of a goodly tong, & of a wicked life. Lu-
 lius Capitolinus, and Cinna Catullus,
 which were wryters of this history say, that
 it was a wonder to se how this good empe-
 rour did marke them, to know if they were
 sober in feading, temperate in drinkeing, mo-
 dest in going, occupied in studieng, & aboue
 al, if they were very sage in speakinge, and
 honest in living. Would to god the princes
 of our time were in this case, so diligente, &
 careful: and that in committing in trust their

affaires, they would not care more for one,
 then for others. For speaking with due res-
 uerence, ther aboundeth no wisdomē in
 prince, which comitteth a thinge of impo-
 taunce to y man, whom he knoweth not,
 whether he is able to bying it to passe or not.
 Many talke euill, & maruaile y princes, and
 great lordes, in so many thinges do erre: &
 for the contrary, I maruaile howe they hit
 any at al. For if they comitted their waytie
 affaires to skilful mē, though perhaps they
 erre once: yet they hyt it a hundred tymes,
 but when they commit their busines to ig-
 norante men, if they hit once, they misse a
 100. times againe. In this case I saye, there
 is nothing destroyeth yong Princes more,
 then for that they comitte not their affaires
 to their old and faithfull seruantes: For in
 syne, the vnfayned loue is not, but where
 they eate their bread together. It is but rea-
 son, that by the example of this prince, other
 princes take example, to seke good masters
 for their children: & if the masters be good,
 and the scollers euill, then the fathers are
 blamelesse. For to princes & great Lordes,
 it is a great discharge of conscience, to see,
 that though their children be losse: yet it is
 not for want of doctrine, but for abounda-
 nce of malice. The Romaine Prynce had a
 custome to celebrate the feast of the God
 Genius, who was God of their byrth, and
 that feast was celebrated euery yeate once,
 which was kept the same daye of the byrth
 of the emperour ioyfully, throughe oute all
 Rome: for at that day, al the prisoners were
 pardoned, and deliuered out of the pryson
 Mamortina. Yet notwithstandinge you
 ought to knowe, that if any had sowed sedi-
 tion among the people, or had betrayed the
 armies, or robbed or done any mischief in
 their temples: those three offences were ne-
 uer pardonned nor excused in Rome. Euen
 as in christian religion, the greatest othe is
 to sweare by the holye Euangeliste: so as
 mongest the Romaines ther was no greater
 othe, then to sweare by the God Genius.

And

And since it was h greatest oth none could sweare it, but by the licence of the senate: & that ought to be, betwixt the handes of the priestes of h god Genius. And if perchaunce such an oth were taken of light occasiō, he whiche sware it, was in daunger of his life. For in Rome it was an auncient law, that no man shuld make any solēpne othe, but h first they should demaund licence of the senate. The Romains did not permit, h lyers nor disceynours should be credited by theyr othes: nether did they permit the to sweare. For they said, that periured men do bothe blaspheme the gods, and decelue men. The aboue named Marcus Aurelius was boz ne the .27. day of Apryll, in Mounte Celio, in Rome. And as by chaunce they celebra- ted the feast of the god Genius, which was the day of his byrth, there came maisters of sence, Juglers, and cōmon players, wth other loyterers, to walke and solace them selues. For the Romaines in their greate feastes, occupied them selues al night in offring sa- crifices to the gods, & afterwardes they cō- sumed all the day in pastimes. Those jug- lers, and players, shewed so much pastime, that all those which beheld them were pro- uoked to laugh: and the Romaines (to save the truthe) were so earnest in matters of pa- stime, and also in other matters of weight, that in the daye of pastimes, no man was sadde, and in the time appointed for sadnes, no man was mery. So that in the publicke affayres, they vsed all eyther to mourne, or els to reioyce. Cinna Catullus sayth, that this good Emperour was so welbeloued, that when he reioyced, all reioyced: & when the Romaine people made any great feast, he him selfe was there presente, to make it of more auctoritie, and shewed such myrth therein, as if he alone and none other had reioyced. For otherwise, if the prince looke sadly, no man dare shew him selfe merye. The hystoriographers say of this good em- perour, that in ioyfull feastes, and tryum- phes, they neuer saw him lesse merye, then

was requisite for the feast: nor they euer sawe him so mery, that it exceeded the gra- uitie of his personne. For the prince which in vertue presumeth to be excellent, oughte neither in earnest matters to be heauy: nor in thinges of small importaunce, to shewe him selfe light. As princes now a daies goe enuironned with men of armes: so did then the good Emperour go accompanied with sage philosophers. Yea and more then that, whiche oughte more to be noted, is that in the dayes of feastes and pleasures, the prin- ces at this presente goe accompanied wth hongrye flatterers: but this noble Empe- rour wente accompanied with wyse men. For the Prince that vseth him selfe wth good companye, shall alwaies auoide the euyl talke of the people. Sextus Cheronē- sis sayth, that a Senatoz called Fabius Pa- troclus, seinge that the emperour Marcus went alwaies to the senate and Theaters, accompanied and enuironned with sages: saide one day to him merily. I pray the (my Worde) tell me, why thou goeste not to the Theater, as to the Thater, and to the senat, as to the senate. For to the Senate, Sages ought to go to geue vs good counsell: & to h Theaters, fooles to make vs pastime. To this h good emperour aunswered: my frend, I say thou art much deceaued. For to the sa- cred senate, wherein there are so many sa- ges, I would leade all the fooles, to the end they might become wise: & to the Theaters wher all the fooles are, I would bringe the sages, to the end to teache them wisdom. Trulye this sentence was fyt for hym that spake it. I admonishe princes and great loz- des, that in stead to kepe cōpany wth fooles, flatterers, and parasites; they prouide to haue about the wyse & sage mē, inespertally if h fooles be malicious: for h noble hartes, wth one malicious word are more offended: the if they were wth a benemous arrow wou- ded. Therfore returning to our matter, as h emperour was in h feast of h god Genius, & that wth him also were h . 14. sage philosophers, maysters,

maysters of the pynce Comodus, a iugler
 (more conninge then all the reste) shewed
 sondry trickes, as commonlye suche bayne
 loyterers are wonte to do. For he that in
 like banities, sheweth moste pastime, is of
 the people best beloued. As Marcus Aure-
 lius was sage: so he set his eyes more to be-
 holde these. 14. Masters, then he did stape at
 the lightnes of the fooles. And bychaunce
 he espyed that. 5. of those laughed so inordi-
 nately at the folly of these fooles, that they
 elapt their handes, they bette their feete, and
 lost the grauitie of sages, by their inordi-
 nate laughter: the which was a very vncom-
 ly thing in such graue parsonnes. For the
 honest modestye of the body, is a great wit-
 nes of the wisdom, and grauitie of the
 mind. The lightnes and inconstancy of the
 sages sene by the emperour, and that al the
 graue Romans were offendid with them,
 he toke it heauilye, aswell to haue broughte
 them thither: as to haue bene disceyued, in
 electing them. How be it with his wisdom,
 then he helped him selfe as muche as he
 coulde, in not manifestyng any griefe
 in his heart: but he dissembled, and
 made as though he saw them not. For sage
 pynces must nedes feale thynges as men,
 but they ought to dissemble the as discrete.
 The emperour presently would not admo-
 nish them, nor before any repone the, but
 he let the feast passe on, & also a fewe dayes
 after, the which being passed, the emperour
 spake vnto them in secret, not telling them
 openly, wherein he shewed him selfe a mer-
 cyfull pynce: for trulye, the open correction
 is vnusue, wher secret admonition maye
 take place. The thynges whiche Marcus
 Aurelius said to those. 5. masters, when he
 put them out of his house, he him selfe dyd
 write, in the thirde booke, and the fyrste
 chapter, vnder the title, ad stultos peda-
 gogos. And said, that he saide vnto them,
 these, and suche other like wordes.

The. xxxvi. Chapter.

Of the vvordes vvwhich Marcus au-
 relius spake to. 5. of the. 14. may-
 sters, vvwhich he had chosen for
 the education of his childe, and
 howe he exiled the rest fro his
 pallace, for that they behaued
 them selues lightly at the feaste
 of the God Genius.



Y vvill vvwas not, my frē-
 des, to fore see that vvwhich ca-
 not be excused, nor I vvill not
 comaund you that, vvwhich I
 ought not to comaunde: but
 I desyre, that the gods of their grace doe
 remasse vvith me, & that vv to you & same iust
 gods may go, & that likewyse from me, and
 from you, the vnlucky & vnfortunate chaū-
 ces may be vvithdrawen. For the vnluckye
 man vvwere better be vvith the dead: then re-
 maine here vvith & lising. Since that nowe
 I had receyued you, and vvith greate dylige-
 gence sought you, to that ende you shoulde
 be tutors to my sonne (the pynce Comod⁹)
 I protest to the immortall gods, that I am
 sorry, & that of your shame, I am ashamed, &
 that of your paine, the greatestte, parte is
 mine. And it can be no otherwys, for in the
 vvorld ther shuld be no frēdshp so streighe,
 that a man therfore shoulde put his good
 name in daunger. The sages that I haue
 sought, vvwere not prouided onelye to learne
 the pynce Comodus: but also to resourme
 al those, that liued euil in my pallace. And
 nowe I see the contrary, for vvher I thought
 the fooles shoulde haue bene made wise, I
 see that those that vvwere wyse, are become
 fooles. Knowe you not, that the fyne
 golde defendeth his purenes amonge the
 burninge cooles: and that the man en-
 dued vvith wysedome, sheweth hym selfe
 wyse, yea in the myddeste of many fooles?
 For cruelye as the golde in the fyre
 is proued: so amonge the lychtenes

And since it was þ̄ greatest oth none could
 sweare it, but by the licence of the senate: &
 that ought to be, betwixt the handes of the
 priestes of þ̄ god Genius. And if perchance
 such an oth were taken of light occasiō, he
 whiche sware it, was in daunger of his life.
 For in Rome it was an auncient law, that
 no man shuld make any solēpne othe, but þ̄
 first they should demanda licence of the se-
 nate. The Romans did not permit, þ̄ lyers
 nor disceynours should be credited by theyr
 othes: neither did they permit the to sweare.
 For they said, that parrured men do bothe
 * blaspheme the gods, and deceiue men. The
 aboue named Marcus Aurelius was boꝝ-
 ne the .27. day of Apryll, in Mounte Celio,
 in Rome. And as by chaunce they celebra-
 ted the feast of the god Genius, which was
 the day of his byꝝth, there came maisters of
 fence, Juglers, and cōmon players, wth other
 loyterers, to walke and solace them selues.
 For the Romans in their greate feastes,
 * occupied them selues al night in offering sa-
 crifices to the gods, & afterwarde they cō-
 sumed all the day in pastimes. Those jug-
 lers, and players, shewed so much pastime,
 that all those which beheld them were pro-
 uoked to laugh: and the Romans (to saue
 the truthe) were so earnest in matters of pa-
 stime, and also in other matters of weighe,
 that in the daye of pastimes, no man was
 sadde, and in the time appointed for sadnes,
 no man was mery. So that in the publicke
 affaires, they vsed all eyther to mourne, or
 els to reioyce. Cinna Catullus sayth, that
 this good Emperour was so welbeloued,
 that when he reioyced, all reioyced: & when
 the Romaine people made any great feast,
 he him selfe was there presente, to make it
 of moze auctorite, and shewed such myꝝth
 therein, as if he alone and none other had
 reioyced. For otherwise, if the prince looke
 sadly, no man dare shew him selfe merye.
 The historiographers say of this good em-
 perour, that in ioyfull feastes, and trum-
 phes, they neuer saw him lesse merye, then

was requisite for the feast: nor they euer
 sawe him so mery, that it exceeded the gra-
 uitie of his personne. For the prince which
 in vertue presumeth to be excellent, oughte
 neither in earnest matters to be heauy: nor
 in thinges of small importaunce, to shewe
 him selfe light. As princes now a daies goe
 enuironned with men of armes: so did then
 the good Emperour go accompanied with
 sage philosophers. Pea and moze then that,
 whiche oughte moze to be noted, is that in
 the dayes of feastes and pleasures, the prin-
 ces at this presente goe accompanied wth
 hongrye flatterers: but this noble Empe-
 rour wente accompanied with wyse men.
 For the Prince that vseth him selfe wth
 good companye, shall alwaies auoide the e-
 uyll talke of the people. Sextus Cheronē,
 * his sayth, that a Senatoꝝ called Fabius Pa-
 troclus, seinge that the emperour Marcus
 went alwaies to the senate and Theaters,
 accompanied and enuironned with sages:
 saide one day to him merily. I pray the (my
 Loꝝde) tell me, why thou goeste not to the
 Theater, as to the Chater, and to the senat,
 as to the senate. For to the Senate, Sages
 ought to go to geue vs good counsell: & to þ̄
 Theaters, fooles to make vs pastime. To
 this þ̄ good emperour answered: my frēd,
 I say thou art much deceated. For to the sa-
 cred senate, wherein there are so many sa-
 ges, I would leade all the fooles, to the end
 they might become wise: & to the Theaters
 wher all the fooles are, I would bringe the
 sages, to the end to teache them wisdomē.
 Trulye this sentence was fyt for hym that
 spake it. I admonishe princes and great loꝝ-
 des, that in stead to kepe cōpany wth fooles,
 flatterers, and parasites; they prouide to
 haue about the wise & sage mē, inespertally
 if þ̄ fooles be malicious: for þ̄ noble hartes,
 wth one malicious word are moze offended:
 the if they were wth a benemous arrow woun-
 ded. Therfore returning to our matter, as þ̄
 emperour was in þ̄ feast of þ̄ god Genius, &
 that wth him also were þ̄ .14. sage philosphers,
 maysters,

masters of the prince Comodus, a iugler
(more conninge then all the reste) shewed
sondy trickes, as commonlye suche bayne
lopyterers are wonte to do. For he that in
like vanities, sheweth moste pastime, is of
the people best beloued. As Marcus Aure-
lius was sage: so he set his eyes more to be-
holde these. 14. Masters, then he did stape at
the lightnes of the fooles. And bychaunce
he espied that. 5. of those laughed so inordi-
nately at the folly of these fooles, that they
clapt their handes, they bette their feete, and
lost the grauitie of sages, by their inordi-
nate laughter: the which was a very vncom-
ly thing in such graue parsonnes. For the
honest modestye of the body, is a great wit-
nes of the wisdom, and grauitie of the
mind. The lightnes and inconstancy of the
sages sene by the emperour, and that al the
graue Romans were offendid wth them,
he toke it heauily, aswell to haue broughte
them thither: as to haue bene disceyued, in
electing them. How be it wth his wisdom,
then he helped him selfe as muche as he
coulde, in not manifestyng any griefe
in his heart: but he dissembled and
made as though he saw them not. For sage
princes must nedes feale thinges as men,
but they ought to dissemble the as discrete.
The emperour presently would not admo-
nise them, nor before any repone the, but
he let the feast passe on, & also a felwe dayes
after, the which being passed, the emperour
spake vnto them in secret, not telling them
openly, wher in he shewed him selfe a mer-
cyfull prince: for trulye, the open correction
is vnjuste, wher secret admonition maye
take place. The thinges whiche Marcus
Aurelius said to those. 5. masters, when he
put them out of his house, he him selfe dyd
write, in the thirde booke, and the fyrste
chapter, vnder the title, ad stultos peda-
gogos. And said, that he said vnto them,
these, and suche other like wordes.

The xxxvi. Chapter.

Of the vvordes vvwhich Marcus au-
relius spake to. 5. of the. 14. may-
sters, vvwhich he had chosen for
the education of his childe, and
hovve he exiled the rest frō hys
pallace, for that they behaued
them selues lightly at the feaste
of the God Genius.



Y vvill vvas not, my frē-
des, to fore see that vvwhich cā
not be excused, nor I vvill not
cōmaund you that, vvwhich I
ought not to cōmaunde: but
I desyre, that the gods of their grace doe
remainne vvith me, & that vv you & same iust
gods may go, & that likewyse frō me, and
frō you, the vnlucky & vnfōrtunate chaū-
ces may be vvithdrawen. For the vnluckye
man vvare better be vvith the dead: then re-
maine here vvith & liuing. Since that nowe
I had receyued you, and vvith greate dyl-
gence sought you, to that ende you shoulde
be tutors to my sōne (the prince Comod⁹)
I protest to the immōrtall gods, that I am
sorry, & that of your thame, I am ashamed, &
that of your paine, the greatestte, parte is
mine. And it can be no other vvise, for in the
vvorld ther shuld be no frēdshipp so streight,
that a man therfore shoulde put his good
name in daunger. The sages that I haue
sought, vvare not prouided onelye to learne
the prince Comodus: but also to resourme
al those, that liued euil in my pallace. And
now I see the contrary, for vvher I thought
the fooles shoulde haue bene made vvise, I
see that those that vvare vvise, are become
fooles. Knowe you not, that the syne
golde defendeth hys purenes amonge the
burninge cooles: and that the man en-
dued vvith vvysedome, sheweth hym selfe
vvise, yea in the myddeste of many fooles:
For truelye as the golde in the fyre
is proued: so amonge the lyghtenes

of fooles, is the wisdom of the wise discerned. Do not you know, that the sage is not known among the sages, nor the foole among the fooles: but that among fooles wise men do shine, and that among the sages fooles are darkened: for there the wyse sheweth his wisdom, and the foole sheweth his folly.

Do not you know, that in the sore woundes, the surgien sheweth his cunning, and that in the dangerous diseases, the phisition sheweth his science? And that in the doubtful batayles, the captaine sheweth his stoutnes, & that in the boysterous stormes, the master sheweth his experience? So in lyke maner, the sage man, in that place where there is great ioye, and solace of people, ought to shewe his wisdom and discretion. Do not you know, that of a moderate witte, there proceedeth a cleare understanding, a sharpe memory, a graue parson, a quiet minde, a good name, and above all, a temperate tonge? For he onely ought to be called wise, who is discrete in his wordes, and resolute in his wordes. Do not you know, that it lyeth awayeth to haue the tonge expert, the memory lyuelie, the understanding cleare, to haue greate science, to haue profounde eloquence, a swete style, and ample experience, if with al these thinges, you beinge as Passers, and in youre wordes, as wicked men: certainly it is a great dishonour to a vertuous Emperour, that he should haue for maisters of younge Princes, those whyche are Schollers of vaine Juglers. Do not you know, that if al the men of this world are bounde to leade a good life, that those which presume to haue science, are much more bounde then others are, whiche by their eloquence presume to confounde the worlde: For it is a rule certaine, that alwaies euill wordes take awaye the credyt from good wordes. And to the end it seame vnto you that I speake of fashion, I wyll bringe here into your memory, an auncient lawe of Rome, the whiche

was made in the tyme of Cinna, whiche said: We ordeine & commande, that more greuous punishmente be geuen vnto the sage for one follye onely committed by him openly: then to the simple man, for a greater offence committed secretly. I iuste, and very iust law: I iust, and happye Romaynes, I say vnto all those, that togethers did fynd, & ordeine the law. For the simple mā, slepyth but one way with his swerde of wrath: but the sage, killeth manye by the euill example of his life. For (accordinge to the sayeng of the deuine Plato) the princes and sage sinne more, by the euill whyche they geue: then in the faulte and offence, that they committe. All the auncient wyriters affirme, that the triumphat Rome neuer beganne to decay vntil the Senat was replenished with sage serpentis, and destitute of simple doves. For in the end, ther is nothinge that soner destroyeth princes, the thinkinge to haue aboute them wyse men, that shoulde counsel the: when in dede they are malicious, that seke to deceiue them. What a thing was it in old tyme, to see the polycpe of Rome before that Sylla & Marius did alter it, before that Catilina & Catullus did trouble it, before that Iulius Cesar, and Pompeius flauntered it, before that Augustus, and Marcus Antonius destroyed it, before that Tiberius, & Caligula did deface it, and before that Nero and Domitia did corrupt it: For the moste part of these, though they were ballvaunt, and wanne many Realmes: yet notwithstanding, the vices which they brought vs, were more then the Realmes they wanne vs. And the worst of al is, that al our kingdomes are losse, and our vices abyde still. If Liviū and the other Historiographers do not deceiue vs, in olde tyme they myghte haue sene in the sacred Senate, some Romaynes so auncient, with heeres so honorable, others so expert in warre, others aged so modest, that it was a maiesty, to se what they did presente, and a comforte, to heare that which

which they saide. I speake not that without
teares which I wyll saie, that in steade of
these auncient aged parsonnes, ther sprang
bp other yong bablers, the which are such,
and so manye, that all the common wealth
is altered, and Rome her selfe flandered.
* For y lande is cursed, and w much miserie
copassed: where the gouernaunce of the yong
is so euil, that al wishe for y reuiving of the
dead. If we credite that which the auncien-
res wrote, we cannot deny, but that Rome
was the mother of all good workes, as the
auncient Grece was the beginner of all
sciences. So that y effeete of the grekes was
to speake, & the glozy of the Romaines was
to worke. But nowe, thorough oure woful
destines, it is all contrary: for Grece hath
banished from it all the speakers to Rome,
and Rome hath banished from it, all the sa-
ges to Grece. And if it be so (as it is in dede)
I had rather be banished to Grece with the
sages: then to take parte with Rome amoge
the foolles. By y faith of a chrystia I sweare
vnto you (my frendes) that I being yonge,
sawe an Oratour in Rome, whiche was
brought vp in the pallace of Atria my lord,
whose name was Aristonocus: of his body
he was of meane stature, leane of face, and
also he was of an vnknown countrey, but
he had such a pleasaunt tonge, that though he
he had made an oration in the senate of thre
ours long, there was no man but willingly
was desirous to here him. For in yold time,
if he that made an oratio in the senate were
eloquent in his speache, he was hard no lesse
then if god Apollo had spoken hym selfe.
This philosopher Aristonocus was on the
one parte, so gentel in his speache, and on
the other parte, so disolute in his life: that he
neuer spake word to the senate, but it deser-
ued eternal memozy, and out of that place,
they neuer sawe hym do good worke, but it
mercyed greuous punishment. As I haue
saied, though in that time I was yong, yet
I remember, that to see this philosopher so
losse, all the people dyd ptepe, and the worst

of all was, that they neuer hoped of hys a-
mendment, since daylye more and more he
lost his honoz. For there is no man, that by
his eloquence maye haue such renowne: but *
in the end he maye lose it agayne by his euil
lyfe. Now I aske you, my frendes, sithe you
are in the reputacion of sages, whiche was
better, or to say better, whiche had ben lesse
enuded: that this philosopher had ben a sym-
ple man, and of good lyfe: then to be (as he
was) a man of highe eloquence, and of euyl
conditton. It was vnpossyble, if he had once
hard of me that, which many times I haue
hard saie of him, that he had not counsailed
me, ye and furdre to doe it he had constrai-
ned me, rather to choose the graue, then to
liue in Rome with infamy. For he is vnwor-
thy to liue amongest men, whose wordes of
all are approued, and his workes of al con- *
demned. The firste dictatour in Rome, was
Largius, and the first lord of the knyghtes,
was Elparus. And from the tyme of the
first dictatour, vntil the tyme of Silla & Iuli-
us (whiche were the first tirautes) were .4.
hundred, & .15. yeaeres. In the whiche space,
we neuer red that anye Philosopher spake
any vaine wordes, nor yet committed anye
flanderous deades. And if Rome had done
any otherwise, it had ben vnworthy of such
praysle and estimation as it had: for it is vn-
possyble, that the people be well gouerned,
if the Sages whiche gouerne them, are in
their liues disolute. I protest to the immor-
tal gods, & sweare by the faith of a chrystian,
that when I consider that whiche of Rome
I haue red, and that whiche at this present
with myne eyes I see: I cannot but syghe
for that that is passe, and wepe for y whiche
is present. That is to wete, to see then howe
the armyes fought, to se how the yong men
franayled to be good, to se how wel princes
gouerned, to se the obedyence of the people,
and aboue all, it was a merueylous thing,
to see the lybertye and fauoure whiche the
Sages had: and the subiection and smal esti-
mation that the symple were in. And nowe

by our euill fortune, we se þe contrary in our
worst time, so that I cannot tel, whether first
I should bewaile the vertues, & noblenes of
them that are past, or the vices & infamies
of these whiche are present. For we neuer
ought to cease, fro praisinge the goodnes of
the good: nor to cease, from reproouinge the
wyckednes of the euill. That I had bene to
see this (glorious world) so honorable & au-
gent sages, to gouerne in pleasure: & for the
contrary, what greife and perpe, shame and
dishonour is it, to se now, so manie dissolute
sages, and so many ponge and busy heades,
the whiche (as I haue sayd) doe destroye all
Rome, & slaunder all Italy, & dishonour them
selues. For þe want of vertue whiche in them
aboundeth, endomagerh the comon wealth:
and the other vices, wherewith they are re-
plenished, corrupteth þe people in such sorte,
that the weale publyke is more dishonored
thorough the dissolute lyfe of them, then it is
aided by the weapons of their enemies. I
say agayne, and repete, my frendes, that the
prosperity of Rome endured .45. yeaeres, in
the which time there was a greate maiestye
of workes, and a marueilous simplicity of
wordes: & aboue all, that the best that it had
was, that it was rich of the good & vertuous
men, & poore of euill & vicious loyterers. For
in the end, that cytye cannot be called prospe-
rous, which hath in it many people: but þe,
which hath in it fewe vices. Speaking ther-
fore more percutulerly, þe cause þe moued me
to put you fro me is, because in þe day of the
great feast of god Geni⁹, you shewed (in the
presence of the senate) your litle wisedom and
great folly: for so much as al men did behold
more þe lightnes of your passio, then they did
the follies of the iuglers. If perchance you
shewes your folly, to thet me shuld thinke
that you were famylare in my royal pal-
ace, I tel you, þe error of your thought
was no lesse, then þe euill & example of youre
wycke: for no mā ought to be so famillar to
princes, but þe (whether it be in spoite, or in
earnest) he ought to do him reuerence. Since

I geue you leaue to departe, I knowe you
had rather haue to helpe you in your forney
a litle money, then many councelles: but I
wil geue you both, þis is to wete: mōhy for to
bring you to your iournies end, & also coun-
sels to þe end you may liue. And meruail not
that I geue counsel to them, þe haue an office
to counsel others, for it chaunceth oftentimes,
that þe phisico do cure þe diseases of others,
& yet in dede he knoweth not hys owne. Let
therefore the last word & counsel be, to þe you
shalbe in the seruices of princes and greate
lordes, that firste you labour to be counteid
honest: rather then for wise. That they doe
chose you rather for quiet me: then for busy
heades, and more for youre feawe wordes,
then for your muche bablynge. For in the
pallates of Princes, the wyse man can but
please, but the honest man can neuer dys-
please.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

That princes and other noble men
ought to other see the tutours of
their children, least they counsel
the secret faultes of their scollers.



WE haue before reherfed
what conditions, what age, and
what grauitie maisters oughte
to haue, which shuld bring by þe
children of Princes. Nowe reason woulde
we shuld declare, what the counsels shoulde
be, that princes shuld geue to the maysters,
and tuteurs of their chyldren, before they
ought to geue them anye charge. And after
that, it is mete we declare, what the counsel
shalbe whiche the mayster shal geue to hys
discypple, hauyng the governement of him.
For it is impossible, that there shoulde
anye mysfortune happen: where as ryte
counsell is. It shal come vnto those that
shal

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That profoundly consider this matter, that it
 is a superfluous thing to treat of these thin-
 ges: for either the princes chose the good, or
 els they chose y^e euil. If they chose not good
 maisters, they labour in vaine, to geue them
 good counsel: for the folyshe maister is lesse
 capable of counsel, then the dyscolute scoler
 is, of hollosome admonition. If perchaunce
 princes do make elections of good maisters;
 then those maisters, bothe for them selues,
 and also for others, ought to minister good
 counsels. For to geue counsell to the wyse
 man, it is eyther a superfluous dede, or els
 it cometh of a presumptuous man. Though
 it be true, that he whiche dare geue counsell
 to the sage man is presumptuous, I saye in
 like maner, that the dyamonde being set in
 gold, loseth not his vertue, but rather increaseth
 in pryce, and value: I meane, that the
 wyser a man is, somuch the more he oughte
 to desire, to knowe the opinion of another:
 certainly he that doeth so, cannot erre. For
 to none his owne counsell aboundeth somuch,
 but that he nedeth the counsel and oppinion
 of another. Though princes & greates lordes
 do se with their eyes, that they haue chosen
 good maisters & tutores to teache their chil-
 dren: yet they oughte not therefore to be so
 negligent of them selues, but that somety-
 mes they may geue y^e maisters counsel. For
 it may be, that the maisters be bothe noble,
 and stout, y^e they be auncient, sage, & mode-
 rate: but it may be also, y^e in teachinge chil-
 dren, they are not expert. For to maisters and
 tutores of princes, it is not somuch necessary
 that science doth abound, as it is shame, that
 experyence shuld want. When a rich man doth
 comit into the handes of a laborer any posses-
 sion, he consydereth with him selfe, not only
 that which he ought to geue him: but also he
 telleth hym how he oughte to governe and
 mainteine his possessions. And not contented to
 receiue the thirde parte of y^e frute of his vine:
 but also he goeth wyse or thyse in a yeare
 to visite it. And in seling it he hath reaso, for
 in the end, the one occupyeth the good as to

nature: and the other doth bletwe the ground,
 as chese lord. Then if y^e father of the family
 with so great diligence doeth recomend the
 trees, and the ground to the labourer: howe
 much more ought the father to recommend
 his chyldren to the maisters: for the father
 geuing counsel to the maister, is no other:
 but to deliuer his childe, to the treasurer of
 science. The princes and greates lordes can
 not excuse them selues of an offence, if after
 that they haue chosen a knyghte, or gentle-
 man, for to be maister, or els a learned, and
 wise man to be tutor, they are so negligēt,
 as if they neuer had had chyldren, or dyd re-
 member that thesē chyldren ought to be their
 helres: certainly this thing shoulde not be so
 lightlye passed ouer, but as a wyse man,
 which is careful of the hono^r, and profite of
 his childe, ought to be occupied, aswel in ta-
 king hede to the maister: as y^e maister ought
 to be occupied, in taking hede to the childe.
 For the good fathers ought to knowe, whe-
 ther the maister that he hath chosen, can co-
 maund, & whether his childe wil obeie. One
 of the notablest princes amonge the aunces-
 entes, was Seuleucus, king of the Assyrians,
 and husband of Estrabonica (the doughter
 of Demetrius, king of Macedonny) a ladye
 for her beauty, in al Grece the most renown-
 med of her fame, though in dede she was not
 very fortunate. This is an olde disease, that
 hapneth alwaies to beautiful womē, y^e ther
 be many that desire them, & mo that flatter
 them. This king Seuleucus, was first mar-
 ried with another woman, of whom he had
 a sonne called Antigenus, the whiche was
 in loue with the seconde wyfe of his father,
 that is to wete, wth the quene Estrabonica,
 and was almost deade for loue. The whiche
 the father vnderstandyng, married his sonne,
 with her, so y^e the that was hys stepmother,
 was his wyfe: & she y^e was a faire wyfe, was
 a faire doughter: & he whiche was his sonne,
 was made his sone in law, & he whiche was
 father, was stepfather. The autho^r hereof is
 plutarke in his liues, as Sextus Cheronē

As saith, in the third booke of the sayenges of the grekes. The king Seulenc⁹ laboured diligently to bring by his sonne Antigonus wel, wherfore he sought him. 2 notable matters, the one a greke, and the other a latine. The king Seulencus herewith not contented, prouided secretly (by h^e meane of a sernaunt of his, named Parthemius) y^e he shuld haue no other office in the pallace, but that what the matters taught o^r did to his sone Antigonus in the day, he should secretly come and tel him in the night. But by the neglygence of Parthemius, it came to the

* knowledge of y^e tutors, that they had ouerscers: for in y^e end, there is nothing accusomably, but at the last wil be reueiled. Since the 2. philosophers knew the secret, one day they sayd vnto y^e king Seulencus these wordes. Wightye prince Seulencus, since thou hast of trust comitted thy sone Antigonus into our hādes, why doest thou appoint thy sernaunt Parthemius, as accuser of our liues? if thou countest vs euill, and him good, thou shalt shewe vs greate fauoure if thou wilt discharge vs, & comit to hym, the tuition of him. For we let the to know, y^e to me of hono^r, it is an intollerable euill to shame the: and no dishono^r to likece the. Thou hast appointed Parthemius, to go, & dog vs, to see what we do, o^r say openly, & afterwarde to make relatiō vnto the secretly: & the worst is, that by the relatiō of the simple, we shuld be cōdēned, albeit we be sages: for triacle is not so contrary to possō: as ignorānce is to wisdom. And truly (most noble prince) it is a great matter, y^e dayly inquisition be made of mā: for there is no beard so bare shauen, but that it wyl grow againe. I meane, that there is no man of so honest a lyfe: but if a man make inquisition, he maye finde some spotted therein. The kinge Seulencus answered them. Consyder my frendes, that I doe know right wel, that neither the authority of the parson, no^r the good creadite of renoume would be steyned for anye other fēd in this world: & if the rude me doit not,

much lesse ought the Sages to doe it. For there is nothing y^e men trauaile for so much in this lyfe, as to leane of them good renoume after their death. Since you are sages, and maisters of my sonne, and likewise counsailers of my house, it is not mete you shuld with any be offended: for by good reason, he alone ought to be esteemed in the palaces of princes, y^e wil geue vnto the prince good counsel. That whiche I haue said to Parthemius, was not for the doubt of your faith, neither to thinke any danger in your authority. And if y^e thing be wel cōsidered, it goeth well for you, and not euyl for me: and the reason hereof is, that either you are good, o^r els you are euill. If you be good, you ought to be glad, that daily your seruices be reported vnto me. For the continual beting in the princes eares of the good seruices of his sernautes: must nedes cause at the last, thei seruices to be well rewarded. If you be euill, and in teaching my sonne negligēt it is but reason, that I be aduertised. For if the father be deceiued in his opinioⁿ, the sone that receiue poison in his doctrine, and also, bycause you shal not vndoe my realme, no^r flander me by your euill counsel. If the fatal destiny permit, y^e my sonne be euyl, I am he y^e loseth most thereby: for my realme shalbe destroyed, & my renoume vtterly abolished, & in the end, my sone shal not enioye the heritage. And if al passe so, you wil care litel: for you wil say, you are not in y^e faulte, since the child would not receiue your doctrine. Wherefore, me thinke it not euyl done, to ouer see you, as you ouer see hym: for my dutye is, to see that you be good, and your dutye is, to trauaile that your dyspleas^{er} be not euyl.

This kynge Seulencus was an honorable man, and dyed aged (as Plutarke saith, and Patroclus more plainely declareth, in the thirde booke of the warre of the Affirians) and for the contrarie, his sonne Antigonus, came to be a wycked Prince in all his doings.

And

And this a man maye wel perceiue, that if he had not bene of hys father so muche corrected, and of the maysters so well instructed: withoute doubte, he woulde hane proued muche more wicked then he was.

For yonge men on the one parte beinge euyl inclyned, and on the other parte euyl taught, it is vnpossible, but that in the ende they shuld be vicious, & defamed. In my opinion, though children be not euyl inclined, yet the fathers therfore ought not to cease to correcte them: for in tyme to come, those that write wyl commende the dyligence of the fathers, in correcting the vices of h children. I haue declared this example, to counceel that the father be not so negligent, that he should utterly forget to loke vnto hys sonne, thinking h now the mayster hath the charge of hym. And of my counceel, h father ought in this thing to be so aduertised, that if at the first he beheld the childe with two eyes: that then he shuld loke vnto him with 4. eyes. For oftentimes it is more requysite, that the maysters be punished, then the scollers. Though princes are not daylye informed of the life of the maysters, as king Seleucus was: yet at the least, oftentimes they ought to enquire of the state, of the life, & of the behaviour, both of the maysters, and also of the children. And this thinge they ought not to doe only once, but also they ought to call the maysters, and couceel them lykwise, that they haue great respecte to the doctrine of their children: thinking alwayes to geue them good counseil, to shew vnto their scollers afterwarde. For other wyse, the mayster immediatlye is dyscouraged, when he seeth the father to be negligent, and noo thinge careful for the bynginge vp of hys children. Princes in one thinge oughte to haue greate respecte (that is to wete) lest the maysters beare with the secrete vices of the children. And he oughte not to doe thus, but also to call them vnto hym, to aduise them, to warne them, to praye them, to counseil, and commaunde them, that they

haue greate respecte to the bynginge vp of his children: and further, that he geue them some notable counceil, to thetente that the maysters afterwarde maye make relation therof to their scollers. For there is no man so weake, noo chylde so tender: but the force whiche he hathe to be vicious, is ynough (if he wyl) to be vertuous. I woulde nowe demaund the maysters, and tutors, which doe gouerne the childe of noble, and vertuous men, what more strength is required to be a glutton, then to be a sober man: to be a babler, or to be silent: to be dyligente, or to be negligent: to be honest, then to be dissolute: and as of those fewe I speake, so I could resite manye others. In this case I wyl not speake, as a ma of science, but as one of experience: and that is, that by the faiche of a christian I swere, that to lesse trauall of the mayster, and more profyte of the scoller, he maye be soner vertuous, then vicious. For ther is more courage required, in one to be euyl: then strenghte is required in another, for to be good. Also the maysters commonly haue another euil property, worse then this whiche is, they beare with their scollers in some secrete vices, when they are yong: fro the which they cannot be w drawn afterwarde, when they are old. For it chaunceth oftentimes, that the good inclination is overcome, by the euil custome: and certainly, the maysters whiche in such a case should be apprehended, ought to be punished as traitors paritid. For to the mayster it is greater treason, to leane his disciple amongest vices: then to deliuer a forte into the handes of the enemyes. And let no man marneil, if I call such a mayster a traitor, for the one yeldeth the forte which is but of stones builded: but the other aduētureth his sone, who is of his proper body begotē. The cause of al this euil is, that as h chylde of princes ought to inherite realmes, & the children of greate lordes hope to inherite the great estates: so the maysters are more couetous then vertuous. For they suffer their puples to rine at their

owne willes, whē they be yong, to thend to
winne their hartes whē they shalbe olde: so
that y extreame couetousnes of the maisters
now a daies is such, y it causeth good mens
sonnes commonly to be euil and bitious. O
tutors of princes, and maisters of great loz-
des, I do admonishe you and besides that, I
counsel you, that your couetousnes deceiue
you not, thinkinge y you shalbe better esse-
med, for being clogers of vices: then louers
of vertues. For there is none (old nor yōg)
so wicked, but knoweth that good is better
then euil. And further I saye to you in this
case, that oftentimes God permitteth (when
those y were chyldre become old) their eyes,
to be opened wherby they know the harme
that you haue done them, in suffering them
to be bitious in there youth: at what tyme,
your dutye had bene to haue corrected their
vices. You thought by your goods to be ho-
nored for your flattery: but you finde the co-
trary, that you are despised worzhely. For it
is y iust iudgemēt of god, that he that com-
mitteth euil, shal not escape without punish-
ment: and he that consealed the euil comit-
ted, shal not liue vndefamed. Diadume the
hystorographer, in the life of Severus (the
21. Emperoure) declareth, that Apuleius
Rusticus, who had ben consul thosse, and at
that tyme was also tribune of the people (a
man who was very aged & likewise of great
auctoritey thorough out Rome) came one
day to the emperour Severus, & saied vnto
him, in this sorte, Moste inuite Prince, al-
waies Augustus know, that I had .2. chil-
dren, the which I committed to a maister to
brynge vp, and by chaunce, the eldest increa-
sing in yeares, and diminishing in vertues
fel in loue with a Romaine lady, the which
loue came to late to my knowledge: for to
suche vnfortunate men, as I am, the disease
is alwayes pastte remedye, before the daun-
ger thereof commeth to our knowledge.

The greatestt greife that herein I fele, is,
that his maister knew, & consealed the euil,
and was not only not a meanes to remedye

it: but also was the chiefe worzher of the ad-
ultery betwene them to be committed. And
my sonne made him an oblygation, wherin
he bound him selfe, if he would brynge hym
that remaine lady, he would geue him after
my death, the house and herptages which I
haue in the gate Salaria: and yet here with
not contented, but he, and my sonne toge-
ther, robbed me of muche money. For lome
is costlye to hym that maynteyneth it, and
alwaies the loues of the chyldre, are charge-
ful to the fathers. Iudge you now therefore
noble Prince, this so heinous and slaunde-
rous cause, for it is to muche presumption
of the subiecte to reuenge any injury, know-
ing that the lozde hym selfe wil reuenge all
wzōges. When the emperour Severus had
vnderstode this so heinous a case, as one
that was both in name and dede leuer, com-
manded good inquisition of the matter to
be had, & that before his presence they shuld
cause to appeare, the father, the sonne, and
the maister, to the ende eche one shoulde al-
ledge for his owne right: for in Rome, none
coulde be condemned for anye offence, vn-
lesse the plainetife had first declared y faute
before hys presence, and that the accused
shuld haue no tyme to make his excuse. The
truth then knowen, and the offenders con-
fessinge the offensis, the Emperoure Seve-
rus gaue in this wise iudgemente. I com-
maunde, that this mayster be cast alyue a-
monge the beastes of the parke Palatine.

For it is but mete, that beastes deuour
him: which teacheth others to lyue like bea-
stes. Also I doe commende, that the sonne
be bitterlye dysinherited of all the goods of
his father, and banysshed into the Isles Bal-
leares.

For the chyld, whiche from hys youthe
is bitious, oughte iustlye to be banysshed
the countrey, and dysinherited of hys fa-
thers goods.

This therefore (of the mayster, and of the
sonne) was done, by the complaynte of A-
puleius.

How vnconstant fortune is, and how oft (not thinking of it) the threde of life dothe breake. I say it, because if this maister had not bene couetous, the father had not bene depriued of his sonne, the childe hadde not bene banished, the mother had not bene defamed, the comon weale had not bene flandered, the maister, of wilde beastes had not bene deuoured, neyther the Emperour had bene so cruell againste them, nor yet their names in bystories (to their infamies) had alwaies continued. I doe not speake thys without a cause, to declare by wytyng, that which the euill do in the worlde: For wyse men, ought more to feare the infamy of the litle penne, then the flander of the babling tongue. For in the end, the wicked tongue can not defame but the lyving: but the litle pene, doth defame them that are, that were, and that shal be. To conclude this, my mind is, that the mayster shoulde endeuour him selfe that his scoller shoulde be vertuous, & that he do not dispatre, though immediatly for his paines he be not rewarded. For though he be not of the creature, let hym be assured that he shal be of the creator. For God is so mercyfull, that he ofte times takinge pite of the swette of those y be good, chasteneth the vnthankful, and taketh vpon hym to requite their seruices.

The. xxxviii. Chapter.

Of the determination of the Emperour vwhen he committed his childe to the tutors, vvhiche he had prouided for his educatio.



INNA the Hystorien, in the firste booke declareth, that Marcus Aurelius the Emperour chose, 14.

masters learned, and wise men, to teache

hys sonne Commodus of the whiche, he refused syue, not for that they were not wise, but for that they were not honeste. And so he kepte these nyne onelye, whiche were bothe learned in the sciences, and also experte in bringinge vp the chyldren of the Senatours, though in dede they were verie vnluckye in the bringinge vp of the Prince Commodus. For this cursed prince hadde nyne masters, which instructed him, but he hadde aboue nyne thousande vices whiche vndid him. The Emperour made fyue booke of declamations, and in the thirde booke the fyrte Chapter, vnder the title, ad Sapientes pedagogos he brought in these nyne maysters, and perswaded them greatlye, that they shoulde be diligent, and attentyue to teache hys sonne Commodus. And in this matter, he spake vnto them, manye and graue sentences, the wordes whereof doe folow.

The matter is manifeste in Rome, and no lesse publyshed thorough oute all Italy, what paynes I toke, to searche oute so manye sages to instructe my sonne Commodus: the whiche al beinge examined, I kept onelye the wysest, and the best, and though in verie dede I haue done muche, yet I haue not done so much as I am bounde.

For Princes in doutefull matters, oughte not onelye to demaunde counsell, of all the good that be alyue: but also to take payne to talke with these, whiche are dead. That is, to reade the dedes of the good, in their wytynges. You were sowerene maysters chosen, whereof I haue put out syue: so that presentlye you are but nyne, and yf in dede you be wise men, you shall not be offended with that I haue done. For the greefe of euill thinges procedeth of wyse dome, but the admiracion of good thinges cometh of smal experience. I do not deny, but that wise men do fele in them, passions as men: but in the end, there is no arte, nor science, that doth excuse vs from y miseries of me. But y wher at I maruaile is, how it is

is possible, that a wise man should meruaile at any thinge in this world: For if the wise man should be astonied at euery thinge of the world, it appeareth that ther is litle constan-
 ce or vertue in him at al. Returning ther-
 fore to our particuler talke, I haue taken
 you to be masters of my sonne, and you see
 of manye I chose a felwe, to the ende that
 with felwe my sonne should be taught. For
 as it is the fathers dutie to searche oute
 good masters, so it is the masters dutie to
 be diligent aboute hys scoller. The nource
 of my sonne Comodus gaue hym suche
 two yeares with her teates, at the gate of
 Hostia. And hys mother Faustyne, other
 two yeares, brought him by wantonly in
 Capua. Howe be it, thys was a sufficient
 excuse. I woulde as a pittifull father (yf
 I coulde) geue hym correction, at the lease
 this twentie yeares. For I sweare by the
 immortal Gods, that to a Prynce that
 shalbe an inheritor, one yeares punysh-
 ment is more worth: then twentie yeares
 of pleasure. Synce the nources whyche ge-
 ueth the children suche knoweth lytell, and
 since the mothers whyche bare them doe
 loue them muche: and since the childe per-
 aduenture (as yet) is but of a weake vnder-
 standinge, they are occupied aboute the
 thinges that are present, not consideringe
 that chastysmente is muche more better
 for him, then pleasure. But the wise man,
 whyche hath vnderstandinge, doughte to
 thincke of that that is paste, and by muche
 wysedome to prouyde for that that is to
 come: For he can not be counted wise, that
 onely in one thinge is carefull. My sonne
 Comodus was bozne the laste daye of the
 moneth Sextilis, in a cite by Danubio. I
 shall not forget the day, that the gods gaue
 him vnto me: nor yet this day, in the which
 I comyt hym vnto you. Of greater rea-
 son I shoulde remember that day, wherein
 I put him to be taught: then the day which
 I saue him to be bozne. And I geue hym
 to you as mortall, since he is a man, to the

entent that you shoulde restore him agayne
 vnto me: and I lyke wise him to the Gods
 as immortall, if he be wise. What wyll
 you I saye more vnto you, but if you res-
 garde that any thinge at all whiche I say,
 you wyll regarde muche more thys which
 I wyll saye. When the Gods determynd
 that I shoulde haue a child of my wife, and
 that my wofull destinees deserued, that I
 shoulde haue suche a child: truly the Gods
 made me a man in the sprite, and I begot
 him a beaste, amongeste the beastes in the
 fleshe. But if you wyl, you may make him a
 god amongest the gods by science. For prin-
 ces winne infamy, for beinge farse & selfe
 willed: but they get good renoume, for be-
 ing wise & pacient. I would you should ap-
 ply this busines wel, & therfore it is necessa-
 ry that you examine him ofte. For it is a
 general rule, that so precious felwell is litle
 regarded, when he whiche hath it, knoweth
 not the value thereof. I require that you
 aunswere me in this one thinge. What did
 I geue vnto my sonne Comodus, when
 the gods gaue him me, but frayle and mor-
 tall fleshe: by the corruption whereof, hys
 life shall ende: but you shall geue him highe
 doctrine, whereby he shall alwayes deserue
 perpetuall memozye. For the good renou-
 me is not gotten, by that the weake fleshe
 doth: but by that whiche the highe vnder-
 standinge inmagyneth, and by that the cu-
 rious harte erreth. O yf his tender age
 knewe, what I gaue to his weake fleshe,
 and if his dull vnderstandinge could come,
 to the wysedome which you may geue him:
 he woulde call you his righte fathers, and
 me but hys stepfather. For he is the true
 father, that geueth vs doctrine to liue: and
 he is but an vnjuste stepfather, that geueth
 vs fleshe to dye.

Certainelye, the naturall Fathers of
 children, are but their open enemyes, and
 cruell stepfathers: synce we geue them such
 dull vnderstandyng, so weake a memozye,
 a wyll so frowarde, lyfe so shorte, fleshe so
 frayle

trayle, honour so costlye, health so vncertaine, ryches so troublesome, prosperytye so scarce, and death so fearefull. Finallye, we geue them a nature, subiecte to infinite alterations and greate misfortunes. Reason woulde not, you shoulde litle regarde that whiche I committe vnto your iudgement, that is to wete, that you haue the charge of Commodus my sonne: For the thinge that Princes cheselye oughte to foresee, is, to whom they oughte to recomende the gouernement of their chyldren.

To be a maister, and Tutor of a Prince in the yearth, is to haue an office of the Gods whiche are in heauen: bycause he gouerneth him that ought to gouerne vs, he teacheth him that ought to teache vs, he chaffneth him that ought to chaffen vs. Finallye he commaundeth one, that oughte to commaund al. What wyll you that I say more vnto you. Truly he that hath the charge to teache the chyldren of Princes, and greate Lordes, is as the gouernour of the shippe, a standarde of a battaylle, a defence of the people, a gyde of the wayes, a father of the Orphanes, the hope of puppyles, and a treasourer of all: For ther is no other true treasoure in the common wealth, but the prince, whiche doth mainteyne and kepe it, in good peace and iuste iustice. I will tell you furthermore to the ende you shall esteeme it more, that when I doe geue you my sonne to teache, I geue you more then if I gaue you all the ryches of a Realme. For in him that hath the reformation of the chyldes lyfe, dependeth the same of the Father as ter he is deade.

So that the father hath no greater renowne: then to see hys childe leade an honeste lyfe. I praye the Gods that they maye be so mercifull, and the fayall destinies so fortunate, that if tyll thys time you haue watched to teache the chyldren of others, that from hence forwarde you watche, to teache thys my sonne Commodus, whiche I truste, shalbe to the comfozte of all.

For the thinge that is vniuersally good to all, oughte to be preferred, before that whiche tendeth but to the commoditie of some. Wot ye my frendes, that there is a greate difference to teache the chyldren of Princes, and to teache the chyldren of the people: and the cause hereof is, that the greatestte parte of those comie to the scooles and vniuersities to learne to speake, but I doe not geue you my sonne Commodus, to the ende you shoulde teache hym to speake manye wordes, but that you shoulde learne him to doe good workes.

For all the glozpe of the Princes is, that in the workes whiche he dothe, he be bygghte, and in the wordes that he speaketh, he be verry discrete. After that the chyldren haue spent manie yeaeres in scooles, after their fathers haue spent much money vpon them, yf perchance the child can dispute in Greeke or Latyn any thing at all: though he be lyghte, and verry, the father thinketh hys goodes well employed: For in Rome, now a dayes, they esteeme an Oratour more, whiche can doe nought but bable: then a philosopher, which is vertuous. Wofull men, that now lyue in Rome, and muche more wofull shal those be, which hereafter shal succede: For Rome is no more that Rome, whiche it was wont to be, that is to wete, that the fathers in old time sente their chyldren to scooles and studies to learne them to be silent: and now, they send them to lerne to speake so much. They learned them then to be sage and temperate: and now they leaene them, to be dissolute. And the worst of all is, that the scooles where the sage and patient were wont to be, and from whence issued the good and vertuous workes: are now full of bablinge Oratores, and none issue oute from thence at this present, but the euill and verry. So that if the sacred Romain lawes are exalted once in a weeke with their tongues: they are broken tenne tymes in the daye in their workes.

What

THE DIALL

What will you I say more, since I can not tell you any thinge (withoute hurtinge my mother Rome) but that at this presente all the pleasures of baine men, is to see their childzen ouercome others, by disputinge: but I let you vnderstande, that al my glozy shalbe, when my sonne shall surmount the others, not in wordes, but in silence: not to be troublesome, but to be paciente: not in speaking subtil wordes, but in doing vertuous wordes. For the glozy of the good men is, in workinge muche, and speakinge little. Consider my frendes, and do not forget it, that this day I committe my honour vnto you, I put into your handes the estate of Commodus my sone, the glozy of Rome, the rest of y^e people, which are my subiettes, the gouernement of Italye, which is your countrey, and aboue al, I referre vnto your discretions, the peace & tranquillitie of the hole common wealth. Therefore he that hath such a charge, by reason ought not to slepe. For as the wise men say, to great truste, is required much diligence. I will say no more, but that I woulde my sonne Commodus should be so well taught, that he shuld haue the feare of god, and the science of philosophers, the vertues of the auncient Romaynes, the approued counsell of the aged, the corage of the Romaine youth, and the constancy of you, which are his masters. Especially, I woulde that of all the good, he shuld take the good, as of me he ought to take the heritage and succession of the Empyre. For he is the true prince, and worthy of the empyre, that with his eyes dothe beholde the great signozies, he ought to enheritte, and dothe employe his harte howe to gouerne it, wherby he shall lyue to the great profite of the comon wealth. And I proteste to the immortal gods, with whom I hope to go, & to the goodnes of my predecessours, whose faith I am bound to kepe. I proteste to the Romaine lawes, & which I dyd sweare to obserue, in the conquest of Asia, wherin I bound my selfe to continue, & to the frend-

shippe of the Rhodiens, the which I haue offered my selfe to kepe, to the ennemye of the Affricans, & which not for me, but for the oth of my predecessours, I haue bounde my selfe to mainteine. And I proteste vnto the befall of the hyghe Capitall, where my bones ought to be burnt, that Rome do not complaine of me beinge alyue, nor that in the worlde to come she curse me after my death: If perchaunce the prince Commodus my sonne by his wicked life, shoulde be occasion of the losse or hinderance to the common wealth. And though you which are his masters vndoe it, for not geuinge hym due punishmente, and he thorough his wicked gouernement destroye it, yet I discharge my selfe by all these protestacions that I haue made, which shalbe witness of my wil. For the father is bound no more towarde his child, but to banishe him fro his pleasures, and to geue him vertuous masters. And if he be good, he shalbe be the glozy of the father, the honoz of him selfe, the wealth of you, and the profite and commodity of the hole common wealth.

The xxxix. Chapter.

That tutours of noble mens children ought to be verye circumspect, that their scollers doe not accustomethem selues in vices, vvhiles they are yong, and speciallye to kepe them from foure vices.



THE good and experre Surgeons, vnto greate and dangerous woundes, do not onelye applye medycynes and oyntementes which do resolue and stop: but also do minister other good

good playsters, for to restrayne, and heale them. And herelpe they shewe them selues in the one no lesse sage, then in the other experie: for as greate diligence oughte to be had to preserue the weake fleshe, and to purge the rotten wounde, to the end it may be healed, so lyke wise, the wyse traualers learne diligently the waye, before they take vpon them any iorney, that is to wete, yf there be any dangers in the waye, eyther of robberyng or sleynge, wherein there is any by pathe, that goeth oute of the hyghe waye. Trulpe he that in this poynt is circumspecte, is woorthye to be counted a sage man: for accordynge to the myltitude of the peryles of the worlde, none can be assured, vnlesse he knowe firste where the danger is, wherein he maye fall. To shew therfore that which by these parables I meane, I saye, that the ritors and masters of priuies, and great Lordes, ought not to be contented onely to knowe what science, what doctrine, and what vertue they oughte to shewe, and teache their scollers: but also with greater care and diligence they ought to knowe from what euyls or wicked customes they ought to withdraue them. For when the trees are tender, and yonge, it is more necessaie to holue them, and cutte of the superfluous braches with knyues: then to gather their frutes with Baskettes. Those which take vpon them to gouerne Peoples, of great pryse and value, and those that tame and breaue horses of a good race, take greate paynes, that suche beastes be light, that they leape wel, and be well made to the sporre, and bydel: but they take much more paynes, that they be gentill, familiar, and faithfull, and aboue all, that they haue no euill qualities. Then sith it is so, masters ought diligently to watche (if they be good) that in yonge Pryntes there be no apparance of any notable vyces. For all the vertues which the yonge do learne, dothe not them so muche profytte: as one onely vice dothe them hurte, if they doe therunto

consent, knowinge that thereby they maye be hereafter blamed or despyed. For if any man brewe a beaste, that is wyld and roburne, and not gentyll, and wyll bye hym at a greate pryce: suche a one hath his head more full of follyes then of wysedome.

Allbeit that maisters oughte to withdraue their scollers from manye euill customes, amongst all there are foure principall, in any of the whiche, if the Prince be defamed, the maister which hath taught him, shoulde deserue greate punishment: For accordynge to the humaine lawes, and customes, all the damage and harme that the beastes do to the vyngarde, the keeper that hath charge thereof, shall (as he is bound) recompence.

Firste the maisters ought to restraine in suche sort the tonges of their scollers, that neither in sport nor in earnest, they permitte to tel lyes. For the greatestte faulte that is in a good, and vertuous man, is to be hysse in the truth: and the greatestte villanye that is in a vitious man, is to be longe in lyes. Merula in his booke of Cezars saith, that the first warre that Vlpus Traianus made, was against Cebalus, king of Dates, who rebelled against the Romaynes, with no small victorie, ouercame the Emperour Domitian, in a battaile whiche they fought together. For as Nasica saith, the pleasures that Rome had to see manye victories, were not so greate: as the displeasure was whiche she toke, to see her selfe once ouercome. The good Vlpus Traianus gaue battaile to king Cebalus, wherein Cebalus was not onely ouercome, but also taken, and afterwarde broughte before the emperour Traianus, whiche saide vnto him these wordes. Speake Cebalus, why dost thou rebell against the Romaynes, since thou knowest, that the Romaynes are vnuincible. The kinge Cebalus answered him. If the Romaynes coulde not be ouercome, how did I then ouercome the Emperour Domitian.

Traian

Traian the Emperour saide vnto hym againe: Thou arte greatly deceyued (kinge Cebalus) to thinke that when thou oiers camest the emperour, thou haddeste ouercome the Romaines: For when that Romulus founded Rome, the Gods ordeyned, that though their emperour died in any battaile; yet notwithstandinge it is not to be thought, that the empyre is overcome. The Historiographers made a greate matter of the wordes, that this Vlpus Traianus spake. For therein he shewed, that the Romaine empyre was vniuersible. After that this kinge Cebalus was dead, and that (for his desertes) he was depriued: as the Emperour Traian was a mercifull prince, so he prouided, that a litel child that Cebalus had, shoulde be broughte by in his pallace, with intenttion, that if the childe became good, they woulde geue him the Realme whiche his father (thorough Treason) had lost. For in Rome there was an auntye lawe, that all that which the father losse by treason, the sonne shoulde recouer by his faithfull actes. It chaunced, that the good Traian taking his pleasure in the gardins of Vscan, saue the sonne of kinge Cebalus, & many other yonge children of Rome, stealinge fruite forth of an orcharde: and it is no wonder, for the Locustes did not so muche harme to the Corne, as the chylde do to the frutes, when they entre into the orchardes. When the emperour afterwarde demaunded him from whence he came, he answered: from his studie, hearinge Herosicke: but in dede he came from stealing of frutes. The emperour Traian was so angrie, and displeased, that the child was a lyer, that he prouided, and commaunded, that he shoulde vterlye be depriued, and made boyde of all hope, to recouer his realme of his father. The Emperour Traian was greatlye importuned, as well of straunge Ambassadors, as of his owne Countrey men, that he would chaunge that cruel sentence: For princes in a furie do commaund

that, which when they are patient, they doe vndo. The emperour Traian answered then, if the father of this child whiche was kinge Cebalus had bene a true prince, he had not losse his lyfe, neyther his Realme, nor had not put me and the empyre so many times in daunger: but since the father was a lyer, and the sonne is not true, it were to vniuste a thing, to render him the Realme. For to me it shoulde be great reproche, and to our mother Rome as muche dishonour, that she, beinge the mother of truthe, shoulde geue realmes, to children beinge lyers. This was it that Vlpus Traian spake vnto the sonne of kinge Cebalus. Marcus Aurelius the .xv. emperour of Rome had .ii. sonnes, as befoze we haue reherled, the eldest of the whiche, was called Commodus: and his father procured greatlye, to disinherit him of the empyre: for he would that the second sonne named Verissimus, shoulde haue inherited it: and he did not onely determine it, but also spake it oft times openly. For that thinge is with great difficulty dissembled, that excessively is beloued. By chaunce an old Senatoz, and friend of Marcus the emperour, one day, both goinge out of the Senate house, saide vnto him: I meruaile at the muche, moste excellent prince, why thou doest disherit thy sonne, which is eldest, to make thine heire the yongeste, knowinge that they are both thy sonnes, & that the gods haue geuen the none others but them. For the good fathers are bounde to chasten their children: but they haue not licence to disherit the. The emperour Marcus Aureli⁹ answered him. If thou were a greke philosopher, as thou art a Romaine citizen, and if thou knewest the fathers love towarde his child, thou wouldest not take pitie on my sonne, which vndoeth the Empyre: but thou shouldeste haue compassion on me his father, which doth disherit him. For the childe scarcely knoweth what he loseth, but I that am his father, doe bewaile the damage whiche I doe vnto hym.

For in the end, there is not in the worlde so cruel a father: but if his sonne shuld be hurt with the pomele of the swerde in the hande, the father woulde fele (incontinentlye) the dent of his blade at his harte. In this case, I sweare vnto the by the immortall gods, that I do that which I would not do: and I take that fro him, whiche I would not take. For Anthonius my lord, and father in lawe, gaue me the empire, for no other cause, but because he neuer found in me anye lye: and for this occasion I doe depynte my sonne from it, for that I neuer found in hym anye trueth. For it is not mete, that the Empire beinge geuen vnto me for that I was true: shoulde be lefte in heritage to him, y is a liar. For in the end, it is better that the sonne do lose the heritage, then the father should lose his renoume. By these two examples, those whiche are the tutors and maisters, of princes and greate lordes, maye take ensample, how to be byligent to kepe them from lies, whilest they are yong: and it ought to be in such sorte, that neither in pastime, or iesting neither in earnest aunsweryng, they should not vnbeked tell a lye. For those that for their pleasure, were accustomed to lye in their youthe: wyl not sayle for there profite, to lye in there age.

Secondarely, the tutors & maisters ought to keape their disciples, y they be no gamesters, and that they doe not accustome them selues, in their youthe to be vnchrysties: for it is a great token of the decay of the empire, when the prince in his youthe is affectionated to play. Experience sheweth vs, that play is a vice, as Seneca sayeth, which hathe the proprietye of a raging dogge: with whom, if a man be once bitten (vnlesse he hath present remedye) sooth with he runneth madde, and the dysplease also contynueth with him, vntyl the houre of his deathe. Players not with out a cause, are compared to madde dogges: for al those that vse it, hurt their conscience, lose their honoure, and consume their substance. It chaunserth, that in that wherein

maisters should be moste circumspecte, they (for the moste parte) are moste neglygent: that is to wete, that vnder the couller of some honest recreation, they agree to their scollers, to vse some pastyme, which if there in be conteyned no commendable exercise, the chyldren oughte not to vse it, nor yet the tutors to suffer it. For the vse of such a proprietye, that if a child in his youthe dare play apointe: it is to be feared when he commeth to yeares, he wyl playe bys cote. Mayinge the matter moze depely, and aggrauadinge this vice, I saye further, and affirme, that when the chyldren of princes and greate lordes play, a man ought not to make account of that whiche they may winne or loose: for that of all myseryes, were moste myserye, if therfore my penne shuld forbid them play. For play ought not to be forbyden to yong chyldren, for the money that they loose: but for the vices with thereat they wyne, and for the corrupte maners, which therein they learne. Octavian, who was the second emperour of Rome, and one of the fortunatest Emperours that euer was, amonge all his vertues was noted of one thinge onelye, whiche is: that from his youthe, he was so much genen to play at tennis. Of the which vice, he was not onely admonished secretlye: but also was forbyden it openly. For (as Cicero saith in his booke of lawes) when the emperour was noted of any open vice, they myghte boldly reprove hym in the open Senate. When Octavian was for this vice reaproved by the Senate, they sayed he spake these wordes. You haue reason (O you graue senatours) in takyng fro me my pastyme: for it is necessaty, that the vertues of Princes shoulde be so manye, that all men myght praysse them and their vices so fewe, that no man myght reprove them.

These wordes were notable, and wo: by of suche an excellent prince. For in the end, we oughte to beare with the wantones of their bringyng up, with the libertye that they haue: and to commend the good wo:

THE DIAL

kes whiche they doe, and moſte of al, to reioyce at the vices whiche they wante. To ſure matter therefore, amongeſt the other wycked vices, that Chyl dren get in their youthe, when they are players, this is one: that they learne to be theues, and liers. For the money that they playe, to demaunde it their fathers, they are afrayed, & aſhamed: and of their owne proper goods, as yet they haue none in ther handes. Wherefore a man maye eaſely conclude, that if chyl dren play, of neceſſitye they muſt ſteale. The. 35. Emperoure of Rome, was Claudius Lucas nus, a man verie temperate in eating, moderate in apparel, bypyghte in iuſtice, and verie fortunate in chivaldrie: for he did not onely repulſe the Gothes from Illiria, but alſo vanquyſhed in a battaile, the Germaines, wherein were ſlayne aboue a hundred thouſande. This battaile was nere vnto the lake Verarque, in a place called Luganus, and for a memorie of that greate battaile, and victorie, they called him Claudio Lucano. For it was a cuſtome among the Romaynes, that accor dyng to the good or euil woorkes that Princes dyd: ſo they were iudged, and knowe by ſuch ſurnames, whether it were good or euil. This Emperour had but one onely ſonne, the whiche was a prince, comely of perſonage, and liuely of vnderſtandinge: but aboue all thinges, geuen to play, ſo that theſe good giſtes, which nature gaue hym to worke in vertue, he myſbled alwayes in playe. And amongeſt yonge men, he deſpyreth rather to haunte byce: then amonge the Philoſophers, to learne vertue. And hereat a man ought not to meruaile, for all men of greate courage (vnleſſe they be compelled to doe vertuous actes) doe exerceple of them ſelues many deſteſtable vices. It chaunced, when this yong Prince had no more to playe, nor gage, he robbed oute of hys fathers chamber, a riche iewel of gold, whereof alſo his matter was prouy. And when the knowlage thereof came to the Princes eares, he immediately diſhe-

ryted hys ſonne of the Emperre, and cauſed the hed of the Payſter, to be cutte from his bodye, and all thoſe lyke wyſe that played with hym, to be banyſhed the countrey. This acte made euery man afrayed, for correction executed after a good ſorte, hath this proprietye: that it encourageth the good to be good, and fearith the wycked, from their wyckednes.

Merula in the tenth booke of Ceſars (where as at large he mentioneth this matter) ſaith, that the Romaynes eſteemed more the banyſhement of thoſe players from Rome: then to haue drouen out the Gothes from Illiria, and to ſaye the trueth, they had reaſon. For a Prince deſerueth a greater crowne of glorye, to banyſhe the vicious from hys pallace: then he doeth, for chaſing the enemyes out of his dominion.

The.xl.Chapter.

Of two other vices perillous, in yonge men, vvhiche are, to be ſhameles in countenance, and addicted to the luſt of the fleſhe.



THIRDLY, tutors oughte to crauaile, that the chyl dren whiche they haue in charge, be not light & worldly, nor that they do conſent that they be to hardy, or ſhameles. And I ſay, y they do not ſuffer them to be to light, or vnconſtāt: for of yong men, inconstant and light, cometh oftentimes an old man, fond, and vnchryſtlye. I ſaye that they doe not ſuffer them to be to raſhe: for of to hardy yonge men, cometh rebellious and ſeditious parſons. I ſaye that they doe not conſente they be ſhameleſſe: for of the vnſhameleſſnes, cometh ſlaunderous parſones.

Princes

Princes and great lordes ought to haue much circumspection, that their chyldren be brought vp in shamesfastenes, with honesty. For the crowne doth not geue somuch glory to a kinge, nor the head doeth more set forth the man, nor the seluel more adourne the breast, nor yet the scepter more become the hand: then shamesfastnes, with honesty, becometh a yongma. For a man of what estate so euer he be, the honesty which outwardely he sheweth, doeth hide many secreate vices, wherewith inwardely he is endued. In the tyme of the reigne of the emperour Helius Pertinax (the 19. Emperour of Rome) two consalles gouerned the common wealth, the one named Verus, and the other Manlius, one daye they came to the Emperour, beseeching his grace, that it woulde please hym to receiue their two chyldren into hys seruice, the eldest of the whiche, passed not as yet 12. yeares of age: the whiche request, after the emperour had graunted, the fathers were not neglygent to bringe them vnto hym, and beinge come before hys presence, eache of them made an Oration, the one in latine, and the other in Greke. Wherewith the Emperour was greatly pleased, and all the residue amazed: for at that time none serued the romaine princes, but that he were either very apte to chencelre, or els towarde in sciences. As these two chyldren in the presence of the Emperoure made their Oration, the one of them behelde the Emperoure in suche sorte, that hys eyes neuer wente of hym, neyther once moued hys heade to loke downe to the yearth: and the other contrarie, behelde the yearth alwayes, and neuer lyfte vp hys hed turyng hys Oration. Where with the Emperoure (beinge a graue man) was so hyghlye with the demeanours of this chyldre pleased, that he dyd not onelye admytce hym to serue hym at hys table: but also he suffered hym to enter into hys chamber, and this was a preferment of greate estimation. For princes dyd not ble to be serued at their tables,

nor in their chambers with anye, vnlesse they were of hys owne kindred, or auncient seruauntes. And concerninge the other chyldre, whiche was his compaignyon, the Emperour retourned agayne to his father sainge, that when hereafter he shoulde be more shamesfaste, he woulde receiue him into hys seruice. And certayne the Emperoure had reason: for good and graue princes, oughte not to be serued with light and shamesfast chyldren. I woulde now demaund fathers whiche loue their chyldren verely wel, and woulde they shoulde be valorous, what it auayleth their chyldren to be faire of countenance, wel dysposed of bodye, lively of spyghte, white of skinne, to haue yelow heires, to be eloquent in talkyng, profound in science, if with all these graces that nature geueth them, they be so bolde in that they doe, and shamesfast in that they saye: the authour hereof, is called Patritius Senensis, in the first booke de rege et regno. One of the most fortunat princes was the great Theodosius, the whiche amongest al other vertues, had onemost singular, which was: that he was neuer serued in hys pallace with any yong man, that was vnshamesfast, or seditious, nor with an olde man whiche was dishonest. For he sayed oftentimes, that Princes shall neuer be welbeloued: if they haue about them liers, or flauderours. This good emperour spake as a man of experiance and very sage: for of counsellors if princes be euill taught & vnpatient, they offend many, and if they be liers, they deceiue al, & if they be dishonest, they flauder & people, & these offenses be not so greate vnto them as committe the, as they be vnto & prince, which suffreth them. The emperour Theodose had in his pallace, 2. knyghtes, the one called Rufinus, and the other Eulionus, by whose prudence and wysdome, the comon wealth was ruled and gouerned. And as Ignacius baptista sayeth, they 2. were & tutors & gouernours of & chyldren of Theodose, whose names were Archadius, and Honorius:

for as Seneca saith, when good princes do dye, they oughte to be more careful to procure maisters and tutors, which shal teache them, the to procure realmes or kingdomes for to enriche them. These two maisters, Estilconus and Rufinus, had in the pallace of Theodose, eche of them a sonne, the which were marvellously wel taughte, and verie shamefast, and for the contrarie, the two princes Honorius and Archadius were euil manered, & not verie honest. And therefore the good Emperour Theodose, toke these chyliden oftentimes, and set them at his table: and contrarie, he would not once be holde his owne.

Let no man meruaile, though a prince of suche a graunte dyd suche a thinge, of so smale importaunce: for to save the trueth the shamefast chyliden, and wel taughte, are but robbers of the hertes of other men.

Forthly, the tutors and maisters of princes ought to take good hede, & when they were great, they doe not vse them selues to & wicked vices of the fleshe: the sensualite, and euyl inclination of the wanton childe, ought to be remedied, by the wisdom of the chaste maister. For this cursed fleshe is of such condition, that if once by wantones the wicket be opened, death shall soner approche: then the gate shalbe shutte.

The trees whiche budde and cast leaues before the tyme, our hope is neerer to eate of their frute in season. I meane, that when chyliden haunte the vice of the flesh, whyles they be yonge: there is smale hope of goodnes to be looked in them, when they be olde. And the elder we see them ware, the more we maye be assured of their vices. And where we se that vice encrease: there we maye affirme, that vertue dymynisheth. Plato in his seconde booke of lawes ordeyneth, and commandeth, that yonge men shoulde not marie before they were .25. yeares of age: and the yong maydens at .20. because at that age, their fathers abide lesse daungers in begettinge them, and geuinge

of them lyfe, and the chyliden also whiche are bozne, haue more strengthe agaynst the assaultes of death. Therefore if it be true (as it is true in dede) I aske now, if to be married and get children (whiche is the ende of maryage) the Philosophers doe not suffer, vntil suche time as they be men: then I saye that maysters ought not to suffer their scolers to haunte the vices of the fleshe when they be chyliden. In this case, & good fathers oughte not alone to commit this matter to their tutors: but also there vnto to haue an eye them selues. For oftentimes they wyl saye, they haue bene one pylgrymage at some deuoute saynte, that is deade; when in dede they haue embraced the faire bodye of some harlot, whiche is aloue. The vice of the fleshe is of suche condycion, that a man cannot gene hym selfe to it, withoute grudge of conscience, withoute hurte of his renoume, withoute losse of his goods, withoute shortenyng of his lyfe, and also withoute offence to the common wealthe: for oftentimes, men enclined to suche vices, doe rebell, trouble, and slander the people. Seneca satisfieth me greatly, in that whiche he wyrteth in the seconde booke de Clemencia to Nero, where he sayeth these wordes:

If I knewe the G O D I woulde pardon me, and also that men woulde not hate me: yet I ensure the, for the vilenes thereof, I woulde not synne in the fleshe. And truly Seneca had reason, for Aristotle saith that al beastes after the deades of the fleshe are, forye, but the cocke alone.

O governours, and Maysters, of greace Princes, and Lordes, by that immortall God whiche created vs, I confure you, and for that you owe to the nobyltye I desyre you, that you wyl byddell with a sharpe snaffell youre charge, and geue them not the rayne to folowe vices: for if these yonge Chyliden lyue, they wyl haue tyme inoughe to searche, to folowe, to attayne, and also to cast of those pokes.

For though our frailty, this wicked vice of the flesh, in every place, in all ages, in every estate, and at all times (be it by reason, or not) is neuer oute of reason. What shal I say to you in this case: if the chyldren passe the surpousnes of their yowthe withoute the byrdel: then they be void of the loue of god, they followe the trompet of the sensualitye after the sounde whereof, they ruine heads long into the poke, and lose that which profiteth, to winne that which hurteeth. For in carnal vices, he that hath the least of that, that sensuallye desireth, hath much more thereof, then reason willeth. Considerynge that the masters are negligent, the chyldren bolde, their vnderstandynges blinded, and feynge that their appetites doe accomplysh the beastly motions: I aske nowe, what remaineth to the child, and what contentation hath he of suche filthe and naughtines? Trulye since the fleshy and vitious man is ouercome, with his appetite, of those that escape best: I see none other frute, but that their bodies remaine diseased, and their vnderstandynges blinded, their memozye dulled, their sence corrupted, their wil hurte, their reason subuerted, and their good fame lost, and worst of all, the flesh remaineth alwaies fleshe. How manye yonge men are deceiued, thinkinge that for to satysfy, and by once engaging them selues to vices, that from that tyme forwarde, they shal cease to be vitious: the which thing not only doeth not profite them, but also is verie hurtful vnto them. For fier is not quenched with
 * drye wood, but with colde water. But alas

what shal we doe, since that nowe a dayes the fathers do as much esteeme their chyldren for being fine, and bolde minions amonge women, as if they were verie profounde in science, or hardye in seates of armes: and that which is worse, they oftentimes make more of their bastardes gotten in adultery, then of their beautifull childe conceived in matrimony. What shal we say then of mothers: trulye I am ashamed to speake it, but they should be more ashamed to do it, which is, because they woulde not dysplease their husbands, they hide the wickednes of their chyldren, they put the chyldren of their harlots to the noyse, they redeeme their gages, they geue them money to playe at vice, they reconcile them to their fathers, when they haue offended, they borrowe them money to redeeme them, when they are indebted: synnallye they are makers of their bodies, and vndoers of there soules. I speake this incidently, for that the masters, woulde correcte the chyldren, but the fathers, and mothers, forbid them. For it lytel auayleth for one to
 * pricke the horse with the spurre, when he that sitteth vpon him, holdeth him backe with the byrdel. Therefore to oure matter, what shal we doe to remedye this yll, in the yong man, which in his flesh, is vitious: trulye I see no other remedy, but with moiste earth to quenche the flaminge fier, and to keepe
 * him from the occasions of vice. For in the warre, honour by taryng is obtayned: but in the vice of the flesh, the victory by flyng is wonne.

FINIS

F. III.

**The ende of the
second booke.**

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[Handwritten signature or note in cursive script, possibly reading "C. de la...".]

The thirde Booke of the

D I A L L O F P R I N C E S , V V I T H T H E

famous Booke of Marcus Aurelius. Wherin

he entreateth of the vertues which Princes ought

to haue, as iustice, peace, and

magnificence.



The firste Chapter.

How Princes and great lordes ought to trauaile to administer to all equall iustice.



E G I D I V S F I -
gulus, one of the moste famous and renowned Philosophers of Rome, saide that betwene. 2. of the Zodiaicall signes (Leo, and Libra) is a virgine named iustice: the whiche in times past dwelled amonge men in earth, and after she was of them neglected, she ascended vp to heauen. This philosopher would let vs vnderstand, that iustice is so excellent a vertue, that she passeth all mens capacitie: since she made heauen her mansion place, and could finde no man in the whole earth, that would entertayne her in his house. During the time that men were chaste, gentle, pitiefull, patiente, embracers of vertue, honest, & true, iustice remained in the earth with the: but since they are conuerted vnto adulterers, tyrantes, geuen to be proude, vnpatiente, lyers, and blasphemers, she determined to forsake them, and to ascend vp into heauen. So that this Philosopher concluded, that for the wickednes that men comit on earth, iustice hath lept from them into heauen. Though this seme to be a poetical fiction,

yet it comprehendeth in it, high & profound doctrine: the which semeth to be very clere, for so much as where we se iustice is, there shalbe few theues, few murderers, few cruel men, & few blasphemours. Finally I say, that in that house or comon wealth, where iustice shal remaine: a man can not comyt vice, & much lesse, dissemble to the vicious. Homere desirous to exalt iustice, could not tell what to say more, but to cal þe kinges, þe children of the great god Iupiter: and that, not for the naturalitie they haue, but for þe office of iustice, whiche they minister. So þe Homere concludeth, that a man ought not to cal iust princes other, but the children of god. The deuine Plato in the forth booke of his comon wealth saith, þe the chiefest gift that god gaue to men is: that they being (as they be) of such vyle cley, shuld be gouerned by iustice. Woulde to God, that all those whiche shoulde reade this writinge, vnderstoode righte well that whiche Plato saide: For if men were not endued with reason, and gouerned by iustice, amongst all beastes, none were so vnprofitable. Let reason be taken from man, wherwith he is endued, and iustice wherby he is gouerned: then shall men easely perceiue in what sorte his lyfe he wyll leade. He can not fyghte as the Elephante nor defende hym selfe as the Tigre, nor he can hunte as the Lyon, neyther labour as the Dre: and that wherby he shuld profite (as I thinke) is, that he

he should eate beares and Lyons in his life, as now he shalbe eaten of wormes after his deathe. All the Poetes that inuented fictions, al the Oratours which made Orations, al the philosophers which wrote booke, al the sages which left vs their doctrines, and al the princes which instituted lawes, ment nothinge els, but to perswade vs, to thinke howe briefe & vnprofitable this lyfe is, & how necessary a thing iustice is therein. For the filth & corruption, which the bodye hath without the soule: the selfe same hath the cōmon wealth, wout iustice. We cā not deny, but y^e Romaynes haue bene proud, enuieus, aduociterers, Hamelisse, and ambitious: but yet with all these faultes, they haue bene great obseruers of iustice. So y^e if god gaue the so many triumphes, beinge laden and enuironned with so many vices: It was not for the vertues they had, but for the great iustice which they did administer. Plinie in his second booke saith, y^e Democritus affirmed, there were .2. gods, whiche governed the vniuersal world: y^e is to wete, reward, & punishment. Wherby we maye gather, that nothing is more necessary, the true & right iustice. For the one rewardeth the good, & the other leaueth not vnpunished the euill. Saint Austyne in the first booke De ciuitate dei, saith these wordes. Iustice taken away, what are realmes, but denues of theues: truly he had great reaso. For if ther were no whips for bacabondes, gags for blasphemers, fynes for perurpe, fyre for heretiques, sword for murderers, gallouse for theues, nor priss for rebels: we may boldly affirme, y^e ther would not be so many beastes on the mountaines, as there would be theues in y^e cōmō wealth. In many thinges, or in y^e greatest parte of y^e cōmō wealth, we se y^e bread, wine, cozne, fleshe, woll, & other thinges necessary for y^e life of the people wanteth: but we neuer saw, but malicious men in euery place did abound. Therefore I sweare vnto you, that it were a good bargayne, to chaunge all y^e wycked

men in y^e cōmon wealth, for one only yedre sheepe in the field. In the cōmō wealth, we se naught els but whippinge daylye, beheading, slepeng, drelwing, & hāging: but notwithstandinge this, the wicked whiche remaine styll, are so many in numbze, y^e if all those shoulde be hanged, that deserue it by iustice, a man could not find hangemē sufficient, nor gallowes to hange them vpo. Admitte, according to the varietie of realmes, & prouinces, that diuerse lawes & customes, haue bene instituted therein. Yet for a truth, ther was neuer, nor neuer shall be found any nation, or cōmon wealth in the world so Barbarous, but hath bene founded of iustice. For to affirme y^e men can be preserued withoute iustice, is as much as to say, the fishe can liue without water. Howe is it possible, y^e a cōmō wealth may liue wout iustice: sith without her can not be ruled, one onely personne: Plinie in an epistle saith, that he him selfe hauinge the charge of a prouince in Affrik, demaunded an old man, and in gouernement expert, what he mighte doe to administer iustice well: the aged man answered. Do iustice of thy self, yf thou wilt be a minister thereof: For the good iudge, wth the right yarde of his owne life, ought to measure the whole state of the cōmon wealth. And he saide further, yf thou wilt be right with men, and cleane before God, beware of presumption in thyn office. For the proude & presumptuous iudges, often times do contrary in their wordes, & also excede in their deades. Plinie also sayth, that he profited more wth y^e counsaile, whiche this old man gaue him: than wth all that, whiche euer he had red in his bookes. To how much is he bound, that hath take vpon him to administre iustice: For if such one be an bp right mā, he accōplisheth that wherunto he is bounde: but if such one of him selfe be vnjuste, in steepe of god he ought to be punished, & likewise of men for to be accused. When princes cōmand their seruantes or subiectes any thing, & that they

can not accomplishe the in such sorte, as they had charge to do: then he ought to haue the excused (those excepted) which gouerne realmes & prouinces. For no mā leaueth to administer iustice, but for wāt of knowledge, or experieñce: or els, through abouñdānce of affectiō, or malice. If a capitaine loose a battaille, he may excuse him self, saying his mē were fled, when they should haue assaulted their enemies. A poast may excuse him self, for y the waters were so high. A hūter may say y beaſt is escaped an other way, & others ſuche like: but a gouernour of a common wealth, what excuse can he haue, y he do the not iustice? Cōscience ought to burden him, & also he ought to be ashamed, to take vpon him the charge of any thinge, if he doute to bring it to effect: for y shamefast faces, and haute courages, either ought to put y in exectiō whiche they take vpo the, or els they ought to shewe a lawfull cause why it toke no effect. Let vs know first what iustice is, & the we shall know what is mete for y administratiō therof. The office of a good iudge is, to defend y cōmon wealth, to helpe the innocent, to ayde the simple, to correct y offender, to honour the vertuous, to helpe y orphānes, to do for the poore, to bridel the ambitious: finally, by iustice he ought to geue eche one his owne, and to dispossesse those which hold any thing wrongfully of others.

When a prince cōmaunderth any man to take the charge of iustice, and ſuche one doth not him selfe seke it, if perchaunce afterwarde he dyd not in all poyntes vprightlye in the administraciō thereof, he might haue some excuse, saying that though he hath accepted it, it was not wpyth mind because he woulde erre, but because wpyth good wil he woulde obey. What ſhal we say of many, which wout shame, or wout knowledge, wout experieñce, & without cōscience, do procure the office of iustice? If princes knew what they geue, when they geue the charge to any to gouerne the cōmō wealth, I sweare vnto you, that they were better to

geue the goodes to find them for 20. yeres: then for to trust them with the charge of iustice. 20. daies. What a thing is it to ſe ſome men ſhameleſſe, diſhoneſſe, greare talkers, gluttons, ambitious, & couetous: the which without any reasonable cause, and wout knowledge, demaunde of princes an office of iustice, as if by iustice they did demaund their owne: Would to god the geuer woulde haue an eye to those, which in this wiſe doe demaund. But what ſhal we say of those, y do sollicitte the, procure the, impoſtune the, beſeeche the, & more then y, euen as without ſhame they do demaund it: ſo wout cōſcience likewise they buye it. There remaineth in this caſe more as yet, that is, that if those cursed men doe not attaine to that whiche they demaund, and if those (hauing no cōscience) do not geue it: then they blaſpheme, and cōplaine of those whiche are in fauour to princes, as if they had done them greare injury. What trouble it is for hym that is good, to behaue him selfe well: For ambitious, and couetous men woulde not, but that the care they haue to demaund it, the selfe ſame care the good ſhoulde haue to geue it.

Manye tymes I haue thoughte wpyth my selfe, wherin ſo many domages of the cōmon wealth ſhoulde conſiſte, ſuche diſobediēce, ſuche contrarieties, and ſo many theſtes: and in the ende I fynde, that all, or the moſte parte, procede in that, that they prouide for miniſters of iustice, not for cōſciences ſake, but for the cōtention only. Admyt that it appertayne to all, to deſyre, and procure iustice: yet to none it appertaineth ſo muche, as to the royall perſonne, whiche is bounde at all tymes, to miniſter it equalye to all men. It is a great matter, that Princes be pure in lyfe, and that theyr houſes be well ordered, to the ende that theyr iustyce be of credyte, and auctoritie: For he whiche of him selfe is vntruſtye, there is ſmall hope, that an other at hys handes ſhoulde haue iustice. He whiche can not gouerne hys owne houſe

can

can enll gouerne the whole cōmon wealth. The p̄ncēs whiche are true in their woꝝdes, cleane in their liues, and iuste in theyꝝ woꝝkes: though some times they erre in the administration of the common wealthe, all excuse them, sayenge that they erre not thorough the malice of them selues, but rather thorough the euyl counsaile of others. So that all whiche the good p̄ncē dothe, they commend, and all the euill that chaunceth, they excuse. Plutarke in the second booke of his common wealthe sayeth, that herein some p̄ncēs differ from others: For the euyl p̄ncē is onely obeyed, but the good p̄ncē is obeyed, feared, and loued. And mozeouer, he that is good, maketh heauye thinges lighte with his goodnes: and the tyrante that is euyl, maketh thinges which are lyght, to be verie heauy thorough his naughtines. Happpy is the p̄ncē whiche is obeyed: but muche moze happpy is he, the which is obeyed, feared, and loued.

For the body is weary often times to obey: but the harte is neuer constrained to loue. Titus the Emperour, was once demaunded of these .2. thinges, that is to wete: whether to rewarde the good, or to punishe the euyl, were for a p̄ncē moze naturall. He answered. As naturall as both the righte, and lefte arme, is in a man: so necessarye is rewarde, and punishment, in a p̄ncē. But as we helpe our selues moze with the right arme, then with the lefte: so p̄ncē oughte moze to endeuour him selfe to rewarde, then for to punishe. For the punishment oughte to be, by the handes of a straunger: but the rewarde oughte to be, w̄ his owne handes proper. When we perswade p̄ncēs ȳ they be iust, and that they doe iustice, it is not to be vnderstanded, that they shuld behed murderers, bannishe rebels, & seditious, hange thieues, & burie robbers alive. For such, or other semblable thinges, apparteyne moze to bloudy hangemen: thē to pitiful kinges. Al the profite of iustice is, in ȳ the p̄ncē be honest in his person, carefull for his house,

hold, felous of the cōmon wealthe, and not large of his conscience. For p̄ncēs ought not to be cōmended, for murderinge many cruelly: but for resourminge the common wealth lousingly. Plutarke in the comfortable oration that he wrote to Appolonio, speaking of the lawes which Promotheus gaue to the Egyptians: amongst the residue, he recited these thre that folowe.

The ordeine and cōmaund, that p̄ncēs laye not handes on others, for any crymes, or offences done vnto him selfe. For p̄ncēs oughte not to vse their handes, to reuenge their owne iniuries: but rather by iustice, to defend other that be iniured.

The ordeyne and commaunde, that all times when they shalbe in their common wealthe, and not in warres, they shal not weare weapons defensive, & much lesse offensive. For good p̄ncēs, neither ought to be hastye, to the end they maye kyll nor yet to haue vices, wherby they may be killed.

The ordeine and commaunde, that the p̄ncē do not onely kyll with his handes, but also that he do not see them doe iustice with his eyes.

For howe muche noble, and woꝝthy a thinge it is, before the presence of a p̄ncē that all shoulde receiue honour: so sclaundersous a thinge it is, that any in his presence, shoulde lose their lyues.

The .ii. Chapter.

The way that p̄ncēs ought to vse in chousing their iudges and officers, in their countreis.



Parthianus in the lyues that he wrote of .30. tyrantes said, that Ciriaco the tyrant, had a memoriale made of certayne of the Senatours, whom he woulde haue kyled: & when the thinge was discovered, they slew him. They found in the hādes of another tyrant named Regilio, after he was

Dead, a memoriall of those, which with his owne hādes he had depriued of their liues: wherefoze they afterward, depriued him of his burial. How many iudges are ther in this worlde, that do auauite them selues of those whom they haue caused to be whipsed, to be sleyed, to be beheaded, to be hanged, quartred & slaine: as others do, which haue redeemed manye captiues, or haue marped many orphanes. Those iudges which accordinge to the order of lawes, customes, & iurisdictions, do punish the euill, I doe well allowe: but to reioyce and auauite them selues of them, whom they haue condemned, I utterly abhorre. For the vertuous and christian iudge, ought rather to shed teares in the Churches: then by affection, to shed blood of men, in the seate of iudgement. And for the confirmation of that which I haue said, I affirme, that the good iudge and gouernour of the common wealthe, ought not to beare in mind, the murders, and slaughters, done by others: but to re corde the iniuries, which they haue done them selues. For in other mens offences, we ought to be silent: & for our owne iniquities, we ought to be penitent. Iudges execute some punishmētes which me disallow, & god doth approue: an other time, god condemneth the, though y world do allow the: therfoze the surest thing for such iudges is, not to reioyce of their brethren whō they haue corrected, but what they the selues for their owne offences haue deserved. In iudginge others, by false witness, the iudges many times against their wils, do erre: but in their owne matters, they can neuer erre (vnlesse they will) since the offices which we comit, are alwaies certaine. Therefore it greueth me, that ther be some so euill, which beinge accused befoze god, would excuse the selues befoze men: yet their owne brethren, wyth false witnesses, they dare condemne. Great care ought princes to haue, to examine the whom they will make iudges, and gouernours. For the iudge which daily maketh

not an accompte with his conscience in secret, that comit euery houre a thousande euils in the common wealthe. A poore & miserable common wealthe, where the gouernours, and iudges therof do not caste their eyes, but vnto them whom they ought to chastise: where they doe not thinke in their hart, but how they maye enriche their coffers: where they do not occuppe their handes, but to take bribes: and do not passe the time, but in bankettes. And I saide not without a cause, bankettes. For there are many iudges, which imploie their study more to get frendes, to mainteine their state proudly: then for to reade bookes, to iudge mens causes vprightly. The iudge which neuer readeth, the iudge which neuer studieth, y iudge which neuer openeth booke, y iudge which is neuer in his house, y iudge which day & night robbeth, how is it possible y he execute one true iustice? There can be no greater feare in a man, nor sclaunder more greate in y common wealthe, the whē y iudge (who ought to iudge & chastise the offences of others) is alwaies ouerwhelmed w vices him selfe. The iudge which presumeth to be good, & wil be good, & desireth to be good: a man ought to finde him no where, vnles he be studienge in his house, or sittenge in the place of iustice. Let not princes trust vpon this, when they prouide iudges and gouernours for to iudge, sayeng: that if they fynd any euil, they will take him away shortly: for suche are so euil, y if they want no meanes to get to those offices, they shall wante no cantils, to mainteine the therein. When princes & great lordes, shal finde any iudge euill, I counsaile them to auoyde him immediately, or that they shew them selues not contented with his doinges: for suche one shall forthewith enforce him selfe to doe iustice, with intention that those of the common wealthe might desire him, to be theyr Iudge. Althoughe my penne dothe reprove these Iudges whyche are extreame and cruell: yet my ententyon is not

to commend the others, which are negligent, & carelesse, the which neither by knowledge can iudge, nor with stoutenes punish.

The iudges which iudge, & governe, ought not to be with all so familiar, that all dare take vpon them to aske him: for in this case, if some commend his gentle conuersation, others will blame his parciall iustice.

I counsaile admonishe and require Princes, that they content them selues not only to be true, pittefull, honeste, and vertuous, nor yet to be iust: but that it is as well necessary, they be obseruers of iustice. For let them knowe, that there is great difference, betwene him that is iust, and an other that doth minstre iustice: for to the Prince that is good, cometh honour to his personne, but from him that ministrereth iustice, cometh profite to his common wealth. Peradventure it is no wonder, to see the Prince that will tell no lye: and to se his ministers, not to speake one truth: peradventure I do not thinke my selfe sclaudered, to see the prince temperate in eating: and to se all his seruantes discompered, both with eatinge and drinkinge: peradventure, and it is no cause to muse vpon, to se the princes chaff, and honeste: and to see their seruantes in fleshe, filthye, and dissolute: peradventure it is no cause to meruaile, to se the prince iust, and to loue iustice: and that very few of his ministers, doe minstre it: The end why all these thinges are spoken is, to aduertise Princes, that they be not so carefull to be chaff, sober, true, and iust: but y they know, whether their gouernours, and iudges are corrupted, conetous, greedy, vnshamefast, lyers or bybers. For if it toucheth vs much, that our Princes be good: so much more it toucheth vs, that the ministers be not euill. One of the thinges wherein princes ought to prouide with their iudges and gouernours is, that by no meanes they suffer their lawes and auncient customes to be broken in their common wealth: and that in their stedes, straunge customes be

not introduced. For the commynalte is so variable, in that they saye, and so lighte in that they aske, that they woulde dayly see a new king, and hourlye chaunge a verie lawe. Plinie in an epistle that he writeth to Escario saith. Optime apud persas capitalis temper legem fuit, nouos, aut peregrinos mores inducere. As if he spake more plainely. Amongest the Perses it was a law inuolable, that no man should bring into the common wealth any straunge custome: and for suche an offence they should paye none other raunsome, but the losse of their heades. As men dayly do diminish the in vertue (vnlesse by force they be withholden) and augment in vanitie: so they woulde inuente newe deuises and straunge customes, wherewith men should be decayde, and the common wealth destroyed. For straunge meates, do altere mens stomaches. When those of Creta were vngently bled of the Rhodiens, they did not pray to their gods to send them pestilence, warre, famine, or sediton amonge their enemies: but that they would suffer some euill maners, to be brought in amongest their people. Let not those thinke, that shall reade this, that it was a small curse, that those of Creta desired: & that it was a small reuenge, whiche God gaue them of their enemies, yf he gaue them that which they did require. For from warres, from famine, and pestilence, some maye escape: but with the newe and straunge deuyles, we se that all do perishe. Of manye thinges the Historians doe reprove the Emperour Sergio Galba, and for one alone they doe prayse him, whiche is, that he neuer consented, that in Rome any newe law should be made, nor any old custome be broken. And he commaunded, that those shoulde be greuously punished, whiche broughte in any newe lawe: and he rewarded those, whiche put him in mynde of any olde custome, the which he commaunded to be obserued. It is a mockerye, yea (better to saye) a sclauder, to see that some
young

yonge iudges wyl doe that of the common
 wealth, whiche a taylour doeth of a gowne;
 (that is to saye) to turne hym within, and
 withoute, befoze, and behinde: whiche they
 oughte not to doe, nor the people to consent
 there vnto. For the Prince doeth not sende
 them to make lawes, and Pragmatiques;
 but to the ende that they do preserve the co-
 mon wealth in their good customes. Prin-
 ces ought also to take greate care, that vnto
 lytel and greate, riche, and pooze, they mini-
 ster equal iustice: sithe there is no dyuynne,
 nor hunteine law, that geneth them power;
 or authoritie to corrupte it, for if a Prince
 cannot without reaso dispose his owne good:
 muche lesse he can make lawes, & sel iustice.
 We doe not denye a Prince, but that he is
 lord of beastes, of fishe, of birdes, of mynes,
 of mountaynes, of seruantes, & of fieldes:
 finallye, that he is lord of the sea, and land:
 but therefore we wyl not graunte him, that
 he be lord of iustice. For there is none other
 true lord of iustice; but God, whiche is the
 selfe same iustice. When a prince dyeth and
 maketh hys wyl, he sayeth: I leaue all my
 realmes & signories, to the prince my sonne,
 and legitimate heire, and do leaue vnto my
 second sonne, such an estate & duchie, and to
 my doughter, such lades, and to al I recom-
 mende iustice, to the end they do obserue it,
 and cause it to be obserued, euery one in his
 owne dition. It is much to note, that the fa-
 ther doeth not say, that he leaueth vnto hys
 sonne iustice: but that he doeth recommend it
 vnto hym: so that the good princes ought to
 thinke, y they haue not inherited iustice of
 their prodecestours, in forme of patrimony:
 but that god gaue it vnto the of trust. Prin-
 ces of al thinges may be called lordes, saue
 only of iustice, wherof they are but only mi-
 nisters. We dare boldly say, y the prince or
 great lord, which iudgeth causes, not accor-
 ding to y diuine wyl, but according to their
 owne affection: we wyl not call hym a iust
 iudge, but a rounge these. For the Princes
 muche worse, which robbeth god of iustice:

then the these, which stealeth the goods fro
 men. Suetonius Traquillus reciteth much
 wickednes of Domitian, & the greatest of al
 was, the pooze, the Orphanes, & those which
 could do litel; he alwayes punished: and the
 other that were riche, and of authoritie, he
 pardoned. He copounded with some for mo-
 ney, and with other he dissembled for fauour.
 Alexander Seuerus, the 25. Emperour of
 Rome, saied of Lampridio, y he neuer kept
 in his house any euyl man, or suffered anye
 of his parentes to be vicious. And when he
 was demaunded on a tyme, why he banished
 one of his colins, since he was yonge, and a
 childe: he aunswered them which entreated
 him for him, and alledged. That though he
 was yonge, and his cosyn: yet Charior est
 mihi respub. as if more planely he had saied.
 I haue none other nerer of kinne to me, in
 my palace. Ohigh, and muche more higher
 wordes, worthy for a trueth to be wryten in
 princes hartes: wherby they ought to be ad-
 uertised, that he saied not, I take for my pa-
 rent one parte of the common wealth. For
 the prince whiche feareth god, & desireth to
 be found iust, as he wyl indifferentlye be o-
 beyed of all, so ought he equallye to admini-
 ster iustice to al. If they wil not credite me,
 nor my penne, let them credite Plato, in the
 bookes of his comon wealth: who geneth li-
 berty, and licence to al the Plebeians, to the
 end that euery one do loue his wife, his chil-
 dren, and his parentes. And this sorte of lo-
 uing, he wyl not that princes haue, to whom
 he perswadeth, that firste aboue all thinges,
 they loue their common wealthe: for if the
 Prince doe loue any other thing aboue his
 comon wealthe, it is vnpossible but that one
 day, for y loue of that, he wyl wrythe iustice.
 When Plato gaue not licence to Princes,
 not to enlarge their loue on diuers thinges,
 peraduenture he woulde counsaile them,
 that they shuld do some wronges. It chaun-
 seth oftentimes, that princes doe omit iustice:
 not for that they wyl not admyntister it, but
 because they wyl not be enfourmed of thin-
 ges,

THE DIAL

ges, whiche they ought to remedye, and loke vnto. And this is vnercusable, where he hurteth his honoz, and burdeneth his consciēce. For at the daye of iudgement, though he be not accused for malice: yet he shalbe cōdemned for neglygence. The Prince whiche is careful, to see & enquire the domages of hys realmes: we maye saye, that if he doeth not prouide for them, it is because he can do no more, but he whiche is neglygente to see them, and knowe them: we cannot saye, but if he leaue to prouyde, it is for that he wyl not. The prince or greate lord, whiche dare take vpon him suche thinges, what name or renoume may we geue him? I wold not we shuld cal suche a one, father of the common wealthe: but destroyer of his countrey. For there can be no tyrannye greater, nor more vnequal: then for the phisitiō to aske his dutye for his cure, before he hath begone to minister the medicine. That princes and great lordes desire to knowe their reuenewes, I allow them: but in that they care not to knowe the domages of their common wealthes, I doe discommend them. For the people paye tribute to their princes, to the end they shuld deliuer them from their enemyes, and defende them from tirauntes. For the iudges whiche wilbe euyl, though I say much, wil profite lytle: but to those whiche desire to be good, that which is spokē (as I thinke) suffiseth. Notwithstandinge that whiche is spoken, I say, that iudges & gouernours ought to consider wel with them selues, and see if they wilbe couēted for iust ministers, or cruel tirauntes. For the office of a tiraunte is, to robbe the common wealthe: and the office of the good Prince is, to resourme the people. Princes, and great lordes, haue more busynesse then they thinke they haue: to see al those whiche wyl see them, and to heare all those whiche wyl complayne vnto them. And the cause hereof is, admit that whiche the subiecte demaundeth, he presently cannot geue, nor that whereof he complayneth, he cannot remedye: yet notwithstandinge, they re-

mayne after a sorte contented, sayeing that they haue nowe shewed all their complain-
tes and iniuries to their Princes. For the wounded hartes, oftentimes bitter their inward paynes, whiche they feelee, withoute any hope to receyue comforte, of that which they desire. Plutarcke is his Apothegmes sayeth, that a poore, and aged woman, desired kynge Philippe of Macedonie (which was the father of kynge Alexander the great) that he would heare her with iustice: and sithe she was verie importunate vppon hym, kynge Philippe sayed on a daye vnto her. I praye the woman be contented, I sweare by the gods, I haue no leasure to heare thy complaynte. The olde woman answered the kynge. Beholde kynge Philippe, if thou hast not time to heare me with iustice, resigne thy kyngdome, and another shal gouerne the common wealthe.

The.iii. Chapter.

Of an oration vvhiche a villaine dwellinge nere to the ryuer of Danuby made before the senators of Rome, concerninge the tiranies and oppressions, vvhich their officers vsed in hys countrey.



In the .x. yere of the reigne of the good emperor Marcus Aurelius, there happened in Rome a generall pestilence: the whiche being so ouer raging, the good emperor went into Campaigne, whiche at that tyme was verie healthfull, and without dyseases, though it was verie drye, and wanted muche of that which was necessary: yet notwithstanding, the

the good Emperour was there, with all the principal senators of rome: For in time of pestilence, men doe not seke where they shuld resorte their parsons: but where they may save their lyues. Marcus Aurelius beinge there in Campania, was sore vexed with a feuer. And as his condition was alwayes, to be amongst Sages: so at that tyme his sickness required to be visited of phisitions. The resorte that he had in his pallace, was verie greate, aswel of Philosophers for to teache: as of phisitions to dyspute. For this Prince ordeyned his lyfe in suche sorte, that in his absence, thinges touching the warre were wel provided: and in his presence, was nothing but matters of knowledge argued. It chaunced one day, as Marcus Aurelius was enuironed with Senators, Philosophers, phisitions, and other sage men, a question was moued among them, how greatly Rome was chaunged, not onely in buildinges, which almost were utterly decayed: but also in manners, which were wholly corrupted: the cause of all this euyl grewe, for that Rome was ful of flaterers: and destitute of those, which durst say the trueth. These, and suche other like wordes harde: the emperour toke vp his hand and blessed him, and declared vnto them a notable example, sayeng. In the first yere that I was consul, there came a poore villayne from the riuer of danubye, to aske iustice of the Senate, agaynst a censour, which did sore oppresse the people, and in dede he dyd so wel propounde his complainte, and declare the full ye and iniuries whiche the iudges dyd in his countrey: that I doubte, whether Marcus Cicero could utter it better with his tonge, or the renowned Homere haue written it more eloquently with his penne. This villayne had a smale face, greate lippes, hollowe eyes, his colour burnt, curled heere, bare headed, his shoes of a porpige skynne, his cote of gores skynne, his girdel of bull tushes, a longe bearde, and thicke, his eye brydes covered his eyes, the stomacke, and the necke, co-

uered with skynnes, heared as a beate, and a clubbe in his hande. Without doubte, when I saue hym enter into the Senate, I imagyned it had bene a beaste in fourme of a man: and after I hearde that whiche he sayde, I iudged hym to be a G D D (if there are Gods) amongst men. For if it was a fearefull thinge to beholde his personne, it was no lesse monstrous to heare his wordes. At that tyme, there was greate presse, at the doore of the Senate, of manye and diuers persons, for to sollicite the affaires of their prouinces: yet notwithstandinge, this villaine spake before the others, for two causes. The one, for that men were desirous to heare what so monstrous a man would say: the other, because the senators had this custome, that the complayntes of the poore should be heard, before the requestes of the riche. Wherefore this villaine afterwarde in the middelt of the senate, began to tel his tale, and the cause of his commyng thither: in the whiche he shewed hym selfe no lesse bolde in wordes, then he was in his attire straunge, and saied vnto them in this sorte. O fathers conscripte, and happye people, I Mileno a ploughman, dwellinge nere vnto the riuer of Danube, doe salute you worthy, Senators of Rome, which are assembled here in this Senate, and I beseeche, the immortal Gods my tonge this daye so to gouerne, that I maye saye that whiche is conuenient for my countrey, and that they helpe you others to gouerne wel the common wealth. For withoute the healde of God, we can neyther learne the good, nor auoide the euyl. The fatale destinies permittyng it, and oure wrathfull gods forsakynge vs, oure mishappe was suche, and to ye others, fortune shewed her selfe so fauourable: that the proude captaynes of Rome by force of armes toke our countrey of Germany. And I saye not without a cause, that at that tyme the gods were dyspleased with vs: for if we Germanes had appeased our gods, ye Romanes myghte wel haue excused your sel-

ues for ouercomminge vs. Great in are glorie of you Romaynes, for the victories ye haue had, and triumphes, whiche of manye realmes ye haue conquered: but notwithstanding, greater shall your infamy be in the worlde to come, for the cruelties which you haue committed. For I let you knowe, if you do not knowe it, that when the wicked wente before the triumphing chariotes sayeng, lyue, lyue, inuincible Rome: on the other syde, the poore captiues wente sayeng in their hartes, iustice, iustice. My predecessours enhabited by y^e rpuer of Danuby, for when the dyre earth annoyed them, they came to recreate them selues in the freshe water: and if perchance the vncōstant water dyd annoyne them, then they woulde retourne agayne to the mayne lands: And as the appetites and condicions of men are variable: so there is a time to fflye from y^e land, to refresh our selues by the water. And time also, when we are annoyed with the water, to retourne agayne to the lād. But how shall I speake Romaynes, that whiche I woulde speake: your couetousnes of takynge other mens goods hath ben so extreme, and your pride of cōmaūding straunge countries, hath bene so dysordnate: y^e neyther y^e sea can suffice you in the depenes therof, neyther y^e land assure vs in y^e fieldes of y^e same. How great comforte it is, for y^e troubled men, to thinke and be assured, y^e ther are iust gods: y^e whiche wil do iustice on y^e vnjust. For if y^e oppressed me thought the selues not assured, y^e the gods would wreke their injury of their enemies: they wth their owne hādes, would destroy the selues. The end why I speake this is, for so much, as I hope in the iust gods, y^e as yet others without reaso haue cast vs out of our houses: so by reason shall others come after vs, and cast ye others out of Italy, & Rome. There in my countrey of Germany, we take it for a rule vnfallible, that he whiche by force taketh the good of another: by reason oughte to lose his owne proper ryghte. And I hope in the gods, that that which we

haue for a prouerbe in Germany, you shall haue for experyence here in Rome. By the grosse wordes I speake, and by the strange apparayle whiche I weare, you maye wel imagine, that I am some rude villayne: but yet notwithstanding, I wante not reason to know, who is iust and righteous in holding his owne: and who is a tyrant in possessing of others. For the rude men of my professiō, though in good stile they cannot declare that whiche they woulde utter: yet notwithstanding that, we are not ignorant of y^e whiche oughte to be allowed for good, nor whiche ought to be cōdemned for euyl. I woulde say therfore in this case, that that which the euill with al their tyranny haue gathered in manye dayes, the gods shall take from them in one houre: and contrarywyse, all that which the good shall lose in manye yeaeres, y^e gods wil restore it them in one minute. For speaking the trueth, y^e euill to prosper in riches, is not for that the gods wyl it, but that they doe suffer it: and thowge, at this houre we complayne dissemblynge, we suffer muche, but the time shall come, that wil paye for all. Beleue me in one thing, O Romaynes, and doubt not therein: that of the vnlawefull gaine of the fathers, foloweth after the iust vndoing of their children. Many, oftentimes do marueile in my countrey, what the cause is, y^e the gods do not take frō the wicked that whiche they winne, immediately as sone as they winne it: & as I thinke, y^e reason hereof is, for y^e dissebling wth the, by lytle & litle they gather together diuers thinges, & after wardes whē they thinke least theron, it is taken from them al at once. For the iust iudgemēt of the gods is, that since without reaso they haue done euyl to others: others by reason should come in lyke maner whiche doe euyl vnto them. It is vnpossyble, that the balysaunte and sage man, who in his deades presumeth to be wise, shuld take any rasse in an other mā's good: for if he did he woulde neuer cōtēt him selfe wth any thing, sith he hath not a conscience in that whiche is euyl gotten,

I know not Romaines, whether you vnderstand me, but because you shal vnderstande me better, I say, that I maruel, & I should rather wonder, how the man keappng another mans goods, can slepe or rest one hour, sithe he knoweth he hath done iniury to the gods, flandered hys neyghbours, pleased his enemies, lost his frendes, and endomaged those that he robbed, & worse of all, that he hath put his person in peril. And I saye, that he hath put his person in peril: for the day that anye man determineth to take my goods, he wyl also the same daye (if he can) take my lyfe. It is an odious thinge to the gods, & very flanderous among men, that men should haue so much (thorough their fleshely desires) vertue bound, and the raine of their euil workes so much at liberty, that another mans misery semeth to him riches, and that his owne riches semeth to him selfe pouertye. I care not whether he be Greke, barbour, Romayne, present or absent, I say and affirme, that he is, and shalbe cursed of gods and hated of men, which without consideration wyl chaunge his good fame into shame, iustice into wrong, righte into tyrannie, trouthe into lyes, the certayne for the doubtfull, hattinge his owne proper, & sighing for that of other mens. He that hath his chiefe intention to gather goods for his children, and seeketh not a good name amonge the renowned: it is iust, that suche one doe not onely lose the goods whiche he hath gathered, but also that without good name he remaine shameful amog the wicked. Since you other Romaines naturally are proude, and pride doeth blinde you, you thinke your selues happy, that for hauing so much as ye haue more then others, y therefore you shuld be more honozed then al, the which, truly is not so. For if presentlye you wyl not open your eyes, and confesse your owne errors, you shal se, that whereas you auante your selues to be Lordes of straunge prouinces: you shal fynd your selues made slaues, with your owne proper goods. Gather asmuche

as you wyl, let them doe all you doe commaunde them: yet as I thinke, it lytle auayleth, to haue Plebeians houses with goods, and contrarywise the hartes to be possessed with couetousnes. For the riches which are gotten with couetousnes, and are kept with auarice, doe take away the good name from the possessor, and doe nothinge auaille him to mainteine his lyfe. It cannot be suffered many dayes, & muche lesse hidde many yeares, that one man shuld be counted both for riche among the riche, and for honoured among the honozable: for it is vnpossible, that he whiche is a great louer of tēporal goods, should be a frende of hys good name. If the couetous men were of their owne honoz as greedy, as they are of the goods of another desirous: I sweare vnto you, by the immortal gods, that the lytel worzme or mothe of couetousnes, woulde not gnawe the rest of their lyfe, nor the canker of infamy shuld destroye their good name after their death. Herken you Romaines, herken what I wil saye, and I beseeche the gods that you maye vnderstand it: for otherwise I shuld lose my labour, and ye others should take no frute of my wordes. I se that all the worlde hate pyrye, & yet there is none that wil folow humanitye. Euery man condemneth adultery, and yet I se no mā that liueth chaste. Euery man curseth excelle, & I se no man liue tēperately. Euery man praiseth patience, & I se no man that wyl suffer. Euery mā blameth flouth, & I see no man, but those y are ydel. Euery one blameth auarice, and yet euery man robbeth. One thing I saye, & not withoute teares in this senate, openlye I doe declare it, which is, that with the tonge euery man prayseth vertue: and yet they them selues with all their lymmes, are seruantes vnto vyces. Doe not thinke that I saye this onely for the Romaynes whiche be in Illiria: but for the Senatours, whiche I se here in the Senate. All you Romaynes, in your denises aboute your armes, beare these wordes. Romanorū est de bellare superbos,

& parcere subiectis to romaines it perta-
neth the proude to subdue, and the subiecte to
forgeue. Truly you shuld better haue sayd:
Romanorum est expoliare innocentes,
& inquietare quietes, the romaines vse to
erpel innocentes, and wrogfully to trouble
peacible people. For you Romayns are not,
but destroyers of þe people, that be peacible:
and robbers of the swette of other men.

The.iiii. Chapter.

The villayne argueth agaynste the
Romaynes, vvhiche vvythout
cause or reason conquered their
countrey, and proued manifest-
ly that they through offending
of their gods, vvere vanquished
of the Romayns.



Aske ye romaines vvhath
occasio ye haue, þe are brought
by nigh to the riuer of Tiber,
against vs that lyue in peace,
nigh to þe ryuer of Danuby.
Peraduenture ye haue sene vs frendes to
your foes, or els we haue shewed our selues
your enemies: peraduenture you haue hard
say, that forsaking our owne land, we shuld
goe conquer foreyne realmes: peraduen-
ture ye haue bene aduertised, þe we rebell-
ing against our owne lordes, shuld become obe-
dient to the cruel barbarous: peraduenture
ye haue sent vs some imbassadour, to desire
vs to be your frēdes: or els there came some
frō vs to come, to desye ye as our enemies:
peraduenture some king died in our realme,
whiche by his testamēt made ye heires to our
realme: whereby you claime your title, and
seke to make vs your subiectes: peraduenture
by some auncient lawe or custome ye haue
found, þe the noble and worthy Germany, of
necessity is subiecte, to the proude people of
rome: peraduenture we haue destroyed your
armies, we haue wasted your fieldes, sacked

your cities, spoiled your subiectes, or fauor-
ed your enemies: so þe to renēge these insu-
ries, ye shuld destroy our lād: if we had ben
your neighbours, or ye ours, it had bene no
maruel, though one shuld haue destroyed the
other. For it chaunselth oftentimes, þe through
cōtrouersy of a lytle pece of ground, tedious
warres betwene people arise. Of a trouthe,
none of all these thinges whiche I haue na-
med, hath chaunced betwene ye Romaines
and vs Germanes. For in Germany we
felte your tyrannye, so sone as we hearde of
your renowne. If ye be greued with that I
haue sated, I pray you be not offended with
that I wyl say, which is: that þe name of Ro-
maines, and the cruelty of tirātes, arryued
together in one daye vpon our people. And
what moze to say, I know not romaines, of
the litel care the gods do take, & of the great
audacite that men haue. For I see, that he
whiche possesseth muche, doeth oppresse hym
whiche hath but litel: & he that hath but lytle,
waileth not hym þe hath much. So, disordered
conetousnes strineth w secret malice, & se-
crete malice geneth place to opē theste, and
opē robbery no man resisteth, & therof com-
meth, þe the conetice of a malitious man is
accōplished, to þe p̄iudice of a whole state.
Harkē ye romaines harkē, & by þe immortal
gods I do coniure you, geue eare to þe I wyl
say, whiche is, consider wel what you haue
done: for the gods woꝝdes be in vaine, or els
mē must haue an end, þe woꝝld in tyme must
nedes fal, or els the woꝝld shalbe no woꝝlde.
Fortune muste nedes make sure þe p̄sine of
the whele, or els þe shalbe sene, whiche neuer
was sene, which is: that within .8. yeares ye
haue wōne, ye shal within .8. daies lose. For
nothing can be moze iust, since ye by force,
haue made your selues tirātes: then þe the
gods by iustice, shoulde make ye slaues. And
do not thinke ye romaines, though you haue
subdued germany, and be lordes therof, þe it
was by any warrelly industry: for ye are no
moze warlike, no moze coragious, nor moze
hardy, ne yet moze valiant, the we germai-
nes,

nes but sins through our offences we haue prouoked y^e goddes to wrath, they for y^e punishment of our disordinate vices, ordeyned, y^e ye shuld be a cruel plague & scourge to our persons. Do not take your selues to be so strōg, neither repute vs to be so weak y^e if the goddes at y^e time had fauoured the one parte, asmuch as y^e other: it might perchance haue happened, ye should not haue enjoyed the spoyle. For to say the truth, ye wā not y^e victo^ry through the force of weapons, y^e you brought frō Rome: but through the infinite vices, which ye found in Germany. Therefore since we were not overcome for being cowards, neither for being weak, no^r yet for being fearfull, but onely for being wicked, and not hauing the goddes fauourable vnto vs: what hope ye Romaines to become of you, being as you are, vicious, & hauing the gods angrye wth you: Do not thinke Romains, to be the more victorious, for y^e ye assemble great armies, o^r y^e ye abound in treasures, neyther for y^e you haue greater gods in your ayde, o^r that ye buyld greater temples, no^r yet for that ye offer such great sacrifices. For I let you knowe, if ye do not know it, y^e no man is in more fauour with the gods, than he which is at peacc wth vertue. If the triumphes of y^e cōquerours cōsisteth in nothing els but in subtyll wittes, politike captaines, valiaunt souldiers, & great armies: without doubt, it wold litle auaille to carpy al this to y^e warre, sins afterwarde we se by experie^{nce}, y^e men can do no more but giue y^e battailes, & the gods thē selues must giue the victo^ries. If I be not deceyued, I thinke y^e for our offences we haue sufficiently satisfied y^e gods wrath. But truly I beleue, y^e y^e cruelties which ye haue done vnto vs, & the vnthankfulness which you haue shewed y^e gods (though as yet ye haue not payed it) y^e ones ye shall pay it. And hereafter it may chaunce, y^e as presently ye counte vs for slaves: so in time to come, ye shall acknowledge vs for lordes. Since y^e traauiling by the way, I haue sene the high mountaines, diuers prouinces, su-

dry nations, cōtreys of strange, people so barbarous, such, & so many miles as Germany is distant frō Rome, I muse what sonde toye came in y^e Romaines heades: to sende to conquere Germany. If couetousnes of treasures caused it, I am sure they spēt moze money to cōquere it, and at this present do spend to kepe it, thē y^e whole reuenues of Germany amounteth, o^r maye amount in many yeares: & perchance they may lose it, before they recover y^e they spent to conquere it. And if ye saye vnto me Romaines y^e Germany is not conquered of Rome for euer, but that onely Rome should haue the glo^ry to be mistres of Germany, this also I say is vanity & folly. For litle auailleth it to haue y^e forts, & castels of y^e peple whē y^e hartes of y^e inhabitātes are absēt. If ye say y^e therfore ye cōquered Germany, to amplify & enlarge y^e limittes & boundes of Rome, also me thinketh this as follye an enterpryse. For it is not y^e point of wisse and valiant mē, to enlarge their dominions: & diminish their honour, If ye say ye sent to conquere vs, to the ende we shulde not be barbarous, no^r liue like tirauntes but that you wold we should liue after your good lawes and customes, yf it be so I am well contente. But holwe is it possyble yee shuld giue lawes to straungers, when you bzeake the lawes of your owne pdecessours: great shame ought they to haue, which take vpon theim to correcte others, when they haue moze neede, to be corrected theym selves. For the blynde man oughte not to take vpon hym to leade the lame. If thys be true (as presently it is) what reason o^r occasyon had proud Rome, to take and conquere the innocent Germany: Let vs all go therfore to robbe, to kyll, to conquer, and to spoyle syns we see the worlde so corrupte, and so far from the loue of god, that enerye man (as we may pcepye) taketh what he cā, kylleth whom he will, and that which worst of all is, y^e neyther those whiche gouerne, will remedy so many euilles, as are cōmitted, neyther those which are offēded, dare cōplayne,

The chiefe iudges at this day, are so hard to
 be entreated; & ye take so litle regard vnto
 y^e pooze oppzessed: y^e they thik it moze quere
 to remaine in trouble at home, the to come
 & put vp their cōplaintes befoze you here at
 Rome. And y^e cause hereof is, y^e ther in their
 cōtrey, they haue but one whiche pursueth
 the: & here in this senate, they are euill wil-
 led of al, & y^e is, because he whiche cōplaineth
 is pooze, & the other whiche is cōplained on,
 is riche. Therfoze since fortune would it, &
 the fatall destinies permit it, y^e the proude
 Rome shuld be maisters of our Germany,
 it is but reasoⁿ ye shuld kepe vs in iustice, &
 mainteine vs in peace. But you doe not so,
 but rather those whiche com thither do take
 fro^m vs our goodes, & ye y^e are here do rob vs
 of our good name, saying, y^e since we are a
 people wout law, wout reasoⁿ, & wout a kig
 (as vnknown, barbarous) ye may take vs
 for slaues. In this case, ye Romaines are
 greatly deceiued, for me thinketh w^o reason
 ye cā not cal vs wout reasoⁿ, since we being
 suche as we are, & as y^e gods created vs, re-
 maine in our p^{ro}p^{er} cōtrey, wout desiring
 to seke, or inuade fozeigne realmes. For w^o
 more reasoⁿ we might say, y^e ye were men w^o
 out reasoⁿ, being not cōtented with y^e swete &
 fertile Italie: but that throught the dinge of
 bloud you shoud desire to conquere all the
 yearth. In y^e ye say we deserue to be slaues,
 because we haue no p^{ri}nce to cōmaund vs,
 noz senat to gouerne vs, noz army to defēd
 vs, to this I will aunswere. That since we
 had no enemies, we neded no armies, & sith
 euery mā is cōtented w^o his lotte & fortune,
 we had no necessitie of a proude senat to go-
 uerne vs, & we being as we are, all equal, it
 neded not we shuld cōsēt to haue any p^{ri}nces
 amongst vs. For the office of p^{ri}nces is, to
 supzesse t^{ir}antes, & to mainteine y^e people
 in peace. If ye saide further, y^e we haue not
 in our cōtrey a cōmon wealth, noz pollicy
 but that we lyne as y^e brute beastes in the
 mountaines, in this also you haue but smal
 reasoⁿ. For we in our cōtrey did suffer no
 l^yers, neither rebels, noz seditious persons,

noz mē y^e brought vs (fro^m straunge cōtreyes)
 any appaile for to be dicious, so y^e sithe in
 appaile we were honest, & in meate berpe
 temperate, we neded no better behauiour.
 For although in our cōtrey there are no
 merchaunds of Carthage, oyle of Mauris-
 rania, berges of Cātabrie, odours of Asia,
 gold of Spaigne, siluer of Britaine, amber
 of Sidonie, silke of Damaske, cozne of Sci-
 cill, wine of Cādy, purple of Arabye: yet
 for al this, we are not brutishe, neither cease
 to haue a cōmon wealth. For these, & suche
 other like thinges, geue moze occasion to
 stirre bp many vices: the for vertuous mē,
 to line accordyng to vertue. Blessed, & happy
 is y^e cōmon wealth, not where great ryches
 abundeth, but wher vertues are highly cō-
 mēdēd: not wher many lighte & angrie men
 reso^rte, but wher y^e paciēt are resident: ther-
 foze it foloweth, y^e of the cōmon wealth of
 Rome for being riche, we shuld haue pitie: &
 of y^e cōmon wealth of Germany, for being
 pooze, ye oughte to haue enuie. Woulde to
 god, that y^e cōtēration we haue w^o our po-
 uertie ye others had y^e same w^o your riches.
 For then neyther ye had robbed vs of our
 cōtrey, noz we had not comen hither now
 to cōplaine in Rome of your t^{ir}any. I se ro-
 maines, that y^e one differeth much from the
 other. For ye others, thonghe ye heare our
 oppzessions, yet thereby ye lose not your
 pastime: but we others, can neuer d^ye the
 teares of our eyes, noz cease to bewaile our
 infinite misfortunes.

The .v. Chapter.

The villaine concludeth his oratiō
 against the iudges, vvhich minister
 not iustice, and declareth howv pre-
 iudiciall suche vvycked men are
 vnto the publike vveale.



I would thinke I haue said al
 that I can say, but certainly it
 is not so. For ther remaineth
 many thiges to speake, which
 to heare ye will be astonied, yet be ye assu-
 red, that to speake the, I wil not be afraid,

lich you others in doing the are not ashamed.
 * For an open offence, deserueth not secret cor-
 rection. I interuie much at ye Romanes,
 what ye meane to see vs (as you did) suche
 ignorant iudges, & which by & imortal gods
 I sweare) can neither declare vs your lawes,
 & much lesse they can vnderstand ours. And the
 cause of all this euill is, & ye set not those whi-
 che be best able to minister to vs iustice in
 germany, but those which haue best frendes
 wth you in rome, presuppose, & to those of the se-
 nat, ye geue the office of celsourship, more for
 impoꝛtunity, then for abillite. It is litle & I
 * can say here, in respect of & they dare do ther.
 What which ye commaund them here, I know
 not: but of & which they do there, I am not
 ignorant, whiche is. Your iudges take all
 byꝑes, & are brought vnto the open: & they
 powle & shauie as much as they can secretly.
 They greivously punish the offices of the poore,
 & disteuble wth the faultes of the riche: they coſſet
 to many euills, to haue occasiō to commit grea-
 ter thestes: they forget the gouernemēt of the
 people, to take their pleasures in vice. And
 being ther to mitigate sleaunders they are
 those which are most sleaunderous: & wthout
 goods it auaieth no mā to aske iustice. And
 finally vnder the colour & they be iudges of
 Rome, they feare not to rob all the land of ger-
 many. What meaneſt this, ye Romanes,
 shall your pride neuer haue an end in com-
 maunding, nor your couerſe in robbing?
 Say vnto vs what ye wil in words, but op-
 pres vs not so in dedes. If you do it for our
 childꝛe, loade the wth pꝛos, & make the slaues.
 For ye can not charge the wth more then they
 * are able to carꝑ: but of commaudemētes & tri-
 butes, ye geue vs more, then we are either
 able to carꝑ, or suffer. If you doe it for our
 goods, go thither & take the all. For in our
 * countrey we do not vse as ye Romanes do,
 nor haue such cōditions as ye haue here in
 Rome. For you desire to liue poore, because
 ye desire to dye riche. If ye say & we wil re-
 bell, I maruell what you shoulde meane to
 thinke so, sith ye haue spoiled vs, robbed vs,
 & handled vs p^{ll}. Assure me ye Romanes, &

ye wil not be people vs: & I wil assure you,
 we wil not rebel. If our seruice do not con-
 tent ye, strike of our heades, as to euill me.
 For (to tell ye the truth) the knife shall not
 be so feareful to our neckes, as your tiran-
 nies be abhorred in our hartes. Do ye know
 what you haue done, ye Romanes, ye haue
 caused vs of & miserable realme to sweare,
 neuer to dwell wth our wiues, & to sleꝑ our
 own childꝛen, rather then to leaue them in
 the handes, of so wicked & cruell tiranies
 as ye be. For we had rather they shoulde dye
 * in libertie, then lyue in bondage. As despe-
 rate men, we haue determined to suffer, &
 endure the heauy moſtiōs of the fleſhe, during
 the time we haue to lyue, to the end we wil
 not get out wiues wth childꝛ. For we had ra-
 ther liue chaste, 20. or 30. yeares, then to leaue
 * our childꝛen perpetuall slaues. If it be true
 that the childꝛen muſt endure, & whiche the
 miserable fathers do suffer. It is not onely
 good to sleꝑ them, but also it shuld be better,
 not to agree they shuld be borne. We oughte
 not to do this Romanes, for the land taken
 * by force, ought the better to be gouerned, to
 the intent & the miserable captiues, seiꝑg ius-
 tice duely administred pꝛeſerly, shuld ther-
 by forget the tiranꝑ paſſed, & content them-
 selues wth perpetual ſeruitude. And sith it
 is true, & we are come to cōplaine of the op-
 preſſions which your officers do here vpon
 the riuier of Danuby, peraduenture ye which
 are of the ſenat, will heare vs, & though you
 are now determined to heare vs, yet ye are
 slow to remedy vs: so & before ye beginne to
 resourme an euil custome, & whole cōmon
 * wealth is alredy vndon. I wil tel ye of ſome
 thinges therof, to thintent you may knowe
 the, & then to resourme the. If there come a
 right poore mā to demand iustice, hauing
 no money to geue, nor wine to present, nor
 oyle to promise, nor frendes to helpe him, nor
 reuenelew to succour him, & mainteine hi in
 expꝛes: after he hath cōplained they him wth
 wordes, sayenge vnto him, that speedely he
 shall haue iustice. What wyl ye I shoulde
 saye, but that in the meane tyme they make

THE DIAL

him to spend that little which he hath, & geue him nothinge, though he demaund muche. They geue him vaine hope, and they make him wast the best of his life, euerye one of the doth promise his fauour, & afterwards they all laye handes vpon him to oppresse him. The most of the say his right is good, and afterwards they geue sentence against him: so that the miserable personne which came to complaine of one, returneth home complaininge of all, cursinge his cruell destinies, and crying out to the iust and mercifull gods for reuengement. It chaunceth also, that oft times ther cometh to complaine here in the Senat, some flattering man more for malice, then by reason of right, or iustice: and ye Senatours creditinge his double wordes, and his fained teares, immediatly ordeine a Censor to go and geue audience on their complaints. Who being gone, and returned, ye seeke more to remedy, and geue eare to the complaints of that Judge: then to the sclanders, which were among the people. I will declare vnto you my life, O yee Romanes, & therby ye shal see, howe they passe their life in my countrey. I lyue by gathering akornes in the winter, & reaping corne in the sommer, some time I fishe, as well of necessitie, as of pleasour, so that I passe almoste all my life, alone in the fieldes, or in the mountaynes. And yf you wote not why, heare me, & I wil shew you. I see such tyranny in your iudges, and such robberies as they comit amonge the poore people, and ther are such dissensions in that realme, such iniuries committed therein, & the poore comon wealth is so spoyled, there are so few that haue desire to do good, and also there are so few, that hope for remedye in y Senat: y I am determined (as most vnhappye) to banishe my selfe out of myne owne house, & to separate my selfe from my swete company, to the end my eyes shuld not behold so miserable a chaunge. For I had rather wander solitarily in the fieldes, then to see my neighbours hourly lamēt in y stretes. For there the cruell beastes do not offende

me, vnles I do assault the: but y cursed me, though I do serue them, yet daily they bere me. Without doubt, it is a marvellous paine to suffer an ouerthrow of fortune: but it is a great torment, when one seeth it woulde remedy. And yet wythout comparison, my greatest grieve is, when my losse may be remedied, & y he which may, wil not: & he that wil, can not by any meanes remedye it. O cruel Romanes, ye see nothing y we see, inespaciallye I which speake it, ye shal see how I see it, since only to reduce it to memory, my eyes do dafell, and my tonge wyl waxe weary, my ioyntes do seuer, my harte doth treble, my entrailes do breake and my fleshe consumeth, what a wofull thing is it, in my countrey to see it with my eyes, to heare it, to myne eares, & to see it to myne owne handes: Truly, the griefes which y wofull Germanye suffereth, are such, & so many: that I beleue yet the mercifull gods wyl haue compassion vpon vs. I will not desire ye, to thinke slander of my wordes: but onely I do beseeche ye, you wil vnderstande wel what I say. For you ymagining (as you do presume to be discret) shal see right wel that y troubles which came to vs from me, & among men, to men, & by the handes of me: it is a small mater y we as men do see the speaking. For according to the truth, & also with libertie, if I shuld declare euery other iust aduertisement which came from y Senat, & all the tyranny which your iudges comyt in y miserable realme, one of those 2. thinges must ensue, eyther the punishment of me, or y depriuation of your officers, yf I say true. One thinge onely comforteth me, whereof I w other infortunate people haue had experience, in that I thynke my selfe happy, to know that the iust plagues procede not from the iuste Gods: but through the iuste desertes of wicked men. And that our secret faulte dothe waken those, to the end that they of vs maye erecte open iustice. Of one thinge onely I am sore troubled, because the gods can not be contented, but for a small faulte, they punish a good

man much; and for many faultes, they punish the euill men nothinge at all, so that the gods do beare with the one, and forgive nothinge vnto the other. O secret iudgementes of gods, that as I am bound to prayse your workes, so likewise if I had licence to condemne them, I durst say, that ye cause vs to suffer greuous paines, for that ye punish & persecute vs by the handes of suche iudges, the which (if iustice toke place in the world) whē they chastise vs with their handes, they do not deserue to haue their heades on their shoulders. The cause why now again I do exclaime on the immortall gods, is to se, that in these. 15. daies I haue bene at Rome, I haue sene suche dedes done in your senat: yf if the lest of thē had bene done at Danuby, the galloves & gibbettes had bene hanged thicker of theues, then the vineyard is with grapes. I am determined to see your doings, to speake of your dishonesty in apparel, your litle tēperance in eatinge, & your disorder in affaires, & your pleasures in liuing: and on the other side, I see that when your prouisiō arriveth in our countrey, we carry it to the tēples, & offer it to the gods, we put it on their heades, so that y one beinge nere vnto the other, we accomplishe that which is commaunded, & he is rebuked that dothe the cōtrary. And sith therfore my hart hath sene, that whiche it desireth, my minde is at rest, in spitting out the poyson which in it abydeth. If I haue in any thinge here offended with my tongue, I am redy to make recompense with my head. For in good faith, * I had rather winne honoure in offeringe my selfe to y death: then ye should haue it, in takinge from me my life. The villaine ended his talke, and immediatly after Mar. Aur. said to those which were about him. Howe thinke ye my frendes, what kernell of a nut, what gold of y myne, what corne of straw, what rose of rospary, what mary of bones, and howe noble & valiaunte a man hath he shewed him selfe. What reasons so hye, what wordes so wel couched, what truth so

true, what sentences so well pronounced, & also what open malpce hath he discovered? By the faith of a good man I sweare, as I may be deliuered from this feuer whiche I haue: I saw this villaine standing boldly a whole houre on his feete, & al we beholding the earth as amazed, coulde not aunswere him one word. For in dede, this villaine cōfuted vs with his purpose, & astonied vs, to se the litle regarde he had of his life. The senat afterwarde, beinge al agreed, the next day folowynge we prouided new iudges, for the ryuer of Danubie, and cōmaunded the villaine to deliuer vs by wryting, all that he had said by mouth, to the end it might be registred in the booke of good sayeng of strangers, which were in the senat. And further it was agreed, that the salde villaine (for the wise wordes he spake) shuld be chosen senatour, and of the free men of Rome, he shuld be one: and that for ener he should be sustayned with the cōmon treasure. For our mother Rome hath alwaies bene praysed and esteemed, not onely to acquitte the seruices whiche hathe bene done vnto her: * but also the good wordes, whiche were spoken in the Senate.

The.vi. Chapter.

That princes and noble mē ought to be very circumspect in chosynge iudges and officers, for therein consisteth the profyte of the publike vveale.



Alexander the great (as the historiographers say) in his youth bled huntinge very muche, specially of the mountaines: and that whych is to be marneyled at, he would not hunte, Deare, goates, hares, nor partridges, but tigers, lyberdes, elephātes, chozodrilles, and Lyons.

So that this mighty prince did not onely shew the excellency of his courage, in conquering proude princes: but also in chasinge of cruell, and sauage beastes. Plutarke in his Apothegmes sayeth: that the great Alexander had a familiar seruant, named Crethera, to whom often times he spake these wordes. I let the know Crethera, that the valyaunte Princes oughte not only to be vpright in their Realmes, which they gouerne: but also to be circumspect in pastimes, which they vse, that the auctoritie which in the one they haue wonne; in the other they do not lose. When Alexander spake these wordes, trulye he was of more auctoritie then of peares: But in the end, he gaue this example, more to be folowed, and commaunded, then to be reproued or blamed. I saie to be folowed, not in the huntinge that he exercised: but in the greate courage, which he shewed. To the Plebeyans and men of base condicion, it is a litle thinge, that in one matter they shewe their might, and that in other thinges their smal power is knowen: but to princes and great Lordes, it is a discommendable thing, that in earnest matters, any man should accuse them of pryde, and in thinges of sport, they shoulde counte them for lyghte. For the noble and valyaunte Prince, in thinges of importaunce, oughte to shewe great wisdom, and in meane thinges greate stoutnes. The case was suche, that Alexander the great, huntinge on the wyld mountaynes, by chaunce met wyth a cruell Lyon, and as the good Prince woulde wyne his honour with the Lyon, & also the Lyon preserve his owne life, they were in grypes the one of the other so faste, that both fell to the earthe, where they sturied almoste halfe an houre, but in the end, the Lyon remayned there deade, and the hardy Alexander escaped all bloudye. This huntinge of Alexander throughte all Grece, was greatly renowned. I say greatly renowned, because the grauers, and painters, owe a

portrayte forthwith in stonpe worke, wherein was engrauen Lisipo, and Leocarco, marueylous grauers of antick workes made of mettall, where they lyuely set forth Alexander, and the Lyon fighting, and also a familiar seruant of his named Crethera, beinge among the dogges beholdinge them. So that the worke semed not onely to represente an auncient thing: but that the Lyon, Alexander, and Crethera, and the dogges, semed also to be alyue in the same chafe. When Alexander foughte with the Lyon, ther came an Embassatour from Sparthes to Macedonia, who spake to Alexander these wordes: Woulde to god (immortal prince) that the forces which with the Lyon you haue employed in the mountayne, you had imployed agaynst some prince, for to be Lorde of the earthe. By the wordes of the Embassatour, and the deedes of Alexander, maye easely be gathered, that as it is comely for Princes to be honeste, valyaunt, and stoute: so to the contrary, it is vnsemy for them, to be bold, and rashe. For though Princes of their goodes be lyberall, yet of their lyfe, they ought not to be prodigall. The vniuersall Plato, in the 10. booke of his lawes saith. That the 2. renowned Philosophers of Thebes, whose names were Adon, & Clinias, fel at variaunce with them selues, to know in what thinge the prince is bound to aduenture his life, Clinias saide, that he ought to dye for any thing touching his honour. Adon saide the contrary. That he shoulde not hazarde his lyfe, vntill it were for matters touching the affaires of the common wealth. Plato saith, those 2. philosophers had reason in that they saide: but admittre that occasion to dye shoulde be offred the prince, for the one, or the other: he ought rather to dye for that thinge touching his life, then for the thinge touching his honour. For there is no great difference, to dye more for the one, then for the other. Applyenge that we haue spoken, so that we wyll

Wyl speake, I say, that we do not desier, noz we wyl not, that p^rinces and greate lordes doe destroye them selues with Lyons in the chase, neither aduenture their personnes in the warres, noz that they put their lyues in peril for the commoⁿ weale: but we only requyre them, that they take some paines, and care, to prouyde for thinges belongynge to iustice. For it is a more natural hunting for P^rinces, to hunte oute the vicious of their common weales: then for to hunt the wyld beastes, in the thicke wodes. To the end p^rinces accomplish this which we haue spoken, we wil not aske them time when they ought to eate, slepe, hunt, spozte and recreate them selues: but that of the 24. houres which are in the day, and night, they take it for a pleasure and commoditie, one houre to talke of iustice. The gouernemente of the common weale consisteth not, in that they shuld trauaile vntyl they sweate, and molest their bodye, shede their bloude, shorten their lyues, and loie their pastimes: but al consisteth, in that they shoulde be dyligente to forsee the damages of their common wealth, and likewise to prouyde for good mynisters of iustice. We doe not demaunde P^rinces, and greate lordes, to geue vs their goods, noz we forbyd them not to eate, to forsake slepe, to spozte, to hunt, noz to put their liues in danger: but we desire, & beseeche them, that they prouyde good mynisters of iustice, for the common wealth.

Firste they oughte to be very diligent to serche them oute, & afterwarde to be more circumspecte to examine them: for if we sigh with teares to haue good p^rinces, we oughte muche more to pray, that we haue not euyl officers. What profyteth it the knight to be nimble, and if the horse be not redy: what auailleth it the owner of the shippe to be sage, and experte, if the Pilot be a foole and ignorant: What profyteth it the kynge to be valyaunte and stout, and the Capytayne of the warre to be a coward: I meane by this I haue spoken, what profyteth it a P^rince

to be honest, if those which ministre iustice be dyscoloure: What profyteth it vs that the P^rince be true, if his officers be lyers: What profyteth it vs that the P^rince be sober, if his mynisters be dronkerdes: What profyteth it, that the P^rince be gentle, and loutage, if his officers be cruel, and malicious: What profyteth it vs, that the P^rince be a geuer, lyberall, and an almes man, if the iudge that ministreth iustyce, be a hye ber, and an open thefe: What profyteth it, that the P^rince be carefull, and vertuous, if the iudge be neglygente, and vicious: finallye I saye, that it lytel auayleth, that the P^rince in his house be secretlye iuste, if adioynynge to that, he truste a tyrant, and open thefe, with the gouernemente of the common weale. P^rinces and greate Lordes, when they are within their pallaces at pleasure, their myndes occupied in highe thinges, doe not receiue into their secrete company, but their entier frendes. Another tyme they wyl not, but occupye them selues in pastimes and pleasure: so that they know not what they haue to amende in their personnes, and much lesse that which they ought to remedye in their common weales. I wyl not be so eger in reprovynge, neither so satyrcall in wytyng, that it shoulde seme I would perswade P^rinces, that they liue not accordinge to the highnes of their estates: but accordinge to the life of the religious. For if they wil kepe them selues fro being tyrantes, or beinge outeraigyaunte bycions: we cannot deny them, somtymes to take their pleasures. But my intention is not, so straightlye to commaunde P^rinces to be iust: but onelye to shewe them how they are bounde to doe iustice. Common wealthes are not losse, for that their P^rinces lyue in pleasure: but because they haue lytel care of iustice. In the ende, people doe not murmure, when the P^rince doeth recreate his person: but when he is to slacke, to cause iustice to be executed. I would to G D D, that P^rinces toke an accompte with god, in

THE DIALL

the thinges of their conscience, touching the common wealth: as they doe with men, touchynge their rentes and reuenewes.

Plutarche in an Epistle he wrote to Traiayne the Emperour, sayeth: it pleaseth me verie well, moste puissant Prince, that the Prince be suche one, as all maye saye that in hym there is nothinge worthy of reprehension: but addynge thereunto, it displeaseth me much more that he should haue to euyl iudges, that all shoulde say, in them were nothinge worthy of commendacion.

- * For the faultes of Princes, verie well maye be excused: but the offences of the officers, can by no meanes be enduced.
- * Many Princes and greate Lordes deceiue them selues in thinkynge that they doe their dutye, in that they be vertuous in their personnes, but it is not so: For it sufficeth not a Prince to drawe vnto hym all vertues, but also he is bounde to roote al vices oute of the common wealth.

- * Admit that Princes wyll not, or of them selues cannot gouerne the common wealth: yet let vs desire, and admonyshe them, to seke good officers to doe it for them. For the poore Plebeyan, hathe no accompte to render, but of hys good or euyl lyfe, but the Prince shall rendet accompte, of hys victorious lyfe whiche he hathe led, and of the lytle care that he hathe had of hys common wealth.

Seneca in an epistle he wrote to a frende of his named Lucilla sayeth. My dere frend Lucilla, I woulde gladlye thou wouldest come and se me here in Rome: but I praye the recomende to good iudges, the Ile of Scicile. For I woulde not couer to enioye thy sighte, if thouroughe my occasyon thou shouldest leaue the common wealth oute of order.

And to the entente thou mayest knowe what condicions they ought to haue, whom thou shouldest chose for gouernours or iudges: I wyll let the vnderstande, that they oughte to be graue in their sentences, iust

in their wordes, honest in their workes, mercyfull in their iustyce, and aboue al, not corrupted with bybes.

And if I doe aduertise the of this, it is because if thou dydest take care to gouerne thy common wealth well, thou shouldest not be circumspecte to examyne them, to whome presently thou muste recomende the gouernemente thereof, I woulde saye after wardes, that all that whiche the auntyente Philosophers haue wyrtten in manye bookes, and haue leste by dyuers sentences, Seneca dyd reherse in these fewe wordes: the whiche are so graue, and necessarye, that if Princes reteyned them in their memozye to put them in execution, and iudges had them, before their eyes for to accomplyshe them, they woulde excuse the common wealth of dyuers slaunders, and they shoulde also deliuer them selues from a greate burdeyne of their conscience.

It is not a thinge voluntarie, but necessarye, that the iudges of iustyce be vertuous, wel establisshed, and verie honest: For to Iudges, nothinge can be more sleaunderous, and hurtfull, then when they shoulde reprove yonge men of their youthe, others may iustlye reprehend them of their lyghtnes.

He whiche hathe a publyke offyce in the common wealth, and sytteth openly to iudge therein, oughte to obserue a good order in hys person, leaste he be noted dysolute in his doynge: For the Iudge whiche is withoute honestye, and consyderation, oughte to consyder with hym selfe, that if he alone haue authoryte to iudge of other mens goods, that there are a thousande whiche wyl iudge of hys lyfe.

It is not onelye a burden of conscience, to Princes to commit the charge of gouernance of the people to dysolute persons: but also it is a greate contempte, and dyspraise of iustyce. For the sentence geuen of hym who deserueth to be iudged, is among the people lytel esteemed,

Plutarche

Plutarke in hys Apothegmes saterh, that Philyppe kynge of Macedony, father of the greate Alexander, created for iudge of a prouince a frende of hys, who after he sawe hym selfe in suche office, occupied hym selfe moze in kemmyng his heade, then in woorkyng or studyng hys booke. Kynge Philyppe beinge enfourmed of the vanytye and insolencye of this iudge, reuoked the power whiche he had geuen hym, and when he complayned to all, of the wronge and grese whiche was done vnto hym, takyng hys office from hym, Kynge Philyp sayed vnto hym. If I had geuen to the ^h office, for none other cause but beinge my frende, beleue me ^h nothing in the worlde could haue suffyled to haue taken it from the: because I louynge the so entirelye as I dyd, reason woulde not I shoulde haue depyued the of this office, wherewith I honoured the. I gaue the this office, thinkyng that thou were vertuous, sage, honest, and also a man wel occupped, and me thinketh thou rather occuppest thy selfe in beholdyng thy person, then in gouernyng wel, my common wealthe: whiche thou oughtest not to consente vnto, and muche lesse doe in dede. For the iudge oughte to be so occupped, in the admynistration of the common wealthe: that he shoulde haue no leysoure at anye tyme, to keame hys heade. These wordes the good king Philyp spake vnto the iudge, whome he dysplaced of hys offyce, for beinge to fyne, and dyligente, in keamyng hys heade, and trimmyng hys person. It is not onely decenre for ministers of iustice, to be graue, and honest: but also it behoueth them, to be true, and faithfull. For to a iudge whose offyce is to iudge the truely, there can be no greater infamy: then to be counted a lyer. When two Plebeians be at varyaunce togethers for one thinge, they come before the iudge for noughte els, but that he shoulde iudge who hath righte and iustice thereunto.

Therefore if suche a iudge be not count-

ted true, but for a lyer, all take hys iudgemente for false: so that if the plaintyfe hath no moze power, he wyl obey iustyce, yet at the leaste, he wyl blasphemie him that gaue sentence. There are some iudges, that presentlye to get moze money, to drawe vnto them moe frendes, and to contynewe also in their offyces, vse suche shamefull shiftes with the pooze plaintyfes, and take so large byrbes of the defendante: that bothe parties are by hym selfe assured of the sentence in their fauoure, before he come vnto the barre. Manye goe to the houses of iudges, some to demaunde, others to geue instructions, other to worke deceite, others to importune them, others to wyne them, but fewe goe to vspyte them: so that for those and suche semblables, I doe aduise, and admonythe offycers, that they be iuste in their sentences, and vpryghte in their wordes.

The mynysters of iustyce oughte to be suche, and so good, that in their life nothing be worthy of rebuke: neyther in their wordes, anye thinge worthy of reprehenson. For if herein they be not very circumspecte, oftentymes that shall happen, whiche the Gods woulde not, whiche is: that to the prejudyce of the iustyce of another, he shal denye the worde of hym selfe. It suffyseth not the iudges to be true in their wordes: but it is verye necessarye, that they be vpryghte in their sentences.

That is to wete, that for loue they be not to large, neither for couetousnes they shuld be corrupted, nor for feare drawen backe, nor with prayours to be flattered, nor with promysles blynded: for othertwyse, it were a greate shame, and inconuenyence, that the yerde whiche they carye in their handes shoulde be streyghte, and the lyfe whiche they leade, shoulde be verye croked. To the ende iustyces be vpryghte, they ought much to traunyle to be lyberall: I meane, in thinges wherein they oughte to geue sentence.

It is vnpossyble that those whiche haue respede in their sentence to fauoure their

¶ ii. frendes,

friendes, shoulde not accustomablye vse to be reuenged of their enemyes. Truly suche a iudge oughte not to be counted iuste: but a pryuate Tiraunte. He that with affection iudgeth, and passyon punyssheth, is greatlye deceyued.

Those in lyke maner whiche haue authoritye to gouerne, and doe thinke that for borrowynge a tyle of iustyce, they shoulde thereby encrease, and multiplye friendes in the common wealthe, are muche abused: for this acte befoze men is so heinous, and befoze God so detestable, that though for a space he refrayne hys handes, yet in the ende he wyll extende hys powet. For the redemer of the worlde, onelye father of trueth, wyll not permitte that suche doe take bypon them the tyle of iustice, whiche in their offyces doe shew so extreme wrong.

Helius Spartianus in the lyfe of Antonius sayeth, that the good Emperour goinge to byset his Empire (as he was in Capua and there demaundyng of the state of the Censours, whether they were iust or ryghtefull) a man of Capua sayed in this wyse: by the immortall gods, most noble Prince, I sweare, that this iudge who presentlye gouerneth here, is neyther iust, nor honest: and therefore me thinke it necessary that we depriue him of hisdignity, and I wil accompte vnto y, what besel betwene him and me. I besought hym, y for my sake he would graunt me .4. thinges which were al vniust, & he willinglye cōdescended therevnto: whereof I had no lesse meruel in my harte, then veratio in my body. For when I dyd desire him, I thought nothing lesse, then to obtaine them, but only for the contentation of those, whiche insauntlye desyred me to do it. And further, this Capuan sayed. By the G D D Genius, I swere lykewise, that I was not the more frendly vnto hym, for that he sayed he dyd it for my sake, moze then for another: for he that to me woulde graunt these foure, it is to be beleued, that to others he would graunt

4. hundredeth. For the whiche thou oughtest to prouyde, moste noble Prince, because good iudges ought to be pacient to heare, and iust to determyne. By this notable example, iudges oughte to haue a greate respect, not to those which do desire them: but to that whiche they demaund. For in doing their duty, their enemyes wil proclaime the iust: and contrarywyse, if they doe that they shuld not do, their nerrest friendes wyl count them tiraantes. Iudges whiche pretend fauour to the common wealthe, & to be careful of their consciences, oughte not to contente them selues simply to doe iustice: but that of them selues they shuld haue suche an opinion, that none durst presume to come and require at their handes, anye vile or dishonest thinge. For otherwyse, if we note the demaunder to be vnshamefast: we must nedes somewhat suspecte the iudge in his iustice. Princes ought also to be very circumspect, that the iudges be not only contented, to be iust, honest, and true: but also in them ther ought to remaine no auarice, nor couetousnes. For iustice & auarice, can seldom dwel in one house. Those y haue the charge of the gouernemēt of y people, & to iudge causes, ought to take great hede, that to bysbes and presētes, they be not corrupted: for it is vnpossible, but y the same day, y riches & treasures in the houses of iudges begin to encrease, y the selfe same day y administration of iustice shoulde not decay. Licurgus, prometheus, & Numa Pompili⁹, did prohibite nothinge in their law so muche, neyther for any other cause they ordeined so greuous punishmentes: but to thintent iudges shuld not be couetous, nor yet theues. And of trueth they had greate consideration, to for se and forbyd it: for the iudge that hath receiued parte of the theft, wil not geue sentence against the stealers thereof. Let not iudges be credyted, for sayeng they receiue no siluer, nor golde, neyther sylkes, nor setwels, but that they take onelye smal presentes, as frutes, foule, and other trifles.

For oftentimes it chaunceth, that the iudges doe eate the fruite, and the poore suffer doeth fele the mozell. Cicero in the booke of lawes sayeth, that Cato the Censour beinge very aged, the Senatours saied vnto hym one daye in the Senate. Thou knowest nowe Cato, that presently we are in the Calendes of Januarie, wherein we vse to deuide the offices among the people. We determined to create Maulio, and

* Calidauo Censours for this yeare: wherefore tell vs, if they be as (thou thinkest) able, and suffyciente, to supplie that Rome. Cato the Censour answered them in this wyse. Fathers conscripte, I let you wete, that I doe not receyue the one, nor admyt the other. For Maulio is verie riche, and Calidauo the Citezine extreame poore, and trulye in bothe there is greate peryl. For we see by experyence that the riche officers are to muche subiecte to pleasours: and the poore officers are to muche geuen to anayrce. And further he sayed in this case, methinketh that your Iudges whom ye ought to chuse, shoulde not be so extreame poore, that they shuld want wherewith to eate: neither so riche, that they shuld surmount in superfluitie, to geue themselves to much to pleasures. For men by great aboundaunce, become vicious: & by great scarcitie, become couetous. The Censour Cato being of such authority, it is but reason that we geue credyte to his wordes, since he gouerned the Romayne Empire so longe space, though in deade all the poore be not couetous, nor all the riche vicious: yet he spake it for this intent, because bothe those Romaines were noted of these. ii. vices. For the poore desire to scrape & scratche: and the rich to enioye and kepe. Which of these two sortes of men princes shuld chuse, I cannot, nor dare not rashly determine. And therefore I doe not counsaile them, eyther to dyspise the poore, or to chuse the rich: but that they geue the authority of iustice to those, whom they know to be of good conscience, & not subiecte to con-

tousnes. For the iudge whose conscience is corrupted, it is vnpossible he shuld minister equall iustice. A man maye geue a shewed gesse of suspicion in that iudge, whether he be of a byrtel conscience, or no. If he se hym procure the office of iustice for hym selfe.

For that man, which willingly procureth the charge of conscience of another: comonlye lytel regardeth the burthen of hym owne.

The.vii.Chapter.

* Of a letter of the emperour Marcus Aurelius vwherein he speaketh agaynst the cruelty of iudges and officers, vvhich letter is deuided into. 5. Chapters.



Marcus Aurelius, companion in the empire, tribune of the people presently beinge sicke, wyssheth vnto the Andgonus, health & comforte in thy banishment. To flye the extreme heate of Rome, and to reade some bookes whiche are brought me, from the realme of Palestine, I am come hether to Capua: and for the haste I made to ride great iourneis, the ague hath ouertaken me, whiche is moze troublesome, then perillous. For it taketh me with cold, & plucketh my appetite from me. The.20. day of Ianuary, I receiued thy second letter, and it hapned, that thy letter, and my feuer, toke me both at one instant: but the feuer greued me in such wyse, that I could not long endure to reade thy letter. We thinketh we haue no staye nor meane, thou being so bryfe, and I so longe: for my longe letter hath taken thy greuous sorowes from the, but thy shorte letter could

THE DIAL

not take my feuer from me. Solue that my mynde is beating of thy trauayle, the desire whiche I haue to remedy it, is enflamed. I woulde tell the one thinge, and succour the with some counsaile: but I fynde, that the consolation whiche thou wantest, I cannot geue the, & that which I can geue the, thou needest not. In this letter shal not be wrytten that whiche was in the first: but herein I wil trauaile the best I can, to aunswere the. I wil not occupye my selfe to comforte the, because I am so out of course with this dysseale, that I haue neyther wyl to wryte, ne yet any fauoure in any pleasaunte thinges. If perhappes this letter be not sauorpe, so compendious, neither so cōfortable as those whiche I was wonte to wryte vnto the: attribute not þ blame to my good wyl, which desireth to serue the, but to the sickenes, whiche geneth no place there vnto. For it suffyleth the sicke, to be contented with medecynes, without satisfieng their frendes. If thy comforte consisted in wryting many letters, and offering the many wordes: truly I would not sticke to doe that, for all my feuer. But it neither profiteth the, nor satisfieth me, since I haue lytell, to profer the much. Talking nowe of this matter, I doe remember, that the auncent lawes of the Rhodians saied these wordes. We desire, and admonish al men, to visite the captiues, the pilgrymes, and the comfortelesse: and furder, we ordeine and commaund, þ none in the common wealthe be so hardye to geue counsaile, vnlesse therwith he geue remedy. For to the troubled harte, wordes comforteth litel, when in them there is no remedy. Of a trueth the lawe of þ Rhodians is good, and the Romaine which shal obserue them muche better. Asure thy selfe, þ I am very desirous to se the: and also I knowe, that thou wouldest as gladly speake vnto me, to recounte me all thy grefes. Truly I doe not meruaile, because the wounded harte quieteth hym selfe moze, declarynge his owne greaes: then hearing another mans

consolations. Thou wrytest vnto me of sordy thinges in thy letter, the effecte whereof is, that thou certifiest me, that the iudges and officers in that realme, be verpe rygourous, and extreme: & that therfore, the Cicilians are greatly displeased with the senate. Until this tyme, thou hast neuer tolde me lye, the which moueth me to beleue all that thou wrytest in thy letter. Wherfore I take it for a thing most true: that forasmuche as all those of Scicil are malicious and enuyous, they geueth the iudges iust occasion to be cruel. For it is a general rule, where men are out of order, the mynisters of iustyce oughte to be rygourous. And though in other realmes it chaunced not, it is to be beleued that it is true in this realme: whereof the auncent prouerbe saith. All those whiche enhabite the Isles are euyl: but the Scicillians are worst of all. At this day the wicked are so myghtye in their malyses, and the good are so muche dyminished in their vertues: that if by iustice there were not a bydel, the wycked woulde surmounte all the worlde, and the good should banishe immediatlye.

But retourninge to oure matter, I say, that consyderynge with what, and howe many euils we are enuironed, and to how many miseries we are subiecte: I doe not meruel at the vanyties that men commit, but I am ashamed of the cruelty which our iudges execute, so that we may rather call them tirauntes, which kyl by violence: then iudges whiche mynyster by iustyce. Of one thinge I was greatly astonied, and almoste past my sence, which is, that iustice of right pertyneth to the Gods, and they being offended, wyl be called pitiful: and we others bozrolwe iustyce, and not beinge offended doe glorye oure selues to be called cruel. I know not what man wyl hurte another, since we see that the Gods forgeuynge their proper iniuries, haue attenyed þ renowne of merciful: & we others punishynge the iniuries done vnto another, do remaine with
the

name of tyrantes. If the punishment of the gods were so severe, as our sinnes are filthy, and that they shoulde measure vs with this measure: the only deserte of one offence is sufficient to take life from vs.

With reason he can not be called a man amongst men, but a savage amongst the savage: that forgetting to be of feeble flesh tormenteth the flesh of his brother. If a man beholde him selfe from toppe to toe, he shal finde not one thing in him to moue him to cruelty: but he shal see in him, many instrumentes, to exercise mercy. For he hath his eyes, wherewith he ought to behold the needy and indigent: he hath feete to go to the church and sermons: he hath handes to helpe all: he hath his tongue to fauour the Orphanes: he hath a hart, to loue god: and to conclude, he hath vnderstanding, to knowe the euell: and discrecion to folowe the good. If men owe much to the goddes, for giuing them these instrumentes to be pitifull: truly they are bounde no lesse vnto them, for takinge from them all occasions to be cruel. For he hath not geuen the hornes, as to bulles, neyther nayles, as to the catte, nor yet he hath geuen them poison, as to the serpent: finally, he hath not geuen them so perillous feete, as to a horse to strike, nor he hath geue them such bloudie teethe, as to the Lion to bite. Then syth the gods be pitifull, & haue created vs pitifull, & commaunded vs to be pitifull: why do our iudges desire then to be cruel. How many cruel & severe iudges are there at this day in the Romaine empire which vnder the colour of good zeale to iustice, aduenture to vndo the comon welth. For not for the zeale of iustice, but for the desire to attaine to renowne: they haue bene ouercome wth malice, & denied their owne proper naturalitie. I do not meruaile that a Romaine censour shoulde enuye my house, wll euill to my friends, fauour mine enemies, dispise my children, with euill eyes beholde my daughters, couet my goodes,

speake euill of my person. But that which I am ashamed of is, that diuers iudges are so greedy to teare mennes flesh, as if they were beares and mans flesh were noughted with honey.

The, viii. Chapter.

The Emp. speaketh against cruell iudges, and reciteth. ii. exāples the one of a pitiful king of Cyprus, and the other of a cruell iudge of Rome.



Y the faythe of a good man I sweare vnto the frēd Antigonus, that I beinge yōg, knewe a iudge in Rome whose name was Lycarnio a baron of high stature, his flesh neither to fatte, nor to leane, his eyes were somewhat bloudye and redde, he was of the lynage of the senators, and on his face he had but a litle bearde, and on his heade he had manye white heares. This Licarnio of longe time was iudge in Rome, in the Romaine lawes he was well learned, and in customes and policies very experte, of his owne nature he spake litle, and in the answers he gaue, he was very resolute. Amongest all those whiche were in Rome in his time, he had this excellencie, whiche was, that to all he ministred equall iustice: and to suiters with greate speede he gaue briefe expedition, and dispatched them immediately. They coulde neuer withdrawe him by requestes, neuer corrupte him with giftes, nor begile him with wordes, nor feare him wth threatninges, neither woulde he receiue a bribe of anye that did offer it him: And besides this, he was very severe in condition, churlyshe in wordes, vnflexible in requestes, cruell in punishments,

suspicious in affayres, and aboue all, he
 was hated of many, and feared of all. How
 much this Lycarnio was hated, it cannot
 be reported, and of howe many he was fea-
 red, no man can thinke. For in Rome, whā
 any was inturped, he sayd: I pray god that
 Lycarnio may lyue longe. When the chyl-
 dren dyd cry, the mothers immediately said
 vnto theim. Take heede of Lycarnio, and
 freight way, they held their peace: so that
 wyth the onely name of Lycarnio, men
 were astonied, and chyl dren kepte silence.
 Thou oughtest also to know Antigonus,
 that when any commotyō did aryse in a
 citty, or in any other prouince, or that any
 sleaūder rose and encreased therein, they
 were well assured, and they said, that no o-
 ther shoulde goo thither, but onely Lycar-
 nio. And to save the trouthe, when he was
 arpyed at that citty or prouince, the rebels
 were not onely fled: but also diuerse in-
 nocentes were for feare of his cruelty hyd.
 For Lycarnio was so resolute a parson,
 that some for ill facts, others for cōsenting,
 some for that they fauoured not the good
 right, others for that they kept theim secret
 none escaped to be tormēted of his parson,
 or punished in goods. Thinkest y Antig-
 nus y they haue bene few, whō this Judge
 hath caused to be whipt & carted, cast into
 welles, beheaded, takē, banished, & put in the
 stocks, during the tyme that the Romaynes
 had him with them: By the immortall gods
 I swere vnto the, and as Genio the god of
 nature maye helpe me, that the gallouses
 and gibbets were so furnished with feete,
 handes, and heades of men: as the Ham-
 bles were with oren, sheepe, and kyddes.
 This Lycarnio was so fleshy, to shed hu-
 mane blond, that he was neuer so conuer-
 saunte, nor hadde so merse a countenance
 as the same daye he shoulde cause anye
 man to be drowned in Tiber, hanged in
 mounte Celio, beheaded in the strete Sala-
 ria, tormēted, or cast into y prison marmo-
 rine: O cruell, o fyerse, & vnspeable conditi-

on, y this Judge Lycarnio had: For it was
 not possible that he shoulde be brought by be-
 twene the delicate armes of the Romaynes:
 but in the bile intralles of you venemous
 serpentes. I retourne ones more to say,
 that it is vnpossible he shoulde be noysshed
 with the delicate milke of women: but with
 the cruell blond of Tigers. If this Licar-
 nio were cruel, why did they glue him such
 authoritie? I curse suche authoritie. If he
 dyd it for that he had great zeale to iustyce.
 I curse suche zeale of Iustice. If he dyd it to
 wyne more honour, I curse y honour, for
 that man shalbe cursed of the gods, and
 hated of men, whyche takethe lyfe from o-
 ther, though it be by iustyce, onely to en-
 creace his renowne.

The gods are muche offended, and the peo-
 ple greatly damaged, where the Senate
 of Rome calleth that Judge gentle, whiche
 is corrupted: and him that is cruell, iuste.
 So y nowe amongst the Romayne people,
 those whiche heale w oyle are not credited
 but those onely, whiche cure with fyer. If
 any man thynke it, at the leaste I doo not
 thynke it, that when Lycarnio dyed, all
 the cruell Judges dyd ende wyth him: For
 thughe all the Romayne empire there was
 no more but one Lycarnio, and at thys
 presente there is aboue. iiii. or. iiii. in euery
 common wealthe.

Not without teares I speake that which
 I wil speake, which is, y i those daies as al
 the Judges that ministred were pitifull: so
 was this Lycarnio renowned for cruell.
 But nowe, syns all are cruell, we hope in
 a Judge which is pitifull. In the xii. yere of
 the foundation of our mother Rome, the
 first kinge therof was Romulus, who sent
 a commaundement to all the neighbours,
 and inhabytautes there aboutes, to the
 ende that all banished men, all those
 whiche were afflicted, all those, which were
 persecuted, and all those whiche were in
 necessitie, shoulde come to Rome, for they
 shoulde be defended from their enemyes, &
 succou-

succoured in their necessities. The same be-
 inge spread thoroughout Italie, of the pitie
 and clemencie, whiche Romulus shewed
 in Rome (if the Annales of the auncients
 do deceiue vs not) Rome was more peo-
 pled with inhabitauntes in 10 yeares, then
 Babilon or Carthage in a hundreth.

A noble hart of Romulus, whiche suche
 thinges inuented: blessed be that tongue,
 whiche commaunded, that the famousse
 Rome with clemencie and pitie shoulde be
 founded. In the original booke which were
 in the high capitoll, once I founde diuers
 letters, wrytten to the sacred senate,
 and romaine people, and in the beginning
 of the letters, the wordes saide thus. We
 the kinge of Parthes in Asya, to ye fathers
 conscripte of Rome, and to the happie Ro-
 maines, people of Italie, and to all those,
 whiche with the Romayne senate are con-
 federate, which haue the name of Romaines,
 and the renoune of clemencie, health and
 tranquillitie to youre personnes, we do
 you, and desyre the same of the gods for
 our selves, beholde therefore Antygonus,
 what titles of clemencie, had oure fyrst Ro-
 maynes, & what example of clemencie dyd the
 Emperour leaue for the to come so the syns
 the barbarous straungers, called them pi-
 tesful: it is not to be beloued, that to their sub-
 lects or natural countrey men, they were cru-
 el. As the auncyentes haue trauidled, of al to
 be beloued: so they at this present through
 their cruelties, seeke nothyng but to be
 feared. If the goddes perhappes shoulde
 reuenge the deade, and shoulde com-
 pare the liuyng before them in iudgment:
 I suppose they woulde saye, these are not
 their chyldren, but their enemyes, not en-
 crease of the common wealth, but destroy-
 ers of the people.

A beynge xxx. yerres of age, laye in wynter
 season in an yle called Cheryn, whiche
 now is called Cypres, wherein is a lytle
 mountayne, as yet full of wood, whiche is

called mounte of Arcady, where groweth
 an herbe called Ilabia, whiche the aunc-
 entes saye, that if it be cutte it droppeth
 blode: the nature of it is, that if one robbe
 any man with the bloude thereof hote (al-
 though he woulde not) yet he shall loue
 hym, and if they annoynte him with the
 bloude that is colde, he shall hate him.

Of this herbe we neede not doute anye
 thinge at al, for I dyd proue it, and annoynted
 one with that bloude, who soner looste
 his lyfe, then the loue whiche he beare me.
 There was a kinge in that yle, of greate
 example of lyfe, and greatly renoumed
 of clemencie, though in dede, neyther by
 wryttinge, nor by wordes, I coulde euer
 knowe his name: but that he was buryed
 vnder iiii. pillers in a tome of marble, and
 aboute the tombe were engraue these
 greake and auncient letters, where amongest
 other thinges these wordes were en-
 grauen.

THe mighty gods whiles they drew out the length
 Of my weake yeres to passe the flud of lyfe
 This rule I had my common wealthe to strengthe
 To norishe peace and styme vaine blasies offryfe

¶ By vertues waye if ought I coulde obtayne
 By vires pathe I neuer sought to get
 By dreadles peace if I coulde righte attayne
 By elaterynge armes blinde basarde coulde not let

¶ By curteis meanes if I coulde ouercome
 By raging threttes I heaped vp no dreade
 By secreete shiftes if I might guyde my dome
 By open force I woulde the payne were spred

¶ By gentle read if I coulde chastice eke
 By sharpe wayes no furth er prose I sought
 In outwarde sight I neuer thought to stricke
 before I had so couerte cheques them brought

My

THE DIAL

The.ix. Chapter.

¶ My free consene could neuer raynely beare
my tonge to tell one swete entysinge lye
Nor yet my hollowe eares would euer beare
There crooked tales that flatter oft awaye.

¶ My skooled harte was alwayes taught to slaye
From egre luste of others heaped good
I forste my selfe his proper wealth to waye
And stande content as fortunes iudgement stood.

¶ My frendes decaye, I alwaies watche to ayde
And reeked not for bente of eneye bowe
In huge expence I neuer lausht payde
my glittering golde, nor spared yet to lowe.

¶ For greenous fautes I neuer punisht wyghte
With mynde appeasde but erst I woulde forgieue
my grieve did growe when iuste reuenge did bight
And eke I tryed to pat don men to lyeue.

¶ A mortall man amongst blind heapes of men,
Nature my mother produced me here
And therefore loo enclosed in this den
The egre wormes my senceles carcas tere

Amongest the wightes that vertue did enbaunce,
A vertuous lyfe, I freely passed on
And since that death his kingdome did aduaunce
my heauenly spirite, to haunt the gods is gone



Owe thinkest thou An-
tigonus, what epitaphe
was this & what Prince
ought he to be, of whom
I shoulde saye, his lyfe
ought to be glorious, &
his memozy eternall? I
swere vnto the, by the lawe of a good man,
and as the gods waye prosper me, I toke
not so muche pleasure in Pompeyne with
his Hierusalem, in Semiramis with her In-
dia, in kinge Cyrus with his Babilon,
in Caius Cesar with his Calles, in Sci-
prio within affrike: as I haue in the kyng
of Cipres in his graue. For moze glozpe
hath that kinge there, in that sharpe moun-
tayne being dead, then others haue had in
in proude Rome beinge alque.

Of the vvords, vvwhich Nero spake
concerninge iustice, and of the
instructyon, vvwhiche the empe-
rour Augustus gaue to a iudge
vvhych he sent into Achia,



Eythere for that
vvhich I wryte i this let-
ter, noz yet for y vvwhich
kinge Cyrus had in his
graue: my entencion is
not, to defende the euyl
to y end y for their euyl
dedes, and outragypoulnes, they shulde not
be punished. For by this meanes, it shulde
be worse for me to fauour theim: then for
theim to be euill. For they throughe debility
doo offede: & I by mallice do erre: but in this
case, it semeth vnto me & to al others vvwhich
are of good iudgmēt, y sins frastlety in mē
is natural, and the punishment vvwhich they
glue vs, is voluntary: Let Iudges therfore
in ministringe iustyce shewe, that they doo
it for the zeale of the common wealthe, and
not with a minde to reuenge. To the ende
the faultye, may haue occasion to amende
the fautes past, & not to reuenge iniuries
present, the diuine Plato. In the booke of
hys common wealthe saide, that Iudges
ought to haue. ii. thinges alwayes present
befoze their eyes: that is to wete, that in
iudginge thinges touchinge the goodes of
others, they shewe no couetousnes, and in
punishinge any man, they shewe no res-
uenge. For Iudges haue lycense to cha-
stice the bodye: but therfore they haue
not licence, to hurte their hartes. Nero
the emperour was greatly defamyd in his
life, and very cruell in his iustice, and vvith
al hys cruelties it chaunced, y as one on a
day brought hym a iudgement for to sub-
scribe

iudgemente for to subscribe, to behead, certayne murderers. He fetchinge a great sighe saide these wordes. O howe happye were I, that I had neuer lerned to wyte, onely to be excused to subscribe this sentence. Certaynely the Emperour Nero, for speakinge such a pittfull worde at that tyme, deserued immortall memozye: but afterwardes his so cruell lyfe, peruerterd so notable a sentence.

* For speakinge the trouthe, one euill worke, suffyseth to deface many good wordes.

O howe manye realmes, and countreys haue bene losse, not so muche for the euylles whiche in those the wicked haue comytred: as for the dysordynate Justices whiche the mynysters of iustyce therein haue executed.

* For they thinkinge by rigour to correcte the damages paste, haue raysted by present sleaunders for euer. It is knowen to al men, who and what the Emperour Augustus hath bene, who in all his doynges was excusynge good: for he was noble, balaunt, stoute, slyer, & a louer of iustyce, & aboue all, very pitfull. And for so muche as in other thynges he shewed his pity, & clemency, he ordeyned, that no Prynce shoulde subscribe, iudgementes of deathe wyth his owne hande, neyther that he shoulde see iustyce done of any, wyth his owne eyes. Truly the lawe was pittfully ordeyned, and for the cleannesse and purenes of Emperours very necessarye.

* For it semeth better for Prynces, to defende their land wth sharpe sword: then to subscribe a sentence of deathe, wyth the cruell penne. This good Emperour Augustus was very dyligente to chose mynysters of iustice, and very careful to teache them howe they shoulde behaue them selves in the common wealthe: admonyshynge theym not onely of that they hadde to do, but also of that they oughte to flye. For the mynysters of iustyce, oftentimes sayle of their dutye. In Capua, there was a gouernour named

Estauro, who was a iuste iudge, though he was somewhat seuerer: whom the Emperour Augustus sent to the realme of Dace to take charge of that prouince. And amongst dyuerse other thynges he spake these wordes vnto him to reterne theym in his memozye. Freynd Estauro, I haue determined to plucke the from Capua, and to put into thy custodye, the gouernemente of the prouince of Dace, where thou shalt represent the royal maiestie of my person, and thou oughtest also to consyder well, that as I make the better in honoure and goodes: so thou in lyke case shouldest make thy selfe better in lyfe, & more temperate in iustice. For hither to, in iustice I haue ben a lytle to rigorous: & in thy lyfe, somewhat to rashe. I counsaile the therfore, I do desire thee, and further I commaunde the, that thou chaunge thy trade of lyfe, and haue great respect to my honour, & good name.

* For thou knowest righte well, that the onely profite and honoure of the common wealthe of Romayne Prynces, consisteth in hauing good, or euill mynysters of theyr iustyce. If thou wylte doo that I woulde thou shouldest, I let the vnderstand, that I do not comyt my honour in thy trust neyther my iustyce, to thintente thou shouldest be an enuier of the innocent, and a scourge of transgressours: but that onely wyth the one hande thou healse to susteine the good, and wyth the other thou healse to amende the euill. And if thou wilt more particulerly knowe my entencion, I do sende the, to the ende thou shouldest be grandfather to the Orphanes, an aduocate for the wydo wes, a playster for the greued, a staffe for the blinde, and a father to all. Let therfore the resolution of all be, to reioyce myne enemyes, to comforte my freyndes, to lyfte vp the weake and to fauour the stronge: so that thou be indifferent to all, & paryall to none, to the end I through thy vpright dealing, myne may reioyce to dwel there, and straungers desire to come & serue me here.

This

THE DIAL

This was the instruction which the emperor Augustus gaue to the gouernour E. Trauro. And if a mā will consider, and way his wordes wel, he shal fynd them compendious enough, that I wold they were wrytten in our Iudges hartes. By thy letter thou declarest, that the iudges, whom the Senate sente to that Ile, are not very honest, nor yet without some suspicyon of conetousnes. O wofull common wealthe, wher the Iudges therof are cruell, dishonest, and conetous: for the cruell Iudges seke nought els, but the bloud of innocentes, they couet the goodes of the poore, and they sclaunder the good, to such and so wycked a common wealthe, I wolde saye, that it were better to remayne in y^e moūtaynes among the brute beasts, thē by such vniust Iudges to be gouerned in a cōmō wealthe. For the fyerse lions which of al beastes are most cruel, if in his p^resence the hountsman lye downe on earthe, the Lion wyll neyther touche him nor his garment: O my frind Antigonus, dost thou thinke that if the common wealthe be vnhappy whiche hath suche Iudges that therfore Rome maye reioyse which prouyded them: By the faith of a good man, I sweare vnto thee, that I count the Senators worse which sent theim: thā the Iudges which went thither. It is a great griefe to a noble and stoute harte to demaund iustyce of other men, whych neyther is true, nor yet obserueth Iustyce: but it is a greater gryse to see a Iudge, that to many hath executed tyrannye, and to many poore men hath done sondry wronges, afterwarde not with the life he leaderhe, but wyth the authozyte he hathe, presumeth to correcte diuerse Iudges. He that hathe the offyce to punishe the vicious, oughte him selfe to be voyd of al vices: otherwyle, he that hath that offyce, by tyrannye executethe iustyce, furthermore he is a traytoure to the common wealthe. It is vnpossible that any Iudge should be good, vnles he hath y^e aueroyntie of his office, for accessary: & his puer

life, for principall. The end why a Iudge is sente in p^rinces, is to despyne douteles causes, to reforme their maners, to fauoure those which can lytle, and by violence, to enforce those whiche can doo muche. And for the moost parte, there is no common wealthe so weake, but maye well hang a these on the gallouse, though ther come no Iudge from Rome to g^rue sentence. How many Iudges are there now adayes in Rome, whiche haue caused dyuerse to be hanged, regardinge nothinge but the first these and thei remaine free, hauing robbed al the people, whiche ought to thinke themselves assured, that though punishment be deferred, yet in the end the fault shal not be pardoned. For the offences whiche men in their lyfe tyme doo dissemble: the gods after their deathe doo punishe. It is moche good for the common wealthe, and no lesse honour for the p^rince, whiche hath the charge therof, that the Iudge be honest of parson, and diligent in iustyce, and that in no wise (for the whiche he punissheth other) he be eyther nated, or defamed himselfe. For much is the office of iustice peruerced, whē one thiefe hangeth an other on the galouse.

The .x. Chapter

¶ The Emperour foloweth his purpose agaynst cruell iudges, and declareth a notable imbasage vvhych came from Iudea to the Senate of Rome, to complaine of the iudges, that gouerned that Realme.



In the thirde yeare after Pompeius tooke the cytie of Helia, whiche now is called Hierusalem: Valerius gracch^{us} Romaine

a Romaine borne, was sent at that time into that regis, for the Romaines. This Grachus was very stout of courage, subtile in affaires, and honest in life: but notwithstanding al this, in conuersation he was vnbrideled, and in the admystration of iustyce exceeding rigor. When the Jewes saw them selues not onely subiecte to the Romaines, but besides that euyl handeled: they determined to sende their embassadour to rome, to thintent to informe the senate, of the tyrannies, and oppressiōs which were committed in the lande. And for to accomplish the same, they sent a very aged man, (as by the heares of his heade dyd well appeare) who was learned, in the Hebrue, greke, and latine letters. For the Hebrues are verie apte to all sciences; but in weapons greate cowardes. This Hebrue came to Rome, and spake to the Senate in this wise. O fathers conscripte, O happy people, your good fortune and fatal destinyes permitting it, or to saye better. We forsaking oure god, Ierusalem, whiche of al the cities of Asia was lady, and maystris, and of all the Hebrues in Palestine mother, we see it now presently seruauant, and tributary to rome: wherof we Jewes ought not to meruel, neither ye romaines to be proude. For the highest trees by vehement wyndes, are soonest blowen downe.

Great were the armyes whiche Pompeius had, whereby we were vanquished: but greater hath oure offences bene, since by them we doe deserue to be forsaken of oure god. For we Hebrues haue a GOD, whiche doeth not put vs vnder the gods or euil fortune: but doeth gouerne vs with his mercye and iustice. I wyl that ye heare one thing by mouthe, but I had rather ye shold see it by experyence, whiche is: that we haue so mercyfull a God, that though amongst 30. thousande euill, there was of vs but .10. thousande good, yet he shewed suche tokens of mercye; that bothe the Egyptians and

the romaynes myghte haue sene, how oure God can doe more alone, then all your gods together. We Hebrues agreinge in one saythe, and vnyte, haue one onely GOD, and in one God onely we put oure truste and belefe, and hym we desire to serue, though we doe not serue hym, neither shold serue hym, on such condiction to offend hym. He is so mercyfull, that he woulde not let vs proue what hys mercyfull hande can do, neyther woulde he put oure wofull people in captiuyte as he hath, nor also oure GOD can deceiue vs, neyther our wysitings can not lye. But the greater offenders we be, the greater Lordes shall ye be ouer vs. And as longe as the wyathe of god shall hange ouer vs, so longe shall the power of ye Romaines endure. For oure unhappye realme hath not geuen ye our realme, for youre desertes: nor yet for that you were rightfull heires therunto, but to the ende ye should be the scourge of our offences. After the wyl of oure God shall be fulfilled, after that he hath appelled his wyathe and indignacion agaynst vs, and that we shall be purged of our offences, and that he shall beholde vs with the eyes of his clemency: then we others shall recouer that which we haue losse, and you others shall lose that, whiche you haue euyl wonne. And it maye so chaunce, that as presently of ye romaines, we are commaunded: so the time shall come, that of ye others, we shall be obeded. And forasmuche as in this case, the Hebrues sele one, and ye Romaines feeles another: neyther ye can cause me to worshyppe manye Gods, and muche lesse shoulde I be suffyscience to drawe ye, to the saythe of one onely GOD.

I referre all to God, the creatoure of al thinges, by whose myghte we are created, and gouerned.

Therefore touching the matter of my embassage, knowe ye now, that in all tymes passe vntill this presente, Rome hath

hath had peace with Iudea, & Iudea hath had frendshipp with Rome: so that we dyd fauour ye in the warres, and ye others preferred vs in peace. In generally nothinge is moze desired then peace, & nothing moze hated then warre. And besydes al this presumed, we se it with oure eyes, & also do reade of our predecessours: that the woꝛlde hath alwaies ben in contention, and rest hath alwayes ben banished. For in dede, if we see many sighe for peace: we se many moe employ them selues to warre. If ye other would banyshe those from you, which doe moue you to beare vs euil wyl, and we others knewe those, whiche prouoke vs to rebel, neyther Rome should be so cruel to Iudea, nor yet Iudea should so much hate Rome. The greatest token & signe of peace is, to dyspatche out of the waye, the disturbers thereof. For frendshipp ostentymes is losse, not so muche for the interest of the one, or of y other, as for y bndiscretenes of the mediatours. When one commo wealth stryuethe againste another, it is vnpossyble that their controuersyes endure longe, if those which come betwene them, as indifferant mediatours, be wylle. But if suche one whiche taketh vpon hym those affaires, be moze earnestly hēt, then the enemy wherewith the other fighteth: we wyl saye, that he moze subtylly casteth woode on the fire, then he draweth water to quēche the heate. Al that which I say (Romaynes) is, because that since the banysmente of Archelaus from Iudea (sonne of the greate kinge Herodes) in his place ye sente vs Pomponio, Marcus Rufus, and Valerio, to be oure Judges: who haue bene .4. plagues, the leasse whereof, suffyseth to poyson al Rome.

What greater calamitye coulde happen to oure poore Realme of Palestine, then Judges to be sente from Rome, to take euyl customes from the euyl: and they them selues to be inuentours of newe byces: What greater inconueniencye can chaunce to iustyce, then when the iudges

whiche oughte to punyshe the lyghtenes of youthe, doe glozysye them selues to be capteyns of the lyghte, in their age: What greater infamye can be to Rome, then when those whiche oughte to be iuste in all iustyce, and to geue example of all vertues: be euyl in all euyls, and inuentours of all byces: Wherein appeareth your lytle care, and muche stranhpe.

For all sayed openly in Asia, that the theues of Rome, doe hange the theues of Jewrye. What wyllye I shall saye moze (Romaynes) but that we lytel estreame the theues whiche keape the woddess, in comparyson of the Judges whiche robbe vs in oure owne houses.

Howe wofull were oure fatall destinyes, the daye that we became subiecte to the Romaynes. We feare no theues which shoulde robbe vs in the highe waye, we feare no syer whiche shoulde burne oure goods, nor we feare no ttrauntes, whiche shoulde make warre agaynst vs; neyther anye Assirians whiche shoulde spoyle oure countrey: we feare not the corrupte apery that shoulde infecte vs, neyther the plague that shuld take oure lyues from vs: but we feare youre cruel iudges, whiche oppresse vs in the common wealth, and robbereth vs of oure good name. I saye not withoute a cause, they trouble the common wealth.

For that layed a parte whiche they saye, that layed a parte whiche they meane, and that layed a parte whiche they robbe, immediately they wryte to the Senate, to consente vnto them, not of the good which they synde in the auntyentes: but of the lyghtenes, whiche they se in the ponge. And as the Senatours do heare them here, and doe not see them there: so ye geue moze credyte to one that hath bene but thre monethes in the prouynce, then to those which haue gouerned the common wealth 30. yeares.

Consyder Senatours, that ye haue ben made and appointed Senatours in this place

place; for that ye were the wyldest, the hottest, the best experimented, and the most moderate and vertuous.

Therefore in this above all, shall be sene if ye be vertuous, in that you doe not beleue all. For if those be manye, and of diuers nations, whiche haue to doe with you: muche more dyuers and varyable are their intencions, and endes, for the whiche they entreate. I lye, if youre Iudges haue not done so many wronges, and forsaken their dyscipline, whiche they haue taughte the yowthe of Iudea, in newtours of vices, whiche neyther hathe bene hearde of oure fathers, neyther red in oure bookes, ne yet sene in oure tyme. The other Romaynes, since ye are noble and myghty, ye dysdayne to take counsaile of men that be pooer: the whiche ye oughte not to doe, neither counsaile your frendes. For to knowe, and to haue, sel dome times goeth together. As many counsailes as Iudea hathe taken of Rome: so many let now Rome take of Iudea. You oughte to knowe, though your Captaynes haue wonne many realmes by theddyng blood, yet notwithstandinge, your Iudges oughte to keape them, not with rygozous shedding of bloude, but with clemency, and winning their hartes.

The Romaynes, admonyshe, commaunde, praye, and aduertysse your Iudges, whom ye sende to gouerne straunge prouinces: that they imploye them selues more to the wealth of the realme, then their handes to number their synes and forgettes.

For otherwysse, they shall flander those whiche sende them: and shall hurte those whome they gouerne. Your Iudges in iust thinges are not obeyed for any other cause, but forasmuche as firste they haue commaunded many vnjust thinges.

The iuste commaundementes, make the humble hartes: and the vnjuste commaundementes, doe turne and conuerte the meke and humble men, to seuer and cruel parsones. Humayne malysce is so gener

to commaunde, and is so troublesome to be commaunded, that though they commaunde vs to doe good, we doe obey euyl: the more they commaunde vs euyl, the worse they be obeyed in the good.

Beleue me (romaynes) one thinge, and doubt nothinge therein, that of the greates lyghtnes of the Iudges, is spronge the litle feare, and greates shame of the people. The Prince whiche shal geue to anye iudge the charge of iustysce, whom he knoweth not to be able, doeth it not somuche for that he knoweth well howe to mynister iustice: but because he is verie crafty, to augment his goods. Let hym be well assured, that when he leaste thinketh on it, his honoure shalbe in moste infamy, his credyte lost, his goods dymynysshed, and some notable punishment lichte vppon his house.

And because I haue other thinges to speake in secrete, I wyll here conclude that is open, and fynallye I saye, that if ye wyll preferue vs, and oure realme, for the which you haue haterded your selues in many peryles: keape vs in iustysce, and we wyll haue you in reuerence. Commaunde as romaynes, and we wyll obey as Hebrues: geue a pytesfull presydente, and ye shal haue all the realme in safegarde.

What wyll ye I saye more, but that if you be not cruel to punyshe our weakenes, we wyll be verie obedyente to your ordynaunces. Before ye proude for to commaunde vs, thinke it well to entreate vs: for by prayeng with all mekenes, and not commaundyng with presumption, ye shall fynde in vs the loue whiche the fathers are wonte to fynde in their chyldren: and not the treason whiche the lordes haue accustomed, to fynde in their seruauntes.

THE DIAL

The.xi, Chapter.

The Emperour concludeth his letter against the cruel iudges, and declareth vvhhat the grādfather of kynge Boco spake in the Senate.



AL L that vvhiche a-bone I haue spoken, the Hebruesayed, and not without great admiration he was heard of all the senate. O Rome without Rome, which now hast nought but the walles, and arte made a common steeves of byces. What dyddest thou tel me, when a straunger did rebuke and taunte the, in the middest of thy senate: it is a generall rule, where there is corruption of custome, liberties are alwayes losse, whiche semeth most true here in rome. For the romaines, which in times past went to reuenge their iniuries into straunge countreys: now others come oute of straunge countreys, to assaulte them in their owne houses. Therefore, since the iustice of rome is cōdemned, that thou thinkest suche that I beleue be there in that Ile of Cicil, tel me I pray the Antigonus, from whence commeth thynkest thou so great offence to the people, and suche corruption to iustice in the common wealthe: If peraduenture thou knowest it not, harke and I wyl tell the. It is an order whereby all goeth withoute order. Thou oughtest to know, that the counsaillours of Princes being importunate, and the prince not resisting them, but suffering them, they deceiue hym, some with couetousnes, other with ignorance, geue from whome they

oughte to take, and take of whome they oughte to geue, they honoure them who do dishonoure them, they with holde the iustice, and deliuer the couetous, they dyspysse the wylse, and truste the lyghte, fynallye they proude not for the offyces of persons, but for the persons of offyces. Harke Antigonus, and I wyl tell the more. These miserable Iudges, after they are prouided, and that they see them selues of power in their offyces, whereof they were unworthy, and that the authorytpe of their offyces is muche more, then the deserte of their personnes: immediatlye they make them selues to be feared, mynistrynge extreames iustyce. They take vpon them the estates of greate Lordes, they lyue of the swette of the poore, they supplie with malysce, that whiche they wante in dyscretion: and that whiche is worste of all, they myngle another mans iustyce, with their owne prosper pofypte. Therefore heare more what I wyl saye vnto the, that these cursed iudges, selinge them selues pestred with sondrye affaires, and that they wante the eares of knowledge, the sayles of vertue, and the ankers of experyence, not knowyng how to remedye suche small euyls: they inuente others more greater, they disturbe the common peace, only for to augment their owne pertyculer pofypte. And finallye, they bewayle their owne damage, and are displeased with the prosperyppe of another. No thinge can be more iuste, that since they haue fallen into offyces not pofytable for them, they doe suffer (though they would not) greate damages: so that the one for takinge gyftes remayne slandered, and the other for geuyng them remayneth bounde. Harken yet, and I wyl tell the more.

Thou oughtest to knowe, that the beginninges of these Iudges are pryde & ambition, their meanes, enuye and malice, and their endynges are death and destruction. For the leaues shall neuer be grene, where the rootes are drye. If my counsel should

shoulde take place in this case, suche Judges shoulde not be of counsaile with Princes, neyther yet oughte they to be defended of the private, but as suspecte men they shoulde not onely be caste from the common wealthe: but also they shoulde suffer death.

It is a greateshame to those whiche demaunde offces of the Senate, but greater is the rashnes and boldnes of the counsaillers, whiche doe procure them: and we maye saye, bothe to the one, and to the other, that neyther the feare of GOD doeth withholde them, nor the power of Princes doeth byddell them, nor shame doeth trouble them, neyther the common wealthe doeth accuse them, and finallye, neyther reason commaundeth them, nor the lawe subdueth them. But hearken, and I wyl tel the more.

Thou oughtest alwayes to knowe, what the forme and maner is, that the Senators haue to deuide the offces: for sometymes they geue them to their frendes, in recompence of their frendshipp, and other tymes they geue them to their seruantes, to acquyte their seruyces, and sometymes also they geue them to Solicitours, to the ende they shall not importune them, so that fewe offces remaine for the vertuous, the whiche onely for beinge vertuous are provided. O my frende Antigonus, I let the wete, that since Rome dyd keape her renoume, and the common wealthe was well gouerned, the dyligence whiche the Judges vied towarde the Senate, to the ende they myghte geue them offces: the selfe same ought the Senate to haue, to seke vertuous men, to commit suche charge in to their handes.

For the offce of iustyce oughte to be geuen, not to hym whiche procureth it, but to hym that beste deserueth it. In the yeare of the foundacion of Rome 6 hundred 42 yeares, the Romayne people had manye warres, thozonghe sute all the world.

To wete Chaius Gelius, agaynst those of Thrace, Agneo Cardon hys brother, agaynst the Sardes, Iulio Scilla, agaynst the Cymbres, Minicio Rufo, agaynst the Daces, Seruilio Scipio, agaynst the Macedonians, and Marcio Consull agaynst Iugurtha kynge of Numidians: and amongst all these, the warre of the Numidians was the moste renowned, and also moste peryllous.

For yf Rome had manye armies agaynst Iugurtha to conquere hym: Iugurtha had in Rome good frendes whiche dyd sauoure hym.

Kynge Boco at that tyme, was Kynge of the Mauritanes, who was Iugurthas frende, and in the ende, he was afterwarde the occasyon, that Iugurtha was overthrowen, and that Mario toke hym.

These two kynes, Mario the consull broughte to Rome, and triumphed of them, leaueing them befoze hys triumphante chariote, their neckes loden with irones, and their eyes full of teares. The whiche by lucke fortune, all the Romaynes whiche behelde lamented, and toke greates pite of the straungers whome they heard. The nyghte after the triumphe was ended, it was decreed in the Senate, that Iugurtha shoulde be beheaded, leaueing kynge Boco alive, depriued of hys countrey. And the occasyon thereof was this.

The Romaynes had a custome of longe tyme, to put no man to execution, befoze that firste with greates dyligence they had looked the aunciente booke, to see if anye of their predecessours had done anye notable seruyce to Rome, whereby the poore prisoner myghte deserue hys pardon.

It was founde wyrtten in a booke, whiche was in the hyghe Capytoll, that the graundefather of Kynge Boco was verie sage, and a specyall frende to the Romayne people, and that once he came to Rome and made dyuers Orations to the Senate and amongst other notable sentences,

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there

there was found in that booke, that he had spoke these wordes. Woe be to that realme where al are suche, that neither the good amongest the euil, nor the euil amongest the good are knowen. Woe vpon that realme, whiche is the entertainer of all fooles, and a destroyer of al sages. Woe is that realme where the good are fearefull, and the euil to bolde. Woe on that realme, where the patient are despised, and the seditious commended. Woe on that realme, whiche destroyeth those that watche for the good: and crowneeth those, that watche to doe euil.

Woe to that realme, where the poore are suffered to be proude: and the riche tyrantes. Woe to that realme, where all knowe the euil: and no man doeth folow the good.

Woe to that realme, where so many euil vices are openly committed: which in another countrey, dare not secretly be mentioned. Woe to that realme, where all procure that they desire, where all attayne to that they procure, where al thinke, that that is euil, where all speake that they thinke, and finally, where all may doe that whiche they wyl. In suche, and so vnfortunate a realme, where the people are so wicked, let euery man beware, he be not inhabytant.

For in thorte tyme, they shal se vpon hym, either the ire of the gods, the fury of men, the depopulation of the good, or the desolation of the tyrantes. Diuers other notable thinges were conteyned in those orations, the which are not (at this present) touching my letter. But forasmuch as we thought it was a very iust thing, that they shuld pardon the foly of the nephew, for the desertes of the wyse grandfather. Thou shalt reade this my letter openly, to the Pretours, and Judges whiche are resydeute there, and the case shalbe, that when thou shalt reade it, thou shalt admonyshe them, that if they wyl not amende secreteleye, we wyl punyshe them openly. I wrote vnto the the laste daye, that as touchynge thy banishment, I would be thy frende: and be thou

assured, that for to enioye thy olde frende thypp, and to perfourme my worde, I wyl not let to daunger my parson. I wrote vnto Panatio my secretary, to succour the with 2. thousande Sesterces, wherewith thou mayest reloue the pouerty: and from hence I send the my letter, wherewith thou maist comforte thy sorrowful harte, I say no more to the in this case, but that thorough the Gods, thou mayest haue contentacion of all that thou enioyest, healthe of thy person, and comforte of thy frendes, the bodelye euels, the cruel enemyes, the peryllous destenies, be farre from me, Marke. In the behalfe of thy wyfe Rufa, I haue saluted my wyfe Faustyne, she and I both haue receiued with ioye thy salutations, and with thanks, we sente them you agayne. I desire to see thy person here in Italye, and wyshe my feuer quartene there with the in Scidle.

The.xii. Chapter.

An exortacion of the auctoure to Princes and noble men, to embrace peace, and to eschevve the occasions of vvarre.



OCTAVIAN Augustus, second emperor of Rome, is commended of all, for that he was so good of his person, and so welbeloued in al the romaine Empire. Suetonius Tranquillus saith, & when any man dyed in Rome in his tyme, they gaue great thanks to the gods, for that they toke their life fro them, before their Prince knewe what death ment. And not contented onely with this, but

but in their testaments, they commaunded their heires, and children, that yearly they shoulde offer great sacrifices of their propre goodes, in all the tempels of Rome, to the ende the Goddes shoulde prolonge the dayes of their princes. That time in deede myghte be called the golden age, and the blessed land, where the prince loued so well his subiectes, and the subiectes so muche obeyed their prince. For seldome times it happeneth, that one will be contente with the seruices of all: neyther that all will be satisfied with the gouernement of one.

The romaynes for none other cause wished for that good prince (more than for theim selues life) but because he keppe the common wealth in peace. The vertue of this prince deserued muche praise, and the good will of the people merited no lesse commendation: he for deseruinge it to theim, and they for giuinge it to him. For to saye the trueth, there are fewe in nombre, that so hartely loue others, that for their sakes will hate theim selues. There is no man so humble, but in thinges of honour will be content to go before, saue onely in death, where he can be content to come behinde. And this seemeth to be very cleare, in that that nowe dieth the father, nowe the mother, nowe the husbände, nowe the wyfe, nowe the sonne, and nowe his neighbour, in the ende, euery man is content with the death of an other, so that he with his owne lyfe maye escape him selfe. A prince whiche is gentle, paciente, stoute, sober, pure, honest, and true, truly he of right to be commended: but aboue all, and more then all, the prince whiche kepeth his common welth in peace, hath great wronge, if he be not of all beloued. What good can the common wealth haue, wherein there is warre and discension? Let euery man say what he will, withoute peace, no man can enioye his owne, no man can eate without feare, no man sleapeth in good rest, no man goeth safe by the waye, no man trusteth his

neighbour, finally I saye, that wher there is no peace, there we are threatened dayly with death, and euery hour in feare of our lyfe. It is good the prince do scour the realme of theues, for there is nothing more vnjuste, then that whiche the poore with toyle and labour do gette, shoulde with bacabondes in idleness be wasted. It is good the prince do wede the realme of blasphemers, for it is an euident token, that those whiche dare blaspheme the kinge of heauen, will not let to speake euill of the princes of the earth. It is good the prince doth cleare the common wealth of bacabondes, and players: for playe is so euill a moote, that it eateth the netwe golde, and constumeth the dyne woode. It is good that the prince do forbid his subiectes of prodigall bankettes, and superfluous apparell: for where men spende muche in thinges superfluous, it chaunseth afterwarde that they want for their necessities. But I aske now what auayleth it a prince to banishe al vices from his common wealth, if otherwise he kepeth it in warre? The ende why princes are princes, is to folowe the good, and to eschewe the euill. What shall we saye therefore, sins that in the time of warre, princes cannot reforme vices, nor correcte the vicious. If princes, and noble men knewe, what damage they do to theyr countrey, the daye that they take vppon theim warre, I thinke, and also asseure, that they would not only not begin it, nor yet any priuate person durst scarcely remember it. And he that doth counsaile the prince the contrary, ought by reason to be iudged to the common wealth an ennemye. Those whiche counsaile princes to seke peace, to loue peace, to kepe peace, withoute doubt they haue wronge, if they be not hearde, if they be not beloued, and if they be not credited. For the counsailler whiche for a light occasion counsaileth his prince to beginne warre, I saye, that vnto him either colour surmounteth, or els good conscience wanteth

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reth. It chaunserh oftentimes, that the prince is bered and troubled, because one certifieth him that a prouince is rebelled, or some other prince hath invaded his countrey: and as the matter requireth, the counsaile is assembled. There are some to rashe counsaillours, whiche immediatlye iudge peate to be broken as lightely, as others do desire that warres shoulde not beginne. When a prince in suche a case asketh counsaile, they ought forthwith not to aunswere him sodaynely: for thinges touching the warres, ought with great wisdom first to be considered, and then with as much aduiselement to be determined. Kinge Dauid neuer toke warre in hande, though he were very wise, but first he counsayled with God. The good Judas Mithath never entered into battayle, but first he made his prayer vnto almighty God. The Greekes and Romanes durst neuer make warre against their enemies, but first they would do sacrifice to the Goddes, and consulte also with their Oracles. The matters of iustice, the recreations of his person, the rewarde of the good, the punishment of the euill, and the deuisinge of rewardes, a Prince maye communicate with anye priuate man: but all matters of warre, he oughte fyrst to counsaile with God. For the Prince shall neuer haue perfitte victorie ouer his enemies, vntil he first committe the quarrell thereof vnto God. Those whiche counsaile princes (whiche it be in matters of warre, or in the affayres of peace) oughte alwayes to remember this sentence: that they geue him suche counsailes alwayes when he is whole in his chamber, as they woulde if they sawe hym at the poynte of death verie sicke. For at that instant, no man dare speake with flattery, nor burden his conscience through libertie.

When they entreate of warre, they whiche moue it, oughte to conside, that if it come not well to passe, all the blame shall

be imputed to their counsaile. And if that his substance be not presentlye able to recompence the losse, let him assure him selfe, that hereafter his soule shall suffer the payne.

Men oughte so muche to loue peace, and so muche to abhorre warre, that I beleue, that the same preparation a prest hath in his conscience with God before he beginne Masse, the same ought a counsaillour haue, before to his Prince he geueth counsaile in warre. Synce Princes are men, it is no merueille though they fele injuries as men, and that they desire to reuenge as men. Therefore, for this cause they oughte to haue wyse men of theyr counsailes, wherby they shoulde mitigate and allwage their greifes and troubles. For the counsaillours of princes, oughte neuer to counsaile thinges they beinge angrie, wherewith after they maye inselue be displeased, when they be pacified.

Folowinge oure mater, in counselling the goodes whiche are losse in losinge peace, and the euilles whiche encrease in wyninge warres, I saye, that amongst other thinges the greatest euill is, that in tyme of warre they locke vp closely all vertues, and sette at libertie all vices. During the tyme that princes and great Lordes maintain warre, though they be lordes of these realmes and dominions by right, yet for a trueth they are not so in dede. For at that tyme, the lordes desire moze to content their souldiers, and subiectes: then the souldiers and subiectes seke to contente these lordes. And this they do, because they through power might vanquish their enemies, and further, through the loue of their mony, relente theyr necessities. Cyther princes are gouerned by that wherunto by sensualitie they are moued, or els by that wherewith reason is contented. If they will folow reason, they haue to muche of that they possesse: but if they desire to folowe the sensuall appetite, there is nothinge that will contente them,

For as it is impossible to dye by all the water in the sea: so is it harde to satisfy the harte of man that is couetouse. If princes take vpon theim warres, saying that their ground is taken from them, and that they of they haue a conscience: let them beware that such conscience be not corrupted. For in the worlde there is no warre iustified, but for the beginninge thereof, the princes at one time or another, haue their conscience burdened. If princes take vpon them warre for no other cause, but to augment their state and dignitie, I saye that this is a vayne hope: for they consume and lose (for the most part) more in one or two yeares warres, then euer they gette agayne duringe their lyfe. If princes take vpon theim warre, to reuenge an iniury: as wel for this also it is a thing superfluous. For many go to the warres beinge wzonged only with one thing, & afterwards they retourn iniured with many. If princes take vpon them warre for noie other cause but to winne honoure, me thinketh also that that is an vnprofitable conqueste. For me thinketh that fortune is not a person so famous, that into her handes a man maye committe his honour, his goodes, and life. If princes take vpon them warre to leaue of them in the worlde to come some memorie, this no lesse then the other semeth to me vayne. For withoute doubte, if we examine the histories that be passe, we shall finde those to be more in nombre, whiche for beginninge of warres haue bene defamed; then those whiche for vanquishing of their enemies haue ben reuoumed. If princes take vpon theim warre, supposing that there are in another countrey more pleasures, and delighes, then in their owne: I saye, that to thinke this, procedeth of litle experience, and of lesse conscience. For to a prince there can be no greater shame, nor conscience, then to beginne warres in straunge realmes; to mainteine his owne pleasure and byces at home. Let no princes

deceiue them selues, in thinkinge that they are in straunge countreies moe thinges, then in their owne. For in the ende, there is no lande nor nation in the worlde, whete there is not winter and sommer, night and day, sickenesse and health, riches and pouertie, mirth and sadnesse, frendes and enemies, vicious and vertuous, alpye and deade. Finally I say, that in all partes al thinges agree in one, saue onely the dispositions of men, which are diuers. I would aske princes and greate lordes, the whiche do, and wil liue at their pleasures, what they want in their realmes, yea though they be litle. If they will hunt, they haue mountaines and parkes: if they will fishe, they haue ponds: if they will walke, they haue riuers: if they will refresh theim selues, they haue baynes: if they wil be merry, they haue musicians: if they delight in apparailing theim selues, they haue riche clothes: if they wyll geue, they haue moneye: if they desire women, they haue wines: if they wil take their rest, they haue their gardeins: if winter annoyne them, they haue whote countreies: and if they will eate, they want no meates. He that with peace hath al these thinges in his owne dominion, why then with warre doth he seke them in a straunge countrey? Men oftentimes flye from one countrey to another, not to be more deuoute, nor more vertuous: but to haue great libertie and oportunitie to haunt vices. And afterwarde when they see the endes of their dedes, they cannot reframe their hartes from sighes, since they might haue enioyed that at home with peate, whiche in straunge countreies they sought with trouble. There are so few thinges wherewith we are contented in the worlde, that if perchance a man finde in any one place, any one thinge wherewith to content him, let him beware that the deuill do not deceiue him, sayinge: that in suche another place he may recreate him self better. For whither so euer we go, we shal finde such penury, and wante of true pleasures,
and

and comfortes, and suche copie, and aboundance of troubles and tormentes, that for to comforte vs, in a hundred yeares we scarcely finde one, and to torment vs, we finde at every fote a thousande.

The xiii. Chapter.

The commodities vvhich come of peace.



DI M O, an aunciente kinge of Ponto, sayde vnto a philosopher whiche was with him: Tell me philosopher, I haue health, I haue honoure, and I haue riches, is there any thinge moze to be desired amongest men, or to be geuen of the Goddes in this life? The philosopher answered him. I se that I neuer sawe, and I heare that I neuer hearde. For healt, riches, and honoure, the goddes seldome times do trust in one person, his time is so shorte that possesse theim, that they haue moze reason to praye that they mighte be quitted of theim, then for to be proude for that they possesse them. And I tell the further king Dimo, it litle profiteth y the goddes haue geuen the al these things, if thou dost not content thy selfe therewith; the whiche I thinke they haue not geuen the, nor neuer will geue the. For the goddes are so iuste in deuising their gifts, that to them to whom they geue contentation, they take from them riches; and to those whome they geue riches, they take their contentation. Plutarke in the firste of his politike, putte this example, and he declareth not the name of this philosopher. **H**ow great a benefite is that,

whiche the goddes geue to princes and great lordes, in geuing theim their health, in geuyng theim ryches, and in geuyng theim honoure, if besides those he geueth them not contentation, I saye, that in geuing theim the goodes, he geueth theim trauaile and daunger. For if the trauaile of the poore be greater then the trauaile of the riche: without comparisson, the discontentation of the riche, is greater then the discontentation of the poore. Men lytle regarding their health, become sicke, lytle esteeming their riches, become poore, and because they knowe not what honoure is, they become dishonoured: I meane, that the rather princes, vntill such time as they haue ben well beaten in the warres, will alwaies lytle regarde peace. The day that you princes proclayme warres againste your enemies, you set at libertie all vices to your subiectes: Yet you saye your meaninge is not they shoulde be euill. I saye it is true. Yet all this toynded togethers, ye geue them occasion that they be not good. Let vs knowe what thinge warre is, and then we shall se, whether it be good or euill to folowe it. In warres they do nought els but kil men, robbe the temples, spoile the people, destroy the innocentes, geue libertie to theues, seperate freindes, and rapse strife: all the whiche thinges cannot be done withoute greate hurte of iustice, and scrupulositie of conscience.

The seditious man him selfe can not denaye vs, that if two Princes take vppon theim warres betwene theim, and that bothe of theim seme to haue righte, yet the one of theim onely hath reason. So that the Prince whiche shall fyghte agaynst iustyce, or defende the vniuste cause, shall not escape oute of that warre iustified: Not iustifyinge out iustified, he shall remaine condemned; and the condemnati on shall be, that all the losses, murders, burninges, hangings, & robberies which were done, in the one or other comon wealth, shall remaine

remaine vpon the accounte of him, whiche
toke vpon him the vniuersall warre. Although
he doth not finde an other prince, that will
demaunde an accompt of him here in this
lyfe, yet he shall haue a iust iudge, that will
in another place laye it to his charge. The
prince whiche is vertuous, and presumeth
to be a chrestian, before he begin the warre,
ought to consider what losse, or what pro-
fit will ensue thereof. Wherein, if the ende
be not prosperous, he loseth his goodes and
honour: and if he perchance attayne to that
he desired, peradventure his desire was to
the damage of the common wealth, and
then he ought not to desire it. For the desire
of one, shoulde not hurt the profit of all.

When GOD our lord did create princes
for princes, and people accepted them for
their lordes, it is to beleue, that the goddes
neuer commaunded suche thinges, nor the
men woulde euer haue accepted suche, if
they had thought, that princes woulde not
haue done that they were bounde, but ra-
ther that wherunto they were enclined. For
if men do folowe that, wherunto by their
sensualitie they are enclined: they do al-
wayes erre. Therefore if they suffer theint
selues to be gouerned by reason, they are
alwayes sure. And besides that, princes
shoulde not take vpon them warres, for the
burdeninge of their conscience, the mispen-
dinge of their goodes, and the losse of their
honour: they oughte also to remembre the
dutie that they owe to the common wealth
the whiche they are bound to kepe in peace
and iustice. For we others nede not gouer-
nours to searche vs enemies: but princes
whiche maye defende vs from the wicked.
The deuine Plato in his 4 booke de legi-
bus sayth, that one demaunded him, whye
he did exalt the Lidians so muche, and so
muche disprasse the Lacedemonians?
Plato answered: If I commend the Li-
dians, it is for that they neuer were occupi-
ed but in tillinge the fielde: and if I do re-
proue here the Lacedemonians, it is be-
cause

cause they neuer knewe nothinge els but
to conquere realmes. And therefore I saye,
that moze happier is that realme, where
men haue their handes with labouring full
of blyssers: then where their armes in figh-
tinge, are wounded with swordes. These
swordes whiche Plato spake are very true,
and woulde to god that in the gates and
hartes of princes they were written. Plin-
us in an epistle sayth, that it was a proverbe
muche vsed amonges the Greekes, that he
was kinge whiche neuer sawe kinge. The
lyke maye we saye, that he onely maye en-
ioye peace, which neuer knew what warre
ment. For simple and innocent thoughte a
man be, there is none but will iudge him
moze happie, whiche occupieth his handes
hercheise to drye the sweate of his browes:
then he that breaketh it to wipe the bloude
of his heade. The princes and great lordes
whiche are louers of warre, ought to consi-
der, that they do not onely hurte in general
all men, but also specially the good: and the
reason is, that although they of their owne
willes do abstaine from battaile, doe not
spoyle, do not rebell nor slepe: yet it is ne-
cessarie for them to endure the iniuries,
and to suffer their owne losse and damages.
For none are mete for the warre, but those
whiche litle esteeme their life, and muche
lesse their consciences. If the warre were
onely with the euill against the euill, and to
the hurt and hinderance of the euill, litle
shoulde they fele which presume to be good.
But I am sorie, the good are persecuted, the
good are robbed, and the good are slayne:
For if it were otherwise (as I haue sayde)
the euill against the euill, we woulde take
litle thought, both for the vanquishinge of
the one, and much lesse for the destruction
of the other. I aske now, what fame, what
honour, what gloie, what victorie, or what
riches in that warre can be wonne, where
in so manie good, vertuous, and wise men
are losse: There is such penury of the good
in the worlde, and suche neade of them in
the

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the common wealth, that if it were in our power, we with our teares ought to plucke them out of their graues, and geue them lyfe, and not to lead them into the warres, as to a shambles to be put to death. Plinie in one epistle, and Seneca in an other say: that when they desired a Romaine captaine that with his armie, he shoulde enter into a great daunger, whereof greate honoure shoulde ensue vnto him, and litle profite to the common wealth: He answered. For nothing would I enter into that daunger, if it were not to geue life to a romayne citizen. For I desire rather to go enuironned with good in Rome, then to goe loden with treasures home into my countrey. Comparinge prince to prince, and lawe to law, and the chrisitian with the pagan: without comparison, the soule of a chrisitian ought moze to be esteemed, then the lyfe of a Romaine. For the good Romaine obserueth it as a lawe to die in the warre: but the good chrisitian hath this precepte, to lyue in peace. Suetonius Tranquillus in the seconde booke of Ceasars saith, That amonge al the Romaine princes, there was no prince so well beloued, nor yet in the warres so fortunate, as Augustus was. And the reason hereof is, because that prince neuer began any warre, vntill by great occasion he was therunto prouoked. Of howe many princes, not ethnickes, but chrisrians, of whom we haue heard and reade all contrarie to this, which is: that were of such large conscience, that they neuer toke vpon them any warre that was iuste. To whome I sweare and promise, that since the warre which they in this worlde beganne was vniuste: the punishment which in an other they shal haue, is moost righteous. Xerxes kinge of the perses, beinge one daye at dinner, one brought vnto him very fayre and sauoury figges of the prouince of Athens: the which beinge set at the table, he sweare by the immortal goddess, and by the bones of his predecessors, that he would neuer eate figges

of his countrey, but of Athens, which were the best of all Grece. And that which by word of mouth king Xerxes sweare, by valiaunt dedes with force and shelde, he accomplished, and went forth with to conquere Gretia, for no other cause, but for to fill him selfe with the figges of that countrey, so that he began that warre, not onely as a light prince: but also as a bitious man. Titus Lilius sayth, that when the Frenchmen did tast the wine of Italy, immediately they toke their weapons, and wente to conquer the countrey, without hauinge any other occasiō to make warre against them: So that the Frenchmen for the lycorousnes of the pleasaunt wines, losse the deare bloude of their owne harrers. Kinge Antigonus dreamed one night, y he saw king Metridates with a sick in his hande, who lyke a molter dyd cut all Italy. And there fell suche feare to kinge Antigonus, that he determined to kill kinge Metridates: so that this wicked prince for crediting a light dreame, set all the worlde in an vproore. The Lumberdes beinge in Pannonia, hearde saye, that there was in Italy swete frutes, sauoury fleche, odoriferous wines, fayre women, good fishe, litle colde, and temperate heate: the which newes moued them not only to desire them, but also they toke weapons to go conquer Italy: So that the Lumberdes came not into Italy to reuenge them of their enemies, but to be there moze bitious and riotous. The Romaines and the Carthagions were frendes of longe time, but after they knewe there was in Spaine great mines of gold and siluer, immediately arose betwene them exceedinge cruell warres, so that those two puissant realmes, for to take eche from other their goodes, destroyed their owne propre dominions. The authours of the aboue said, were Plutarchus, Paulus Diaconus, Berolus, and Titus Lilius. A secrete iudgementes of God which suffreth suche thinges. A mercifull goodnes of the my Lord,

Lorde, that permittech suche thinges, that
 thorough the dreame of one Prince in hys
 chamber, another for to robbe the treasours
 of Spayne, another to fly the cold of Hun-
 gary, another to drinke the wines of Italy,
 another to eate figges of Grece, should put
 all the countrey to fire and bloude. Let not
 my penne be cruel agaynst al princes which
 haue vniust warres. For as Traianus said.
 Iuste warre is moze worthe, then sayned
 peace. I commend, approue, and exalte prin-
 ces, which are carefull and stout, to keape
 and defende that, which their prodscel-
 sours leste them. For admit that for dispo-
 selling them, hereof commeth al the breache
 with other Princes. Like howe muche hys
 enemy offendeth hys conscience for taking
 it: so much offendeth he his common wealth
 for not defendynge it. The wordes which
 the deuine Plato sated, in the firste booke of
 hys lawes, dyd satisfie me greatlye, which
 were these. It is not mete we should be to
 extreme, in commendynge those which haue
 peace: no; let vs be to behemente, in repro-
 unynge those which haue warre. For it may
 be nowe, that if one haue warre, it is to the
 ende to attaine peace. And for the contrary,
 if one haue peace, it shalbe to end to make
 warre. In dede Plato sayed very true. For
 it is moze worth, to desire shorte warre, for
 longe peace: then shorte peace, for longe
 warre. The Philosopher Chilo beinge de-
 maunded whereby a good or euill gouer-
 nour might be knowen, he answered,
 There is nothing whereby a good and euill
 man maye be better knowen, then in that,
 for the which they strue. For the tyrannous
 Prince offreth him selfe to dye, to take from
 another: but the vertuous prince traualleth,
 to defende his owne. When the redemer of
 this worlde, departed from this worlde he
 sayed not, I geue ye my warre, or leaue ye
 my warre: but I leaue ye my peace, & geue
 you my peace. Therof ensueth, that the good
 christian is moze bound to keape the peace,
 which Christ so muche commaunded: then

to inuente warre to retenge hys proper li-
 surye, which God so muche hated. If prin-
 ces dyd that they oughte to doe, and in this
 case would beleue me: for no tēporal thinge
 they shuld condescend to shed mans bloud,
 if nothinge els, yet at the leaste the loue of
 hym which on the crosse shed hys precious
 bloude, shoulde from that dyswade vs. For
 the good Christians are commaunded, to
 bewaile their owne sinites: but they haue no
 licence, to shed the bloud of their enemies.
 Finallye I desire, exhort, and further ad-
 mony the all princes, and greate lordes, that
 for hys sake that is prince of peace they loue
 peace, procure peace, keape peace, and lye
 in peace. For in peace, they shalbe ryche, and
 their people happye.

The.xiiii.Chapter.

A letter of Marcus Aurelius Empe-
 rour vtherin he describeth the
 dyscommodities of vwarre, and
 the vanitie of the triumphe.



Marcus Emperoure, vvy-
 sheth to the Cornelius hys
 faithfull frende, healte to thy
 persō, and good lucke agaynst
 all euill fortune. Within. 15.

daies after I came from the warre of Asia,
 whereof I haue triumphed here in Rome,
 remembryng that in times past thou were
 a companion of my traualles, I sent imme-
 dyately to certify the of my triumphes. For
 the noble hartes doe moze reioyce of their
 frendes ioy, then they do of their owne pro-
 per delighes. If thou wylt take paynes to
 come when I send to call the, be thou assu-
 red, that on the one parte, thou shalte haue
 much pleasour to se the great aboundance
 of riches, that I haue brought out of Asia,
 and to behold my receiuing into Rome: and
 another parte, thou canst not keape thy selfe

h. i.

from

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fro weeping, to se such a sorte of captiues, the
 which entred in befoze the triumphant cha-
 riores, bound, & naked, to augment to y con-
 querours most glozy, and also to them van-
 quished, to be a greater ignominy. Seldom
 times we se the sonne shine brighte al y day
 long, but first in the sommer there hath ben
 a miste, or if it be in the winter, there hath
 ben a frost. By this parable I meane, y one
 of the miseries of this worlde is, y we shal se
 few in this worlde, whiche now be prosper-
 * rous: but befoze haue had fortune, in some
 cases, very malicious. For we se by expery-
 ence, some come to be very pooze, and other
 chaunce to attaine to greate ryches: so that
 thzough y impouerishinge of those, y other
 become riche, & prosperous. The wepyng of
 the one, caused y other to laugh: so that if the
 bucket y is emptye aboue doth not go downe
 the other which is ful beneth canot come vp.
 Speaking therfore accoꝝding to sensualitye,
 thou wouldest haue ben glad y day to haue
 sene our triumphe, w the aboundaunce of ri-
 ches, y great nōber of captiues, y diuersity
 of beastes, the valiantnes of y captaines, the
 sharpnes of wittes which we bzought from
 Asia, & entred into Rome, wherby y migh-
 test wel know, the daungers y we escaped in
 that warre. Wherfore speaking the trueth,
 the matter betwene vs & our enemyes was
 * so debated, y those of vs y escaped beste, had
 their bodies sore wounded, and their baynes
 also almost w oute bloud. I let the wete, my
 Cornelius, y the Parthes are warlyke mē,
 and in daungerous enterpryses very hardy
 and bold. And whē they are at home in their
 countrey, euery one w a stout hart defendeth
 his house, & surely they do it lyke good mē, &
 ballaunt captaines. For if we other romay-
 nes, without reason, and thzough ambiciō,
 do go to take another mans: it is mete and
 iust, that they by force, do defend their owne.
 Let no man thzough the aboundaunce of
 malyce, or wante of wysedom enuy the ro-
 mayne Captaine, for anye triumphe that is
 geuen hym by his mother Rome: for surely

to get this onely one daies honoꝝ, he abdicat-
 eth his lyfe a M. times in y field. I wyl not
 speke al y I might say of thē y we lede forth
 to y warres, noꝝ of thē whiche we lene here
 at home in Rome, whiche be al cruel iudges
 of our fame: for their iugmēt is not by sight
 accoꝝding to equitye, but rather procedeth of
 malice, and enuy. Though they take me for
 a pacient man, and not farre oute of order,
 yet I let the knowe, my Cornelius, y there
 is no pacience can suffer, noꝝ hatte by ste-
 ble, to se many romaynes to haue such great
 entye, which (thzough their malicious tong-
 ges) passe not to backbite other mens tri-
 * umphes. For it is an old disease of euil mē,
 thzough malyce to backbite that with their
 tong: which thzough their cowardnes, they
 neuer durste enterpryse with their handes.
 Notwithstanding all this, ye must knowe,
 that in the warre you must first ofte hazard
 your life, & afterwarde to the discrecion of
 such tonges, commit your honoꝝ. But sely
 is so sely he, & the desiers of men so bayne,
 that moze for one bayne woꝝd, then for any
 profyte, we desire rather to get vaine glozy
 with trauaile: then to seke a good lyfe with
 rest. And therfore willynglye we offer our
 lyues now to greate trauaile, and payne
 onely, that among vaine men hereafter we
 maye haue a name. I sweare by the immor-
 tal gods, vnto the my Cornelius, y the day
 of my triumphe, where as to the seminge of
 al those of this worlde I went triumphing in
 the chariote opely: yet I ensue the, my hart
 wepte secretly. Such is the vanity of men,
 that thoughe of reason we be admonished,
 called, and compelled, yet we flye from her:
 and contrary, though we be rebuked, euyl
 handled, & despised of the worlde, yet we wyl
 serue it. If I be not deceiued, it is y prospe-
 rity of folish mē, & want of good iudgmētes
 y causeth mē to enter into others houses by
 force: rather then to be desirous, to be quiet
 in their owne, w a good wyl. I meane y we
 should in folowing vertue, soner be victor-
 * ous: then in haunteynge vices, be victors.

For speaking the truth, men which in all, and for all desire to please the world, must needs offer them selues to greate trauaile and care. O Rome, Rome, cursed be thy folly, and cursed be he that in the broughte vp so muche pryde, and be he cursed of men, and hated of gods, whiche in the hath inuented this pompe. For very fewe are they, that worthely vnto it haue attained: but infinite are they, whiche thorough it haue perished. What greater vandyty, or what equal lightnes can be, then that a Romayne captayne, because he hath conquered realmes, troubled quyet men, destroyed egyptes, beaten downe castels, robbed the poore, enriched tirauntes, caried away treasours, shed much bloud, made infinite wyddowes, and taken many noble mens liues, should be wardes with great triumphe of Rome receiued in recompence of all thys damage. Wylke thou nowe that I tell the a greater follye, whiche aboue all other is greatest: I let the wete, infinite are they that dye in the warres, and one onely carpeyth alwaye the glory thereof: so that these wofull and myserable men, though for their carcase they haue not a graue, yet one captayne goeth triumphing alone through Rome. By the immortal gods I sweare vnto the, & let this passe secretly, as betwene frendes, that the day of my triumphe, when I was in my triumphante chariote, beholding the miserable captiues laden with irons, and othermen carieng infinite treasours, whiche we had euill gotten, and to se the carefull widowes wepe for the death of their husbandes, and remembred so many nobleromaines, which lost their liues in Affrike: though I seemed to reioyce outwardly, yet I ensure h to wepe droppe of bloud inwardly. For he is no man borne in the world, but rather a fury, bred vp in hell among the furies, that can at the sorow of another, take anye pleasour. I know not in what case men ought to take the prince, or captayne, that cometh from the warre, & desireth to enter into Rome, for if he thinke (as

it is reason) on the woundes he hath in his bodye, or the treasours whiche he hath wasted, on the places that he hath burnt, on the perryls that he hath escaped, on the iniuries whiche he hath receiued, the multitude of men whiche vntill he are slaine, the frendes whiche he hath loste, the enemies that he hath gotten, the lytell rest that he hath enioyed, and the great trauaile that he hath suffred, in such case I say, that such a one with sorowful sighes ought to lament, and with bitter teares ought to be receiued. In this case of triumphinge, I neuer commend the Assirians, nor enuy the Persians, nor am content w the Macedonians, nor allow h the Caldians, or content me w the grekes. I curse the Troians, & cōdēne the Carthagiens, because that they proceeded not according to the zeale of iustice: but rather of h rage of pryde, to set vp triumphes, endamaged their countreys, & left an occasion to vndoe vs. O cursed Rome, cursed thou hast ben, cursed thou arte, and cursed thou shalt be. For yf the fatal destinies do not lye vnto me, and my iudgment deceiue me, and fortune fasten not the nayle, they shall se of the Rome in tyme to come, that whiche we others presently se of the realmes past. Thou oughtest to knowe, that as thou by tiranny hast made thy selfe lady of lordes: so by iustice thou shalt returne to be h seruaunte of seruauntes. O unhappy Rome, and unhappy againe. I retourne to cal the. Tel me I pray the, why art thou at this day so dere of merchandise, & so chepe of folly? Where are the auncient fathers, which builded the, & with their vertues honoured the, in whose stede, presently thou magnifyest so manye tirauntes, which with their vices deface the? Where are al those noble and vertuous barons, which thou hast nourished, in whose stede thou haste nowe so many vicious, and bacabondes? Where are those, which for thy lybertie dyd shed their bloude, in whose stede nowe thou haste those, that to byynge the into subiection, haue loste their

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type: Where are thy valyaunt Captaynes, which with suche greate trauayle dyd endeavour them selues to defend the walles from enemies, in whose stede haue succeeded those that haue plucked them downe, and peopled them with vices, and vicious: where are thy great prestes, the which dyd alwaye praye in the Temples, in whose stede haue succeeded those, whiche know not but to defile the churches, & with their wickednes, to moue the gods to wrath: Where are these so manye philosophers and oratours, which with their counsailes gouerned the, in whose stede haue nowe succeeded so manye simple, and ignorant, which with their malice do vndo the: O Rome, all those auncientes haue forsaken the, & we succede those which now are newe, and if thou knewest trulye the vertue of them, and diddest consider the lightnes of vs: the day that they ended their life, the selfe same daye, not one stone in the shuld haue ben lefte vpon another. And so, those felde shuld haue sandered of the bones of the vertuous: which nowe stinke of the bodies of the vicious. Peraduenture thou arte moze aunciente then Babilone, moze beautiful then Helia, moze riche then Carthage, moze stronger then Troye, moze peopled then Thebes, moze in circuite then Corinthe, moze pleasaunt then Tirus, moze fertile then Constantinople, moze high then Camea, moze vnuincible then Aquileia, moze prouided then Gades, moze enuyroned with Towres then Capua, & moze flourishing then Cantabria. We see, that all those notable cyties perished, for all their vertuous defendours, and thinkest thou to remayne being replenished with so muche vyce, and peopled with so manye vicious: O my mother Rome, take one thing for a warninge, that the gloire which now is of the, was firste of them, and the same destruction that was of them, shal hereafter lyghte vppon the, for suche is the worlde.

For, and euen as we presentlye see the troubles of them that be past: so shall

those that be to come, see ours that be present.

The.xv.Chapter.

The Emperour Marcus Aurelius declareth the order that the Romaynes vsed in setting forth me of vvarre, and of the outragious vylandes, vvhiche captaynes and souldiours vse in the vvarre.



VVyl now declare vnto the, my frend Cornelius, the order whiche we haue to set forth men of warre: & thereby thou shalt see, & great disorder that is in Rome. For in the olde tyme, there was nothinge moze looked vnto, nor moze corrected, then was the discipline of warre. And for the contrary, now a dayes, there is nothinge so dissolute, as are our men of warre. Welwes beinge afterwarde spred abroad through the empire, how & prince dyd take vpon him any new warre, immediately dyners opinions did engender amongest the people, & euery one iudged diuersely vpon the warre. Forasmuch as the one saied it is iust, & the prince & toke it vpon hym is iust. Others saied, & it is vniust, & that the prince which began it, is a traitor. The poore, & sedicious persons do allow it, to the ende they might go, & take other mens goods by force. The rich, and paciet do cōdemne it, because they woulde enioye their owne in quiet. So that they do not iustifye or cōdemne warre, accorde to the zeale of iustice: but accordinge to the litle or muche profite, that shall folowe them of that enterpryse. I commaund whiche am a Romayne Emperoure, warre to be proclaymed, because a cytie or prouince, hath rebelled:

They

They doe the ceremonies accustomed in rome (that is to wete) first to cal the prestes, then they goe immediatlye to praye to the immortal gods: for the romayne people neuer went to shed the bloud of their enemies in the warres, but first the prestes dyd shed the teares of their eyes in the temples.

The second, all the sacred Senate doeth goe to the temple of the God Iupiter, and there they sweare all with a solemne othe, that if the enemies (against whom they go) do require a new confederation with rome, or demaund pardon of their fautes committed: that (al reuengement laied on side) they shall not deny them mercye.

The third, the consul which is appointed for captaine of that warre, went to the high capitol, and there he maketh a solemne vow to one of the gods, whiche liketh him best, that he wyl offer him a certaine Jewell, if he returned victorious of the same warre: and also though the Jewell whiche he doeth promise be of great value, yet al the people are bound to paye it.

The. 4. is, that they set vp in the temple of Mars, the ensigne of the Eagle, which is the auncient romaine ensigne, and that is, that all the romaines take it for commaundment, that no spectacle nor feaste be celebrated in Rome, during the tyme that their brethren be in the warres.

The. 5. a pretor mounteth vp to the toppe of the gate of Salaria, and there he bloweth the trumpet to muster men of warre, and they bring forth the standards and ensignes to deuyde them amonge the Captaynes.

How fearefull a thinge is it to see, that so sone as the Captayne is enuproned with the ensigne, so sone hath he licence, to committe all euyls, and villanyes. So that he taketh it for a brauerie, to robbe the countreyes, whereby he passeth: and to deceiue those, with whome he practiseth. What liberty captaynes, and gouernours of warre haue to doe euyl, and to be euyl, it is verye manifest in those, whome they leade

in their companie. For the sonnes leaue their fathers, the seruantes their lordes, the Schollers their maysters, the officers their offyces, the prestes their Temples, the amaroise their loues, and this for none other cause, but that vnder the coulour of the libertyes of warre, their byces should not be punished by iustyce. O my frende Cornelius. I knowe not howe I shoulde begin to saye that, whiche I wyl tel the.

Thou oughtest to know, that after our men of warre are gone out of rome, they neither feare the gods neither honour the temples, they reuerce not the prestes, they haue no obedience to their fathers, nor shame to the people, dreade of iustice, neither compassion of their countrey, nor remember that they are children of Rome: and yet very fewe of them thinke to ende their lyfe, but that all shame layde asyde, they loue the condemned idelnes, and hate the iuste trauayle. Therefore harke, I wyl tell the moze, and though it seemeth muche I speake, I ensure the it is but lytel, in respecte of that they doe, for so muche as some robbe temples, others spread rumours, these breake the doores, and those robbe the Gods. Sometymes they take the free, sometymes they lose the bonde. The nightes they passe in playes, & dayes in blasphemyes, to daye they fighte lyke Lyons, to morrowe they flye lyke colwardes. Some rebell agaynst the Captaynes, and others flye to the enemies. Fynallye, for al good they are vnhable, and for all euyl they are mere. Therefore to tell the of their filthyenes, I am ashamed to describe them.

They leaue their owne wyues, and take the wyues of others, they dishonoure the daughters of the good, and they begile the innocent Virginnnes, there is no neybour but they doe couet, neyther hostesse but that they doe force, they breake their olde wedlocke, and yearelye seke a newe maryage: so that they doe all thinges what they list, and nothinge what they ought. Doest thou thinke presentlye my friend Cornelius that

fewe euyls in Rome, sicke so many euil women do go to the warre: Here for their sake, men offende the gods, they are traitours to their countrey, they denye their parentage, they doe come to extreme pouertye, they lyue in infamye, they robbe the goods of others, they walte their owne, they neuer haue quyet lyfe, neyther remayneth anye trueth in their mouthes: synallye, for the loue of them, oftentimes warre is moued agayne, and manye good men lose their lyues. Let vs leaue the reasons, and come to hystories.

Thou knowest ryght wel, that the greatest parte of Asia was conquered and gouerned, moze with the women amazones, then with any barbarous people.

That yonge, noble, and valyaunte Porro, king of Iudea, for want of men, and abundance of women, was overcome of the great Alexander Hannibal. The terrible captaine of the Carthagiens, was alwaies lord of Italy, vntill he did permit women to goe to the warre. And when he fell in loue with a maiden of Capua, they saw him immediately tourne his shoulders to Rome. If Scipio the Affricane had not shoured the Romaine armies of lechery, the inuincible Numantia had neuer bene wonne. The Captayne Silla in the warres of Mitridates, & the couragious Marius, in the warre of the Zimbres, had ouer their enemyes so manye victories, because in their campes they suffred no women. In the tyme of Claudius the Emperoure, the Tharentins and Capuans were verie mortall enemyes, in so muche as the one agayne the other pytched their campe, and by chaunce one daye in the campe of the Capuans, two Captaynes fell at varpaunce, because they bothe loued one woman, and when the Tarentines perceyued their dysension, immediately with their power gaue them the onset.

Whereof it ensueth, that throughe the naughtynesse of one euill woman, was

loste the libertye of that goodlye ctyte.

I had in this warre of Parthes, 16. thousande horsemen, and 24. thousande footemen, and 35. thousande women, and the dysorder in this case was so greates, that from the hoste I sent my wyfe Faustyne, and the wyues of dyuers other Senatours home to their houses, that they shuld keape the olde, and nouryshe the yong.

Dure forefathers led women in the olde tyme to the warre, to dresse meate for the whole, and to cure the wounded: but now we leade them, to the ende colwarades shoulde haue occasyon to be enemyes, and the valyaunte to be vicious. And in the ende, their enemyes doe breake their heades: but the women doe wounde their hartes. I wyl that thou knowe other thinges, my Cornelius, and they are, that the Gawles, the Vulcanes, the Flamminges, the Regios, the whiche are priestesses of the mother Scibilla, of the God Vulcano, of the God Mars, and of the God Iupiter, the feare of the Gods set asyde, leauynge their temples deserte, layeng of their honest garments, not remembryng their holye ceremonies, breakinge their streight bowes, an insynge nuber of them go to the campe, where they lyue moze dyshonestlye, then others: for it is a common thinge, that those whiche once presume to be solytarye, and shamesse, after that they are once fleshed: excede al other in shame and vice.

It is a dishonell thing, and also perillous to carpe priestesses to the warre: for their offyce is to pacysse the gods with teares, and not to threaten men with weapons. If perchance Prynces woulde saye, it is good to carpe priestesses to the warre, to offer sacrifices to the Gods. To this I aunswere, that the temples are builde to praye, and the fel-des for to fight: so that in one place, & gods would be feared, & in another, honored and sacrificed. In the yere of the foundacion of Rome, 315. the consull Vietro passed into Asia and wente agaynst the Palestines,

the which there rebelled agaynst the romaines, and by the waye, he passed by the tēple of Apollo, in the ile of Delphos; and as there he made a prayer vnto the god Apollo verpe longe, to the ende he would reuele vnto him whether he should retourne victorizous from Asia or not.

The oracle answered. Consul Vietro If thou wilt retourne victorizous from thy enemies, restore our priestes which thou takest from our temples. For we other goddesses will not: that the man whome we chuse for oure deuine seruice, ye others shoulde leade to the vyces of the worlde. If it be true (as it is true in dede) that the god Apollo sayd vnto the consull Vietro me thynketh it is no iuste thinge to condescende that Priestes shoulde go to loole them selues in the warre.

For as thou knowest my Cornelius without doubt greater is the offence that they committe in goinge to vndoe theim selues, then is the seruyce whych they do to princes beinge desirous to fight.

Let vs haue the priestes in the temples to praye, and let vs see howe the capteynes are wonte to gouerne theim selues, and in this case thou shalt finde that the day that the Senate doe appoynte a Senator for capytayne, they pꝛoue him if he can playe at the weapons in the Theater.

The Consull leadeth him to the high Capitoll with him, the Eggle is hanged at his byest, they call y purple vpo his shoul- ders, they giue him money of the common treasure, immediatlye he groweth into suche pryde, that forgettynge the po- uerty past whiche he suffered in his coun- trey, he thinketh one daye to make hym Emperour of rome.

It is a common thing that when fortune exalteth men of lowe estate to his degree they presume much and knowe lytle, and much lesse what they are worthe. So that if their feble force were coequall to the high minde, one alone shoulde suf-

fise to ouercome their ennemies, and also to winne many realmes.

The capytaynes haue taken a custome nowe in Rome, and they tell me that it is an innencion of Mauritanie, that is, that they tease their beardes, they curl the beares, they clippe their wordes, they chaunge theyr garmentes, they accompa- ny with murderers, they goe the moste part armed: they go verpe fast to seame fierce, & to cōclude, they litle effeme to be beloued, & take it great glozy to be feared.

And to thētente thou shouldest know my Cornelius, howe fearful they will, be I will recite the an histoꝛye whiche is, that I standynge one daye in Penthapo- lyn, a captaine of mine, I hearing hym & he not seig me, for so much as they would not let him do al y he would haue done in the house, he sayd vnto an hostice of his. The other villaines did neuer knowe cap- taynes of armies, therefore knowe it, if thou dost not knowe it mother, that the earthe doth neuer tremble, but when it is threathned with a romaine capytayne, & the goddess do neuer suffer the sunne to shine, but where we others are obeyed. Sins thou hast heard that he saide, heare also the valiauntnes that he hath done within short space after, the capteyne wēt vnto a battaile in Arabia, where he was the first that fledde, & left the standerd alone in the fiede, the which had almoste made me loose the battayle. But I in re- compence of his valiaunte dede, com- maunded to cut of his great head. For in giuing the onset vpon y enemies, the fl- inge of one man doth moze hurte: the fightinge of 2000. doth profite. I haue of- rentimes hard the emperour Traian my lord saye y the mē which in peace seame most fierce, in warres commoly are most cowardes.

It chaunceth that diuerse thinges are compassed for haupnge onelye a good eloquence, others for haupnge wythe crafts

crafte, others for beinge very diligent, others for openinge their purse, and truly this is the most and best that is occupied in Rome. But the assayes of warres do not consist, in talking many wordes before they friends: but in fighting manfully in the fiede against their enemies. For in the ende men most full of wordes are for the moste parte, cowardes in deedes. What wilt thou I tell the more, my Cornelius, of the iniuries which the captaines do in the cities, wherby they passe of the sclaunders which they rapse in the prouinces, where as they abide? I let the wote, that the lytle worme dothe not so much harme that gnaweth the wood, the mote the garmentes: the sparke vnto the toae, the locust vnto the corne, neither the wyuell to the garner, as the captaines do to the people, for they leaue no beast but they kill, nor orchyperde but they robbe, nor wine but they drinke, nor done house but they clime, nor temple but they spoile, nor chase but they hunt, no sedicion but they rapse, no villany but that they committe. And they do more than they ought to do, for they eate without meaninge to paye, and they will not serue oneles they be well payde: and the worst of all is, that if they paye them immediatlye they chaunge or playe it. If they be not payde, they robbe and rebell forthewith: so that wyth pouertye they are not content, and with ryches they ware vicious and insolent. The matter is now come to suche corruption, and there is at this daye men of warre in Rome so carelesse, that here no capteyne semeth, but an example of murderers, a sturrier by of sedicious persons, an enuyr of the good, a partaker with all euill, a chiefe of theues, a pirate of roners, and finally I do not saye, that they seame to be: but I do affirme, that they are the scourge of your vertuous, and refuge of the vtyous. I woulde not saye this, but yet notwithstandinge I

ought to saye it, because it is a thyng so farre out of order, and so muche to be laughed at: that these wicked men: though they are our samplar friendes, there is no prince that ruleth them, nor Justyce that correcteth them, nor feare that doth oppresse them, nor lawe that subdueth them, nor shame that refrayneth them, nor parentes that correcte them, nor punishment that doth abase them, nor yet death that doth ende them: but nowe as men whiche are without remedye, we let them eat of all.

The.xvi.Chapter.

Marcus Aurelius Emperour pursueth his letter vwith teares and neuer ceaseth to crye out for that Rome made vvarre vwith Asia, and the great damages vvhiche ensue to the people for that theyr Princes haue begonne vvarre vvyth straunge realmes.



VNE OR-tunate Rome, who was not wonte to haue suche euill lucke, but the order thou arte, the more vnluckye I see thee. For by writtinges we reade, and also with our eyes we see, that the more fortunate a city or person hath bene in the beginning, the more frowarde fortune is vnto him in the endinge. Trulye in those auncient times, & in those glorious wordes, I say when they were peopled wyth true Romaines, & not as nowe (the which haue no chyldzen but basterdes) the armes were as wel taughte & came fro Rome

as the philosophers, which were in the scoles of Grece. If the greke writings do not lye vnto me, Philippe the great, kinge of Macedony, for this is so renowned in histories, and his sonne the great Alexander for this was so fortunate in the warrs, that they had their armies so wel correct: that it rather seemed a senate which gouerned, then a campe which fought. In that we can gather out of Titus Lilius, & other writers, from the time of Quintus Cuminatus dictator, vntil the noble Marcus Aurelius, were the most prosperous times of the Romaine empire. For before kinges did traine, and afterwarde it was persecuted with tirantes. In these so happy times, one of the greatest felicities that Rome hadde, was to haue the warlike discipline wel corrected. And then Rome began to fall, when our armies began to do damage. For if those of the warre haue truce with vices, & others of the common wealth can not haue peace with vertues. Cursed be thou Asia, and cursed be the daye, & with the we had conquest. For we haue not sene the good & haue followed vs of thy conquest, vntil this present, the losse & damage whiche from hence came vnto vs, shalbe lamented in Rome for euer. Cursed Asia, we spent our treasures in the, & thou hast geuen to vs thy vices. In change of our valiaunt men, thou hast set vs thy fine mincons, we haue wonne thy cities, & thou triumphest of our vertues. We battered thy fortres, and thou haste destroyed our maners. We triumphed of thy realmes, and thou diddest cut the throtes of our friendes. We made to the cruel warre and thou conquerest from vs the good peace. With force thou were ours and with good will we are yours. We are vntillike Lordes of thy richesse, and sutt renaunder of thy vices. Finally thou Asia art a woful graue of Rome, and thou Rome art a filthy sinke of Asia. Sins our auncient fathers did content them selues with Rome alone, why shoulde not we their children contente our

selues with Rome, and Italye, but that we must go to conquer Asia, where we aduenced our honour and spent our treasure. If those auncient romaines, being as they were, so princely barons in life, and so valiaunte in fightinge, and so hardy to commaunde, dyd contente them selues with this litle bozder: why shoulde not we contente oure selues not beinge as they are, hauinge a realme riche & blisous? I knowe not what sonde roye tooke vs in the heade, to go conquere Asia, and not to contente our selues with Rome? Italye was not so poore of riches, nor so destitute of cityes, nor so disabated of people, nor so solytary of beastes, nor so vndecked wth buyldinges, nor so barrayne of good fruytes: but y^e of all these thinges we had more, then our fathers wished, & also more then we their children deserued. For me I would say, that it is for want of iudgement or aboundaunce of pryde, for vs to seke to excede our forefathers in seig^h norry: when we are not coequal vnto them in vertue. I was contented with all thinges of my forefathers, saue onely that they were a litle proude, and sedicious, and heren we their children do resemble them well.

For as muche as we are not onely proude and sedicious, but also cotterous and malicious. So that in vertuous thinges we go backward and in vnlawful woorkes, we go forwarde. What is become of the great victories that our forefathers had in Asia? What is become of y^e infinite treasure they haue robbed in y^e countrey? What is become of the great nombre of captiues, that they tooke in the warre? What is become of the straunge beastes that they sent into Italy. What is become of the riches which euery one brought home to his house? What is become of y^e valiaunt kinges which they toke in that conquest? What is become of the seafes & triumphes, wherewith they entred triumphing into Rome? What wilt thou I saye more vnto the in this case my Cornelius (but that al they which innited y^e warre

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are dead, all those whiche were in Asia are
 deade, all those whiche defended that coun-
 trey are deade, al those which entred trium-
 phinge into Rome are dead, and finally, al
 the riches and triumphes whiche our fa-
 thers brought from Asia, they and those in
 thort space had an ende, vntles the vices and
 pleasures, whereof we se no ende. ¶ If the
 valiaunt princes knew, what a thinge it is
 to inuente warres in straunge realmes,
 * what troubles they seke for their persons,
 what cares in their hartes, what trouble to
 their subiectes, what wast to their treasours,
 what pouertie to their frendes, what plea-
 sures to their enemies, what destruction of
 the good, what libertie of the euill, & what
 occasion they geue to strangers to speak,
 what vniuersall euill they sow in their na-
 turall countreies, and what euill poyson
 they leaue to their heires, I sweare by the
 faith of a good man, that if (as I fele it)
 princes did fele it, and as I taste it, princes
 did cast it, and also as I haue proued it, prin-
 ces did proue it, I do not sape that with ef-
 fusion of bloude I woulde take realmes by
 force; but also they offering the to me wth tea-
 res, I woulde not take theim willingly.
 For speakinge the truth, it is not the poine
 of valiaunt princes, for to susteine another
 * mans, to put their own in ieopardie. I aske
 nowe, what profit toke Rome of the con-
 quest of Asia? I admitte that it durste con-
 quere it, that it was hardie in winninge it,
 obstinate in fighting, and happy in taking
 it: should it therfore be fortunate in main-
 teininge it? In this case I say and aspyre,
 and of that I sape I do not repent me: that
 it is possible to take Asia, but it is a folye
 to presume to mainteine it.

¶ Doest thou not thinke it a greate folye,
 to presume to mainteine Asia, since there
 neuer cometh newes of a victorie, but
 that it is occasion of an other battayle, and
 that to susteine warre, they robbe al Italye.
 In Asia our money is spent, our children
 are perished: In Asia died our fathers, for

Asia they make vs paye tributes: In Asia
 the good herbes are consumed: Into Asia
 they cary all our corne: In Asia all the the-
 ues are nourished: From Asia cometh all
 the seditious persons: In Asia all the good
 do perishe: From Asia they sende vs al the
 byces: and finally, in Asia all our treasours
 are spent, and in Asia all our excellent Ro-
 maines are killed. And sith this is the ser-
 uice that Asia doth to Rome, why wil Rome
 continue warre with Asia? Other princes
 befoze vs haue conquered Asia, taken Asia,
 and possessed Asia: but in the ende, when
 they saue that it was a countrey where
 they feared not the goddes, nor acknowles-
 ged subiection to their princes, neither that
 they were apte to receiue lawes, they deter-
 mined to forsake theim, because they found
 by experience, that they neither wery theyr
 bodie with warres, neither wyne theyr
 hartes with benefites. Those Princes not
 beinge hardie, nor so bolde to susteyne Asia
 by lande, shoulde we others presume to suc-
 cour it by sea? They forsake it beyng neigh-
 bours, and will we others maintaine it be-
 inge strangers? In my opinion, Asia is a
 countrey, where all the valiaunt men haue
 employed their valiauntenes, where all the
 foolles haue proued their folye, where al the
 proude haue shewed their pride, where all
 the princes entred in with might, where al
 the trauntes haue employed their lyfe: but
 in the ende, it neither profiteth the one to
 will it, nor to the others to knowe it, and
 yet muche lesse to banquish it.

I knowe not the man that loneth Asia,
 that willet well to Asia, that speaketh
 well of Asia, or that fauoureth the thin-
 ges of Asia, since she geueth vs occasion to
 speake daylye, to sigh nightly, and to wepe
 hourly.

¶ If men attened to the secrete, to knowe
 the farall destinies, with the whiche the
 Goddes haue created Asia, they would not
 strive so muche in the conquest therof. For
 the goddes haue created it in suche a signe,
 that

that it should be a common pasture where all feede, a common market where all sel; a common Inn where all rest, a common table where all playe, a common house where all dwell, a common countrey where all remaine: and thereof it cometh, that Asia is despyred of manye, and gouerned of fewe. For beyng as it is a common countrey, euery manne wyll make it his owne propre. Peraduenture thou wilt thinke, my friend Cornelius, that I haue spoken nowe all the euilles of Asia, but harke, yet I will foorth the a newe question agayne. For accordinge to the domages, whiche haue folowed from Asia to our mother Rome, tyme shal rather want to write, then matter to declare. Not wythout teares I say, that whych I wyll saye, that there was neuer any romayne capteyne that dyd kylt 10. thousande Asians wyth the weapons he broughte into Asia: but that he losse a hundreth thousande romaynes wyth the byces they broughte to Rome. So that the Asians, by the handes of theyr enemyes dyed wyth honoure, and lefte vs romaynes aloue, full of theyr byces, wyth infamye. I aske nowe what they were that inuented to dine in common places, to suppe in secreet gardeynes, to apparayle the women as men in the theatre, to colour the fleshe of pysses with yellowe: to noynt the women as men in the bathe, the Senators goinge smelling to the Senate, Princes to be apparayled with purple agaynst the auneynt decre: to eate twice in the daye as the Traunte Dennys did, to kepe harlottes and concubines as they of Tyre doe, to speake blasphemyes agaynst the goddes whiche were neuer hearde of before in the empire. These sayde byces of Asia, Asia hath presentlye sente to Rome. At the same time when in those partyes of the Oriente, the warre was kyndeled: senne valiant capytaynes brought these

vices to Rome, whose names my penne shall pardon to tell, because theyr byle of sentences shoulde not darken their valyante deedes. Before that Rome conquered Asia we were ryche, we were patient, we were sober, we were wise, we were honeste, and aboue all we lyued contented.

But synce that tyme we haue geuen our selues to forget the pollicyes of Rome, and to learne the pleasour of Asia: so that now all vices maye be learned in Rome, as all sciences maye be hearde in Grece.

By the aboue reherfed, all warlike princes maye see, what profite they haue to conquer straunge realmes.

Let vs nowe leaue the byces, whych in the warres are recouered, and talke of money whiche the princes conet and loue.

And in this I saye, that there is no prince brought into so extreame pouertye, as he, whiche conquereth a straunge countrey.

Cornelius thou haste not seene, howe Princes more of a wyll then of necessitye do wasse theyr treasures: howe they demaunde that of an other mannes, and howe theyr owne dothe not suffice theym: they take those of churches, they seeke great losses, they inuente great tributes, they giue straungers occasion to speake, they make them selues hated of their subiectes, finallye they praye their subiectes, and humble theym selves to their ennemies.

Since I haue declared the domages of warre, I wylt nowe declare what the original of warre is.

For it is vnpossible that the phisition applye vnto the sicke agreeable medecyne, if he knowe not of what humour that sicknesse doth procede. Princes since they came of menne, are noryshed with menne, do counsaile with men, and liue with men, & to conclude, they are menne. Sometime through pride whiche aboundeth in theym: sometime counsaile whiche they want they the selues imagine, & other flatterers telleth, & though they

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they haue much in respect of other princes, yet they can do litle. Also they saye vnto them, that if their substaunce be great, their fame ought to be greater. Further they tel them, that the good prince oughte lytle to esteeme that he hath inherited of his predecessours, in respect of the great deale more he ought to leaue to his successors. Also they tell them, that neuer prince leste of him any greate memozye, but inuentinge some cruell warre against his enemye. Also they tell them, that the houre that one is chosen emperour of Rome, he may boldlye conquere all the whole earth. These vayne reasons beyng hearde of the princes, after wardes as their fortune is base, and theyr myndes high, immediately they desie their enemyes, they open their treasures, they assemble great armies: and in the ende of all the goddes suffer, that they thinkinge to take an other mannes goodes, they waste and lose their owne. O princes, I know not who doth deceiue ye, that you whiche by peace may be riche, and by warre will be pooze? O princes, I knowe not who doeth deceiue you, that you which may be loued, doe seke occasions to be hated. O princes, I knowe not who doth begile ye, that ye whiche maye enioye a sure life, do aduenture youre selues to the mutabilitie of fortune. O princes, I knowe not who doth deceiue you, that you so litle esteeme and wey your owne haboundaunce, and so greatlye set by þ want of others. O princes, I know not who doth deceiue you, that all hauinge nede of you, you shoulde haue nede of others. I let the to wete my Cornelius, though a prince be more quicke and carefull then all others his predecessours haue bene in Rome: yet it is vnpossible, that all thinges touchinge warre shoulde succede vnto him prosperously. For in the greatest nede of warre, either he wanteth money, or his subiectes do not succour him, or time is contrary vnto him, or he findeth perillous passages, he lacketh artillarge, or the cap-

taynes rebel, or els succour commeth to his aduersaries, so that he seeth him selfe so miserable, that thoughtes do more oppresse his harte, then the enemyes do harme his lande. Though a prince had no warre, but for to suffer men of warre, yet he ought to take vpon him no warre. I aske the my Cornelius, what trauaile so greate to his person, or what greater damage to his realme can his enemyes do, then that whiche his owne men of warre do? The enemyes, to do the worste they can, will but robbe our frontiers, but our men of warre do robbe all the whole countrey. The enemyes we dare, and may resist, but to ours we cannot, nor dare not speake. The enemyes, the worste they can do, is once in a moneth, to robbe and runne their wayes: but ours dayly do robbe, & remayn still. The enemyes feare their enemyes: only but ours do feare their enemyes, and haue no pittie on their freindes. The enemyes, the further they go on, the more they diminish: but ours the further they go, the more they encrease. I knowe no greater warre that princes can haue, then to haue men of warre in theyr realmes. For as experience doth shew vs, before the goddes they are culpable, to princes importunate, and to the people troublesome: so that they liue to the damage of all, and to the profite of none. By the God Mars I sweare vnto the (my frende Cornelius) as he maye directe my handes in the warre, that I haue no complayntes in the senate, of the thestes whiche my captaines do committe in Illiria, then of all the enemyes of the Romaine people. Both for that I say, and for that I kepe secret, I am more afraid to create an ensigne of two hundred men of warre, then to geue a cruell battail to thirty thousand men. For that battayle, fortune (good or euil) forthwith dispatcheth, but with these I can be sure no time of all my lyfe. Thou wilt saye vnto me (Cornelius) that since I am Emperour of Rome, I should remedie this since I knowe it. For that

that Prince whiche dyssembleth with the faulte of another, by reason we will condempne him, as if it is his owne. To this I aunswer, that I am not mighty ynough to remedy it, except by my remedy there shuld spring a greater inconuenience. And synce thou haste not bene a Prince, thou couldst not fall into that I haue, nor yet vnderstand that which I say. For princes by their wisdom, knowe many thinges, the whiche to remedy, they haue no power. So it hathe bene, so it is, so it shalbe, so I founde it, so I keape it, so wyl I leaue it them, so I haue read it in bookes, so haue I sene it with my eyes, so I heard it of my predecessours, and finally I saye, so our fathers haue inuented it, & so wil we their children susteine it, and for his euyl, we wyl leaue it to oure heires. I wyl tel the one thing, and imagine that I erre not therein, whiche is, consideringe the greater damage, and litel profite, which the men of warre doe bringe to oure common wealth: I thinke to doe it and to susseine it, either it is the folly of men, or a scourge geuen of the gods. For there can be nothinge moze iust, then for the gods to permit, that we fele that in our owne houses: whiche we cause others in straunge houses to lament. Al those thinges I haue wyrtien vnto the, not for that it skilleth greatly that thou knowe them: but that my harte is at ease to viter them. For as Alcibiades saide, the chestes, and the hartes, ought alwaies to be open to their frendes. Panulia my secretary, goeth in my behalfe to visite that lande, & I gaue him this letter to geue the, with two horses, wherewith I thinke thou wylt be contented, for they are gennettes. The weapons, and ryches, whiche I toke of the Parthes, I haue nowe deuyded, notwithstandinge I sente the. 2. Chariottes of them. By wyse Faustine greteyth the, and I sende a ryche glasse for thy daughter, and a iewel with stones for thy Sister. No moze, but I beseeche the Gods to geue the a good lyfe and me a good deathe.

The xvii. Chapter.

* The admonition of the auctour to Princes and greate Lordes to thintent that the more they growe in yeares, the more they are bound to reframe from vices.



VLVS Gelius in his booke De noctibus Atticis sayeth, that there was an auncient custome amongst the Romaynes, to honour and haue in greate reuerence aged men. And this was so inuolate a lawe amongst them, that there was none so noble of bloude, and lynage, neyther so puiſaunte in ryches, neyther so fortunate in battayles, that shoulde goe before the aged men, which were loden with whyte heares: so that they honoured them as the Gods, and reuerenced them as their fathers. Amongst others, the aged men, had those prebeminences, that is to wete, that in feastes they sat hyghest, in the triumphes they wente before, in the Temples they dyd sitte downe, they spake to the Senate before all others, they had their garmentes furred, they myghte eate alone in secreate, and by their only word, they were credyted as witnesses: Fynally I saye, that in all thinges they serued them, and in nothinge they annoyed them. After the people of Rome began warre with Asia, they forsoke all their good Romayne customes immediatly.

And the occasyon hereof was, that sith they had no men to susteyn the common

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wealthe, by reason of the greate multitude of people, whiche dyed in the warre: they ordeyned, that all the yonge men shoulde marie, the yonge maydes, and all the wydowes, all the free, and the bonde, and that the honoure whiche had bene done vntyll that tyme vnto the olde men, from henceforth shoulde be done vnto the married men, though they were yonge. So that the moste honoured in Rome was he, not of moste yeares, but he that had most children. This lawe was made a lytle before the firste battayle of Carthage.

And the custome that the married men were more honoured, then the olde men, endured vntyll the tyme of the Emperour Augustus, whiche was suche a frende of antiquities, that he renewed all the walles of Rome with new stones, and renewed all the aunyciente customes of the common wealthe. Licurgus, in the lawes whiche he gaue to the Lacedemonians ordeyned, that the yonge men passinge by the olde, shoulde doe them greate reuerence: and when the olde dyd speake, then the yonger shoulde be silent.

And he ordeyned also, that if anye olde man by casualtye dyd lose his goods, and came into extreame pouertye, that he shoulde be sustented of the common wealthe: and that in suche sustentacion, they shoulde haue respecte not onely to succoure hym for to sustent hym, but further to geue hym to lyue competentlye. Plutarke in his Apothegmes declareth, that Cato the Censourer visitynge the corners of Rome, found an olde man sittynge at his doore weeping, and sheddynge many teares from his eyes. And Cato the Censourer demaunding him why he was so euill handeled, and wherefore he wepte so bitterly, the good old man answered hym.

¶ Cato, the Gods being the onely comfortours, comforte the in all thy tribulations, since thou arte readye to comforte

me at this wofull howze. As well as thou knowest that the consolacions of the harte are more necessarye, then the phisike of the bodye: the whiche beinge applyed sometymes doeth heale, and another tyme they doe harme. Beholde my scabed handes, my swollen legges, my mouth withoute teethe, my peeled face, my white beard, and my balde heade: for thou beinge (as thou arte) discrete, shouldest be excused to aske me, why I wepe.

For men of my age, though they wepe not for the lytel they fele: yet they ought to weape, for the ouer muche they lyue. The man whiche is loden with yeares, turmented with dysleases, pursued with enemies, forgotten of his frendes, dyspyed with mishappes, and with euill wyl and pouerty: I knowe not why he demaundeth long life: For there can be no sharper reuengemente of vyces, whiche we commit: then to geue vs longe lyfe.

Though nowe I am aged, I was yonge, and if anye yonge man shoulde do me anye iniurye, truly I woulde not desire the gods to take his lyfe, but that they would rather prolonge his lyfe. For it is a great petye, to heare the man (whiche hath liued long) accounte the troubles whiche he hath endured. Knowe thou Cato, if thou dost not knowe it, that I haue lyued .77. yeares. And in this tyme, I haue buryed my father, my grandfather, two Aunces, and .5. vnckles. After that I had buryed .9. sisters, and .11. Brethren, I haue buryed afterwarde, two legitimate wyfes, and .5. bond women, whiche I haue had as my lemmans.

I haue buryed also .14. chyldren, and .7. married daughters, and therewith not contented, I haue buryed .37. Nephewes, and .15. Pieces, & that which greaueth me moste of all is, that I haue buryed two frendes of mine, one which remayned in Capua, & the other which was resident here at Rome. The death of whō hath greued me more, then all those

those of my alliance and parentage. For in the worlde there is no lyke losse to that, where a man loseth hym whome entyrellye he loneth, and of whome also he is derelye beloued. The fater destinyng oughte to content them selues, to haue annoyed my house with so manye myffortunes. But after all this, and aboue al this, they haue leste me a wicked nephewe, which shal be mine heire, and they haue leste vnto me, that al my lyfe I shal lament. O Cato, for that thou owest to the common wealch I doe desire the, and by the immortall gods I doe coniure the, that since thou arte a vertuous Romayne, and censor of the people, that thou proude for one of these twothings, that is to wete, that this my Nephewe doe serue me, or els ordeyne that I dye forthewith. For it is a greate crueltie, that those doe pursue me whiche are alieue, since it is now 40. yeaeres that I ceased not to bewaile the deade. Cato beinge well enfourmed of that the olde man had tolde hym, and since he founde al that true, which he spake, he called vnto his presence the yonge Nephew, and sated vnto him these wordes. If thou were such a child as thou oughtest to be, thou shuldest excuse me of payne, and thy selfe of tranayle. But since it is not so, I praye the take that patientlye, that I shal commaund the: and be thou assured, that I wyl not commaund the anye thing, that shalbe against iustice. For the vicious yonglinges (as thou arte) ought to be more ashamed of the yowthfulnes they haue committed: then for the punishmente which is geuen vnto them.

Firste I commaunde thou be whipte, because thou arte dysobedyent, and troublesome to thy grandefather.

Secondlye, I commaunde that thou be banished the limittes of rome, because thou arte a vicious yong man.

Thirde, I commaund that of all the goods thou hast enherited, thou shalt be disenherited: because thou doste not obeye thy graundefather.

And the cause why I geue suche seueres sentence is, to the ende that from henses forwarde, the yonge shal not disobey the aged, and also that those whiche haue enherited greate treasours, shal not thinke that men shall permit them to be more vicious, then others. Phalaris the tiraunt, wyprynge to a frend of his which was very aged, said these wordes: the whiche rather semed of a Philosopher, then of a tiraunte. I haue merueilled at the, my frend Verto, to knowe as I do, that in yeaeres thou arte very aged, and in woordes very yonge: and also it greueth me, that thou hast losse the credyte of knowledge in the scholes. It greueth me more, that through the, pprisedge shuld be lost, which the old men haue accustomed to haue in Grece: that is to wete, that all the theues, all the persured, and all the murderers were more sure, when by whiche heares they semed to be old: then whē they reteired to the altars of the temples. O what goodnes, O what wysedome, what valiauntnes, and what innocency ought the aged mentes haue in the aunciente tyme: since in Rome they honoured them as gods, and in Grece they ppriledged the whiche heares as temples. Plinie in an epylle he wrote to Fabius saith, that Pirrus kinge of the Epirotes, demaunded a philosopher, whiche was the best cotype of the worlde: who aunswered. The beste cotype of the worlde, is Noherda, a place of 3. hundred fiers in achaia: because all the walles are of blacke stonnes, and all those whiche gouerne it, haue hoazye heades.

And further he sayed, Who be vnto the Rome, Who be vnto the Carthage, Who be vnto the Numancia, Who be vnto the Egypte. Cypres whiche counthe them selues for the beste of the worlde, wherof I am of a contrayre oppynion.

For they auance them selues to haue whyte walles, and are not ashamed to haue yonge Senators. This Philosopher sayde verye well, and I thinke no

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man wyll saye lesse then I haue sayde.

Of this worde Senex, is derpyed the name of a Senatoure, for so were the gouernours of Rome named, because the firste kynge (that was Romulus) chose a hundreth aged men to gouerne the common wealthe, and commaunded, that all the other Romayne yowthe shoulde employe them selues to the warre.

Since we haue spoken of the honoure whiche in the olde tyme was genen to the auntyent men, it is reason we knowe now, from what yere they counted men aged, to the ende they shoulde be honoured as aged men. For the makers of lawes, when they had establisshed the honours, whyche oughte to be done to the aged: dyd aswell ordeyne, from what daye and yere, they shoulde begin. Dyuers auntyent Philosophers dyd put .6. ages, from the tyme of the birthe of man, tyl the houre of deathe.

That is to wete, chyldehode, which lasteth tyl .7. yeaeres. Infancye whiche endureth vntyll .17. yeaeres. Yowthe whiche continueth tyl .30. yeaeres. Mans estate whiche remaineth till .55. yeaeres. Age whiche endureth til .lxxviij. yeaeres. Croked age which remaineth til death. And so after man had passed .lvi. yeaeres, they called hym aged.

Aulus Gellius in hys .10. booke, in the xlvij. Chapter. sayeth, that Tullius Hostilius (who was kynge of the Romaynes) determyned to counte all the olde, and yonge, whiche were amongest the people: and also to knowe, whiche shoulde be called infantes, whiche yonge, and whiche old. And there was lytle dyfference amongest the Romayne Philosophers, and in the ende it was decreed by the kynge, and the Senate, that men tyl .xviij. yeaeres shoulde be called infantes, and tyl .xviij. shoulde be called yonge, and from xviij. ywardes, they shoulde be called olde.

If we wyll obserue the lawe of the Romaynes, we knowe from what tyme we

are bounde to call and honour the aged men. But addynge hereunto, it is reason that the olde men knowe, to what prowesses, and vertues they are bounde, to the ende that with reason, and not with saynyng, they be serued. For speakynge the trueth, if we compare duty, to duty, the olde men are moze bounde to vertue: then the yonge to serupce. We can not deny, but that all states of nations (greate and smal, yonge and olde) are bounde to be vertuous: but in this case, the one is moze to be blamed, then the other.

For oftentymes if the yonge do offende, it is for that he wanteth experyence: but if the olde man offende, it is for the abundance of malysce. Seneca in an Epistle sayde these wordes. I let the wete my frend Lucillus, that I am verie muche offended, and I doe complayne not of any frende, or foe: but of my selfe, and none other.

And the reason why I thinke thus, is that I see my selfe olde in yeaeres, and yonge in vyces: so that lytle is that wherein I haue serued the Gods, and muche lesse is that I haue profyred men. And Seneca sayeth further, he whiche prayseth hym selfe mosse to be aged, and that woulde be honoured for being aged: oughte to be temperate in eatynge, honest in apparayle, sober in drynkyng, softe in wordes, wyse in counsaile, and to conclude, he ought to be very paciente in aduersyty, and farre from vyces whiche attempte hym. Moztly of prayse is the greate Seneca, for these wordes: but moze woztly shall the old men be, if they wyll conforme theire wozkas accor- dyng to those wordes.

For if we see them abandone vices, and geue them selues to vertues: we wyll bothe serue them, and honour them.

The.xviii.Chapter.

That princes vwhen they are aged,
should be temperate in eating,
sober in drinke, modest in
apparell, and aboue all, true in
their communication.



It is consonant to
the counsaile of Seneca,
that the aged shoulde be
temperate in eatynge,
whiche they ought to do,

not only for the reputa-
tion of their persons: but also for the preser-
uation of their liues. For the old men which
are drunke, and amorous, are persecuted
with their owne diseases, and are defamed
by the tonges of others. That whiche the
ancient men shoulde eate (I meane those,
which are noble, and vertuous) ought to be
very cleane, and wel dressed, and aboue all,
that they take it in reason and tyme: for o-
therwise, to muche eating of dyuers thinges,
causeth the yonge to be sicke, and enfor-
ceth the old to dye. Young men, though they
eate dishonestly, very hastily, and eate spea-
king, we can do no lesse but dissemble with
them: but the olde men, whiche eate muche,
& hastily, of necessity we ought to reprove
them. For men of honoz ought to eate at the
table, with as great gravity: as if they were
in any counsaile, to determyne causes.

It is not my intencion, to perswade the fe-
ble olde men not to eate, but to admonishe
them to eate no more then is necessarie.
We doe not prohibyte them to eate delicate
thinges, but to beware of superfluous
thinges. We doe not counsaile them to
leauē eatynge, hauninge nede: but to with-
drawe them selues from curiosities. For
though it be lawfull for aged men to eate

sufficent, it is not honest for them to eate
to overcome their stomakes. It is a shame
to wyte it, but more shame oughte they to
haue whiche doe it, whiche is, that the goods
whiche they haue wonne, and inheried
by their predecessors, they haue eaten,
and drunken: so that they haue neyther
boughte house, wyne, nor yet maryed anye
daughter, but they are naked, and their
poore chyldren goe to the Pauernes, and
Innes: and the myserable fathers, to the
Hospitalles, and churches. When any man
commeth to povertye, for that his house is
burned, or his shyppe drowned; or that
they haue taken all from hym by proces, or
that he hath spent it in pleadyng againste
his enemye, or anye other inconuenience
is come vnto hym; me thinketh we all are
bounde to succoure hym, and the harte hath
compassyon to beholde hym: but he that
spenderh it in apparayle not requysyte, to
seke delycious wyne, and to eate delicate
meates, to suche one I woulde saye, that
the povertye he suffereth, is not sufficient
for his desertes. For of all troubles there
is none so greate, as to see a man suffer
the cupell; whereof he hym selfe hath bene
the occasyon. Also accordynge to the coun-
saile of Seneca, the ancientes oughte to
be well aduertysed, in that they shoulde
not onely be temperate in eatynge, but al-
so they shoulde be sober in drynkynge: and
this both for the preseruatiō of their health,
and also reputation of their honestye.

For if the olde Philistons doe not de-
celue vs, humane bodies doe dye and cor-
rupte, because they drinke superfluously,
and eate more then nature requireth.

If I shoulde saye vnto the olde men, that
they shoulde drynke no wyne: they myghte
tell me, that it is not the counsaile of a
Christyan. But presuppose they oughte
to drynke, and that for no oppynyō they
should leauē it: yet I admonyshe, exhorte,
and desire them, that they drinke lytel, and
that they drynke very temperate,

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For the dysordinate, and outragious
drinking, causeth yonge men to be drunke,
and the olde men bothe drunke and foolish.
Howe muche authoritie losse they, and
what grappye doe honourable and aun-
cunte men lose, whiche in drynkinge are
not sober. Whiche semeth to be true, for
asmuch as the man being loden with wine,
though he were the wysest in the world, he
shoulde be a verie foole, that shoulde take
counsayle of such one in his affaires.

Plutarke in a booke whiche he made
of the fortune of the Romaynes sayed: that
in the senate of Rome, there was an aun-
cient man, who made greate exclamacions,
that a yonge man had in such sorte dysho-
noured hym, that for the insurpes he had
spoken, he deserved deathe.

And when the yonge man was called,
for to aunswere to that he had sayed vnto
hym, he aunswered. Fathers conscrip-
te, though he seme yonge vnto you, yet I am
not so yonge, but that I knowe the father
of this olde man, who was a vertuous and
noble Romayne, and somewhat a kinne to
me. And I seinge that his father had got-
ten much goods sittynge in the warres, and
also seinge this olde man spendynge them
in eatynge and drynkinge: I sayed vnto him
one daye. I am verie sorre my lord, and
uncle, for that I heare of thy honour in the
market place: and am the more sorre, for
that I see done in thy house, wherein we
saue fiftie men armed before in oneoure,
and we nowe see a hundreth knaves made
drunke.

And worse then that, as thy father shew-
ed to all those that entered his house
the ensignes he had wonne in the warres:
so nowe to those that enter into thy house,
thou shewest them dyuers sortes of wyues.
My uncle comeplayned of one, but in
this case, I make the playnetyfe iudge, a-
gainste me the defendaunte.

And I woulde by the immortal Gods, he

deserved no more paine for his workes: then
I deserue by my wordes.

For if he had bene wyse, he woulde haue
accepted the correction whiche secretlye I
gaue hym: and had not come openly, to
declare his faultes in the Senate. The
complaynte of the olde man beinge heard
by the Senate, and the excuse in lyke ma-
ner of the yonge man, they gaue iudges-
mente, that they shoulde take all the Gods
from the olde man, and prouyde hym of a
tutoure, whiche shoulde gouerne hym, and
his house.

And they commaunded the tutoure, that
from hence forthwarde, he shoulde not gene
hym one cuppe of wyne, since he was no-
ted of drunkennesse. Of truthe the sen-
tence whiche the Senate gaue, was very
iuste. For the olde man, whiche geneth
hym selfe to wyne, hath asmuche nede to
haue a gouernour, as an infante, or a foole.

Laertius made a booke of the feastes of
Philosophers, and declareth sunnzy aun-
cunte bankettes, amouge the whiche he
putteth one, where were assembled many
greate Philosophers. And admitte that the
meates were meane, and simple: yet the
hydden gestes were sage.

And the cause why they dyd assemble,
was not to eate: but to dyspute of some
graue doctrynes, whereof the philosophers
dyd somewhat doute. For in those dayes,
the greater the Stoikes and the Peripate-
tiques were in number: so muche the more
were the Philosophers detribed amongst
them selues. When they were so assem-
bled, tralye they dyd not eate, nor drynke
oute of measure: but some pleasaunte ma-
ter was moued betwene the maysters and
the schollers, betwene the yonge and the
olde, that is to wete, whiche of them coulde
declare anye secreete of Philosophye, or any
profound sentence. Whyppe were such
feastes, and no lesse happye were they, that
theyer were bidden.

But

But I am fory, that those which now live byd and those that are bidden, for a trowthe are not as those auncientes were. For there are no feastes now adayes of philosophers, but of gluttons, not to dispute, but to murmur, not to open doubtful thinges, but to talke of the vices of others, not to confirme auncient amities, but to beginne new dissensions, not to learne anye doctrines, but to approue some nouelty. And that whiche worst of all is, that the old sitte at the table with the yong, not on him which hath spoken the moste grauest sentence: but of him which hath dronke most wine, & hatherinsed most cuppes. Paulus Diaconus in the hystoꝛy of the Lumbardes declareth, that 4. old Lumbardes made a banquet, in the which the one dranke to the others yerres, and it was in this maner. They did desire to drinke, 2. to 2. and after ech man had declared how many yerres olde he was: the one dranke as manye times as the other was yerres old, and likewise his companion pledged him. And ech one of these 4. companions, had at the least 58. yeares: so that a man knoweth not what they did eat in this banquet, eyther litle or much: but we knowe that he that dranke least, dranke .8. cuppes of wine.

Of this so cruel custome, came the Gothes to make this lawe, which of many is redde and of fewe vnderstanded, where it sayeth

¶ We ordeyne and commaund, on payne of death, that no olde man drinke to the others yerres being at the table. That was made, because they were so much geuen to wine, that they dranke more oft, then they did eate morselles. The Princes and great Lordes, which are now olde, oughte to be very sober in drynkinge, synce they oughte greatly to be regarded and honoured of the yonge.

¶ For speaking the truthe, and with liber-

tye, when the olde man shall be overcome with wine, he hath moze necessitye that the yonge man leade him by the arme to his house: then that he should take of his cappe and hit him, or speake vnto him with reuerence.

¶ Also princes and great Lordes, ought to be very circumspecte that when they become aged, they be not noted for yonge, in the apparayle whiche they weare: For although that for wearinge a fine and riche garment, the prince doth not enriche or enpouertise his common wealth: yet we can not denye, but that it doth much for the reputation of his persone.

¶ For the vanities and curiosities of garments, doth shew great lightnes of minde. According to the varietee of ages, so ought the diuersitie of apparayle to be, whiche seemeth to be very cleare. In that the yonge maydes are 2: tyed in one sorte, the marryed women of an other sorte, the widowes of an other.

And likewise I woulde saye, that the apparayle of children oughte to be of one sorte, those of yonge men of an other, and those of old men of an other, whiche ought to be moze honeste then all.

¶ For men of hoare heades, ought not to be adourned with precious garments: but with vertuous woꝛkes. To go cleanly to be wel apparayled and to be wel accompanied we do not forbidde the olde, especially those whiche are noble, and valyaunt men: but to goe to fine, to goe with greate traynes, and to go very curious, we do not allowe. Let the olde men pardone me, for it is not the office but of yonge foolcs: For the one sheweth honesty, and the other lightnes, It is a confusion to tell it, but it is greater shame to do it, that is to weare, that manye olde men of our tyme take no small felicity to put caules on their heades, euery man

sayre, to weare seluels on their neckes, to laye their cappes with agglettes of golde, to seke out diuers inuentions of metalles, to loade their fingers with riche ringes, to go perfumed with odiferous sauoures, to weare new fashioned apparayle, and finally I saye, that though their face be full of wrinckles, they can not suffer one wrinckle to be in their gowne. All the auncient historians, accuse Quintus Hortensis the Romaine, for that euerye time when he made him selfe ready, he hadde a glasse before him: and as much space and time had he to streighten the plattes of his gowne: as a woman had, to trimme the heares of her head. This Quintus Hortensis being Consul, going by chaunce one day through Rome, in a narrow street met with the other Consul, where through the streightnes of the passage the plights of his gowne were vndone: vpon the which occasion, he complayned to the senate of the other Consul, that he had done him a great insurpe, saying that he deserued to lose his life. The authour of all this is Macrobius: in the third booke of the Saturnales. I can not tell if I be deceiued, but we may saye, that all the curiositie that olde men haue to go fine, wel appareled, and cleane, is for no other thing, but to shake of age, and to pretend right to youthe. What a grieve is it to see diuers auncient men, the which as ripe figges do fall: and on the other side, it is a wonder to see how, in their age they make them selues yonge. In this case I saye, woulde to god we mighte see them hate bites, and not to complaine of the yeares which they haue. I pray and exhorthe princes and great lordes, whom our seueraigne lord hath permitted to come to age, that they do not despise to be aged. For speaking the truth: the man which hath enuy to some olde, doth desire to liue in the lightnes of youth. Also men of honour ought to be very circumspecte, for so muche as after they

are become aged, they be not suspected of their friendes, but that both vnto their friendes and foes, they be counted saythful. For a lye in a yong mans mouth, is but a lye, but in the mouth of an old man: it is a heynous blasphemie. Princes and great lordes after they are become aged, of one sort they oughte to vse theym selues, to giue, and of thother to speake. For good princes, ought to sell wordes by weight, and giue rewardes without measure. The auncient men oftentimes complaine, saying, that the yong wil not be conuersant with them: and truly if there be any fault therein, it is of them selues. And the reason is, that if sometimes they do assemble togethers to passe awaye the time, if the old man set a talkinge, he neuer maketh an ende. So that a discrete man hadde rather go xiiij miles on foote: then to heare an old man talke, iii. houres. If with such efficacie we perswade olde men, that they be honest in their apparayle, for a truth we wil not giue the licence, to be dissolute in their wordes, sine there is a great difference to note some man in his apparayle, or to accuse him to be malicious or a babler. For to weare riche apparayle, insurpeth selue: but inturious wordes hurt many. Macrobius, in the firste booke of the diademe of Scipio, declareth of a philosopher named Crito, who liued a hundreth and fife yerres: and till fiftie yerres, he was farre out of course: But after he came to be aged he was so well measured in his eating and drinkinge, and so ware in his speche, that they neuer sawe him do any thinge worthy reprehension: nor heard him speake worde, but was worthy of nothinge. On this condition we would geue licence to many, that till fiftie yerres they shoulde be yonge: so that from thens forth, they woulde be clothed as olde men, speake as olde men, and they shoulde esteeme them selues to be olde. But I am sorre, that all the springe time doth passe in flower, and after wardes they

fall

into the graue as rotten, befoze they finde anye tyme to pull them out. The olde do complayne, that the yonge do not take their aduice, and their excuse herein is, that in their wordes they are to long.

Foz if a man do demaunde an olde man of his opinion in a case, immediatly he will beginne to saye, that in the life of such and suche kinges and Lordes of good memorye, this was done, and this was prouided

So that when a yonge man aske them counsaile, howe he shall behaue him selfe with the liuinge, the olde man beginneth to declare vnto him the life of those whiche be dead.

The reason why the olde men desire to speake so longe is, that since foz their age they can not se, nor go, nor eate, nor slepe, they wold y they mebers all tymes when they are occupied to do their duties, at that time their tonge should be occupied to declare of theyr times past. All this beinge spoken, what moze to saye I knowe not, but that we shoulde contente our selues, that the old men should haue theyr fleshe as muche punished: as they haue their tongue with talke martired.

Though it be very vile foz a yonge man to speake, and flatter to a yonge manne not to say the truthe: yet this vice is much moze to be abhorred in old men.

Who ought not onely to thinke if theyr dutye to speake truth, but also to punish the enemies therof.

Foz other wise, the noble and valiant knightes shuld lose litle of their authoritie, if a man saue on theyr heades but white beares, and in their mouthes sounde no thinge but lyes.

The xix. Chapter

Of a letter of the Emperoure Marcus Aurelius, vvhetherin he re proueth those, that haue many yeares, and litle discretion.



MARKE Emperoure bozne in mount Celio, despyreth to you my neighbours, Claude and Claudine, helth of your persons & amendment of your liues I beinge as I am, at the conquest of Asia, and you remayninge alwayes in the pleasures of Rome, we vnderstand your newes very late, and I thinke our letters arriue there as late. Notwithstanding to all those whiche go thither, I geue answers foz you others: and of all those whiche come hither, I demaunde of your health. And do not demaunde of others, howe wel and howe muche I loue you, but of your owne proper hartes: and if your hearte saye that I am a feyned friend, then I take my selfe condemned. If perchance your hartes doth tel you that I loue you, beinge true in dede that I hate you, or if I tell you that I hate you, beinge true that I loue you: of truth I wold plucke such a hart out of my body, and geue it to be eaten of the beastes. Foz there is no greater dysceit, then that which the man doth to him selfe. If a stranger begile me, I ought to dissemble it: if an enemye deceiue me, I ought to reuenge it, if my frende misuse me I ought to complayne of him: but if I deceiue my selfe: with whom shall I comfort my selfe? Foz there is no patience that can suffer the hart to deceiue him selfe in anye thinge, whiche he hath not depelye considered. Peradventure ye will saye that I do not esteeme you, and that I haue not wrytten anye letter vnto you of longe tyme. To this I answer. That you do not attribute the faulte to my neglygence, but to the greates dysfaunce of Countreyes that

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that there is, from hens to rome : and also to the great affayres of Asia. For amongst other discommodities, the warre hath this also, that it deprieth vs of the sweete conuersation of our countrey. I haue alwayes presumed to be yours, and at this present am at no mans pleasure, more then at yours. And thus you haue alwayes knowen of me what you desired to knowe I haue espyed in you others that, whiche of force I must speake. For in the end I haue not sene any possesse so much, to be worthe so much, to knowe so much nor in all thinges to be so myghty, but that one daye he should nede his poore friende. The deuine Plato sayde, and also well, that the manne which loueth with his hart, neyther in absence forgetteth, neyther in presence becometh negligent, neither in prosperity he is proude, nor yet in aduersity abiect, neyther he serueth for profite, nor yet he loueth for gayne, and finally he defendeth the case of his friende as his owne. Diuers haue bene the opinions which the aunciētes held to affirme for what ende friendes were taken, and in the ende they were fullye resolved, that for .4. causes we oughte to chose friendes. The first we ought to haue friendes, to treat, and be conuersant with all: for accordinge to the troubles of this life, there is no time so pleasauntly consumed, as in the conuersaciō of an assured friende. The second is, we oughte to haue friendes to whome we maye disclose the secretes of our hartes: for it is muche comforte to the woful hart to declare to his friend his doubts, if he perceiue that he doth fele them in dede.

The third, we ought to searche and chose friendes, to thende they helpe vs in our aduersities. For litle profiteth it my harte that with teares the fryendes do heare all that I bewaile, onles afterwar des in dede he wil take paynes to reforme the same. The fourth we ought to seke and preferue friendes, to thende they be protectours of

our goodes and likewyse Iudges of our euilles: for the good friend is no lesse bound to withdraue vs from the vices, whereby we are sclaundered, then to deliuer vs fro our enemies, by whom we may be slayne. The ende why I tolde you all this was, if that in this letter you chaunce to lighte of any sharpe worde, that you take it patiently, considering that the lone which I beare you, doth moue me to speake, and the fayth which I owe vnto you, doth not suffer me that I should kepe it close. For many thinges oughte to be borne amonge fryendes, thought they tell theym in earnest: whiche ought not to be suffered of others, though they speake it in gest. I come therefore to shewe the matter, and I beseeche the immortal goddes that there be no more then that which was told me, and that it be lesse then I suspecte. Caius Furius, your kinsman and my speciall friende, as he wente to the realme of Palestyne, and Hierusalem, came to se me in Antioche, and hath tolde me newes of Italy, and Rome, and among others one aboute all the residue, I haue committed to memozye, at the whiche I could not refraine laughing, and lesse to be troubled, after I had thought of it. Whom many thinges do we take in gest, the which after we haue well considered geue occasion to be soye. The emperour Adrian my good lord, had a manne whose name was Belpus yong, comelye, and stoute, albeit he was very malicious, as such are accustomed to be: and whyles the imbassadors of Germaine supped with the Emperour in great ioye, the sayde Belpus began to tell, accordinge to the maner of parasites which were present, with a certeyne malicious grace. And Adrian perceiuing that some chaunged colour, others murmured, and others were angrie, he sayde vnto the parasite, friend Belpus for the loue of me and my wife, vse no malicious iestes here at oure supper, the whiche afterwar des might turne vs to euil rest in our beddes,

Caius

Gaius Furius hathe tolde me so manye
 flanders chaunced in Italye, such novel-
 ties done in Rome, suche alteration of our
 Senate, such contentiō and strife betwene
 our neighbours, such lightnes of you two
 that I was astonied to heare it, and asha-
 med to write it. And it is nothing, to tel af-
 ter what sorte he told them vnto me, one-
 lesse you had sene howe earnestly he spake
 them, imagening that as he told the with-
 out takinge anye paine, so didde I receyue
 them (as he thought) without anye griefe
 though in dede euerye worde that he spake
 seemed a sharpe percinge arrowe vnto my
 heart. For oftentimes some telleth vs thin-
 ges, as of smal importaunce, the which do
 prick our hearres to the quicke. By the o-
 pinion of all, I vnderstand that you are ve-
 ry olde, and yet in youre owne fantasies,
 you seeme very yonge. And further they
 saye, that you apparell your selues a newe
 now, as though presentlye you came into
 the worlde: and mozeouer they say, that you
 are offended with nothinge so muche, as
 when they cal you old, and that in theaters
 where comedies are played, and in the fiel-
 des, where the brute beastes do runne, you
 are not the hindmost, and that there is no
 sporte, nor lightnes inuented in Rome, but
 first is registred in your house. And finally
 they saye, that you geue your selues so to
 pleasures, as though you neuer thought to
 receiue displeasures. ¶ Claude and Clau-
 dine by the god Iupiter I sweare vnto you
 that I am ashamed of your vnshamefast-
 nes, and am greatlye abashed of your ma-
 ners, and aboue all, I am exceedinglye gre-
 ued for your great offence. For at that time
 that you ought to yelde by your hand, you
 are retourned againe into the filthe of the
 worlde. Many thinges men commit whiche
 though they seme graue, yet by moderaciō
 of the person that committeth theym, they
 are made light, but speaking according to
 the trouth, I finde one reason, whereby I
 might excuse your lightnes, but to the con-

trarye, I se. 10. whereby I maye condemne
 your follies, Solon the philosopher in his
 lawes, sayde to the Athenians that if the
 yonge offended, he should be gently admo-
 nished, and greuously punished, because he
 was stronge: and if the olde didde erre, he
 should be lightly punished, and sharply ad-
 monished, sith he was weake, and feble.

To this Licurgus in his lawes to the La-
 cedemonians, sayde contrarye, that if the
 yong didd offend, he should be lightly puni-
 shed, & greuously admonished, sith through
 ignoraunce he did erre, and the old manne
 which did euill should be lightly admoni-
 shed, and sharply punished, sith through
 mallice he did offende. These .ii. philoso-
 phers being (as they haue bene) of such au-
 thoritie in the worlde that is past, and con-
 sideringe that their lawes and sentences
 were of such weight: it should be much rash-
 nes in not admonishing the one of theym.
 Nowe not receyuinge the one, nor repro-
 uinge the other, me thinketh that there is
 great excuse to the yonge, for their igno-
 raunce, and great condemnation to the a-
 geo, for theyr experlence. ¶ Ones agayne I
 retourne to saye, that you pardone me my
 friendes, and you ought not greatly to wey-
 it, though I am somewhat sharpe in my cō-
 mendation, since you others are so disso-
 lute in your liues, for of your blacke lyfe,
 my penne doth take ynke, I remember wel
 that I haue herd of the Claude that thou
 hast bene lusty & couragions in thy youth:
 so that thy strength of all was enuyed, and
 the beautie of Claudine, of all men was
 desired. I wil not write vnto you in this let-
 ter, my friendes and neighboures, neither
 reduce to memory how thou Claude hast
 imployed the forces in thy seruice of thy cōmō
 wealth & Claudine hast won muche ho-
 nour of thy beauty: for sūdy times it chaū-
 ced, that men of many goodly giftes, are
 noted of greuous offences. Those which
 strived with the are all dead, those whom
 I desiredst are dead those which serued the

Claudine, are dead, those which before the Claudine, sighed are dead, those which for she died, are now dead, and since all those are dead with their lightnes, do not you others thinke to dye, & youre follyes also. I demaunde now of thy youthe one thinge, and of thy beauty another thinge, what do you receiue of these pastimes, of these good interteinmentes, of these aboundaunces, of these great contentations, of the pleasures of the world, of the vanity that is past, and what hope you of al these to carpe into the narrow graue: O simple, simple and ignorant persones, holwe our liue consumeth, and we perceyue not holwe we liue therein. For it is no felicity, to enioy a short or long life: but to knowe to employ the same, well or euell. O children of the earth, and disciples of vanitie, now you knowe that tyme flyeth without moving his winges, the life goeth, without liftinge vpp his feete, the worlde dispatcheth vs, not telling vs the cause, men begile vs, not moving their lippes, our flesh consumeth, to be vnwares, the heart dieth, hauing no remedye, and finally, our glorie decayeth, as if it had neuer ben, and death oppresseth vs, without knocking at the doore. Though a man be neuer so simple, or so very a fooler: yet he ca not denaye, but it is impossible to make a fier in the botome of the sea, to make a way in the ayre, of the thynne bloude to make rough sinnewes, and of the soft baynes to make hard bones. I meane that it is vnpossible, that the grene flower of youth, be not one day withered by age.

The, xx. Chapter.

The Emperoure perswaderh those that are olde, to giue no more credite to the vvorld, nor to any of his flatteries.



HAT vvhich I haue spokē now, tendeth more to aduertise the yonge, then to teache the olde. For you others, haue now passed the yrome

time of childehode, the somer of youth, and the haruest of adolescence, and are in the winter of age, where it seemeth an vncomely thinge, that those youre hooye heares, shoulde be accompanied with suche bayne follyes. Sithens yonge men knowe not that they haue to ende theyr youth, it is no meruaile that they folowe the worlde: but the olde men whiche see them selues fall into this gyle, why will they runne after vices agayne: O worlde, for that thou art the worlde, so small is our force, and so great our debilityte, that thou willing it, and we not resisting it, thou dost swalowe vs by in the most perillous goulfe, & in the thornes most sharpe thou dost pricke vs: by the pryncest wayes thou ledest vs, & by the most stonye wates thou carrest vs. I meane that thou bringest vs to the highest fauours, to the ende that afterwarde with a pulke of thy picke thou mighte ouerthrowe vs. O worlde, wherein all is worldolpe. 52. yeaues haue passed since in the I was first borne, during the whiche tyme, thou neuer toldest me one truth: but I haue taken the with 10 thousande lyes. I neuer demaunded the thinge, but thou dydest promyse it me, and yet it is nothinge at all, that euer thou diddest persourme. I neuer put my truste in the, but euer thou begyledest me. I neuer came to the but thou dydest vndoe me, finally, neuer saue I oughte in the, where by thou deseruyst loue, but alwayes hatred. This presupposed, I knowe not what is in the worlde, or what we worlde linges wante, for if thou hatest vs, we cannot hate the, if thou doest vs iniurye, we cannot dissemble

seemle it, if thou crykest vs with thy fete, we wyl suffer it, if thou beatest vs with a staffe, we wyl holde our peace, also though thou persecutest vs, we wil not complaine, though thou takest ours, we wyl not demaunde it of the, though thou doest begyle vs, we wyl not cal our selues begyled, and the worste of all is, that thou doest chase vs from the house, yet we wyl not from thens departe. I knowe not what this meaneth, I knowe not from whens this cometh, I wote not who oughte to prayse this same, that we couet to follow the worlde, whiche wyl hate vs, and hate the gods, which loue vs: oftentimes I make account of my yeares passe, sometymes also I turne and tolle my bookes to se what I haue red, and another tyme, I desire my frendes to geue me good counsel: and for no otherwise I doe it, then to attaine to that I haue spoken, & to knowe that I wyl saye. I readyng Rhetorike in Rhodes, Adrian my lord mainteinyng me there, knowynge that I was .32. yeares of age, it happened, that in the springe tyme I found my selfe solitary, and solytarynes with libertye smelled the worlde, and smelling it, I knewe it, and knowynge it, I followed it, & followinge it, I attained vnto it, and attaininge vnto it, thereunto I toynd my selfe, and toyning my selfe therewith, I proued it, and in prouynge it, I tasted it, and in tastynge it me thought it better, and in findinge it better I hated it, and hatynge it, I lefte it, and leauynge it, it is returned, and returninge it, I receiued it againe: finally, the worlde inuayng me, and I not resistynge it. 52. yeares we dyd eate our bread togethers, and in one house we haue alwayes remayned, wylte thou knowe after what sort the worlde & I do liue in one house togethers, or better to saye in one, harte remaine: harken then, and in one word I wil tel it the. Whē I saw the worlde braue, I serued him, whē he saw me sad, he flattered me, whē I saw him wealthy, I asked him, when he saw me mery, he begyled me, when I de-

sired any thing, he holpe me to attaine to it, and afterwarde when the same I best enjoyed, then he toke it from me, when he saw me not pleased, he vsyted me, when he saw me, he forgót me, whē he saw me ouerthrowen, he gaue me his hād to releue me, whē he saw me exalted, he tripped me agayne to ouerthrowe me. Finally, whē I thinke that I haue somwhat in the worlde, I finde that al that I haue is a bouiden. Of this whiche I haue spoken of the worlde be any thinge, more is that a great deale whiche yet of my selfe I wil say, which is, that without doute my folly is greater, then his inallce, since I am begyled so ofte, and yet alwayes I follow the deceiuer. O worlde, worlde, thou hast such moodes & fashions in thy procedynge, that thou ledest vs all to perdition. Of one thing I meruaile much, wherof I cannot be satisfied. Which is, since that we maye goe by the byrge, and yet without any gaine, that we wade thorough the water, & where as the shalowe is sure, we seke to runne into the golfe, and where the way is drye, we go into the plashe, where we maye eate helthsome meates to nourishe the lyfe, we receiue popson to hasten death, we seke to destroye our selues, where as we maye be without danger. Finally I say, without profite we commit a faulte, though we se with oure eyes the payne to follow. Wylse men ought circumspectly to se what they do, to examine that they speake, to proue that they take in hande, to beware whose company they vse, and aboue al, to know whom they trust. For our iudgement is so corrupte, that to begyle vs, one sufficeth: and to make vs not to be discelued, 10. thousande woulde not suffice. They haue so greate care of vs, I meane the worlde, to begyle vs, and the flesh to flatter vs, that the highe waye beinge as it is narrowe, the pathewaye dangerous, and ful of prickes, the forney is longe, & the lyfe shorte: oure bodies are neuer but lodē w bices, & oure hartes but ful of cares. I haue wondered at dyuers thinges in this worlde,

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but that whiche astonisheth me moste is, that those that be good, we make the beleue they are euil: and those whiche are euyl, we persuade others to beleue that they are good. So that we shoote at the white of vertues, and hit the butte of vices. I wil confesse one thinge, the whiche being dysclosed, I know that infamye wyl follow me, but peradventure some vertuous mā wyl marueile at it, that is, that in these two and fifty yeares of my lyfe, I haue proued all the vices of this world; for no other intent, but for to proue, if there be any thinge, where in mans mallice might be satisfied. And afterwarde, al wel considered, al examined, and al proued, I finde, that the more I eate, the more I dye for hunger, the more I drinke, the greater thirste I haue; the more I rest, the more I am broken, the more I slepe, the more drounlier I am, the more I haue, the more I couet, the more I desire, the more I am tormented, the more I procure, the lesse I attaine. Finally, I neuer had so greate payne through wante, but afterwarde I had more trouble with excesse. It is a greate follye to thinke, that as long as a man liueth in this flesh, that he can satisfy the flesh: for at the last call, she may take from vs our lyfe, but we others cannot take fro her, her dysordinate couetousnes. If men byd speake with the gods, or if gods were couersant w men, the first thing that I would aske the should be, why they haue apointed an ende to our woful daies: and wyl not geue vs an end, of our wicked desires? O cruel Gods, what is it you doo? what do you suffer vs: it is certaine, that we shal not passe one good day of life only, but in tasting this, & that, life consumeth. O intollerable life of mā, wherin there are suche mallices, fro the which we ought to beware, & such perills to fall in, and also so many thinges to consyder, & then both she, and we, do end to know our selues, when the houre of death approcheth. Now those that know not, & the world taketh our wil, & we others like, ignorantes cannot deny hym,

and afterwarde hauing power of our will, doth constrain vs to y which we would not, so that many times we would do vertuous woorkes, & for that we are now put into the worldes handes, we dare not doe it. The world bleseth another subtiltye w vs, that to the end we shuld not strue with it, it prayseth the times past, because we shuld liue according to the time present. And the world saith further, that if we others employ our forces in his vices, he geueth vs licence that we haue a good desire of vertue. I woulde to god in my dayes I myght see, that the care whiche the world hath to preferue vs the worldlynges would take it to withdraw them from hys byces. I sweare that the Gods shoulde then haue more seruautes, and the world and the flethe shuld not haue so manye slaues.

The xxi. Chapter.

The Emperoure proueth by good reasons, that like the aged persons wyl be serued and honored of the yong: they ought to be more veruious and honest, then the yonge.

HAue spoken al this before reherfed, for occasion of you Claude, & Claudine, the which at 3. score and 10. yeares wil not keape out of the prison of the world. You, I say, which haue bodies weake, & corrupted, what hope shal we haue of you, which are but 25. yerres of age? If my memory deceiue me not, when I was there, you had nephewes married, & of their childre made sure, & two of y children borne: & since that is true, me thinketh when the frute is gathered, the leafe is of no value, and after the meale is taken from the mylle, euil shal the mylle grinde.

I meane, that the man who is now so aged, ought to desire, that his daies may be shortened in this worlde. Do not thinke my frendes, that a man can haue hys house full of nephews, and yet say that he is very yonge: for in lodinge the tree with frutes, the blossomes immediately fall, or els they become withered, I haue imagined with my selfe, what it is that you might do, to seme yonge, and cut of some of your yeares, and in the end I know no other reason, but when you married Lambert your doughter with Drusus and your Peace Sophia the faire, with Tuscidan, whiche were so yonge, that the doughters were scarce .15. yeares old, nor the yonge men .20. I suppose because you were riche of yeares and pooze of money that he gaue to euery on of them, in stede of money for dowry, .20. yeares of yours, hercof a man may gather, that h money of your nephews haue remained vnto you, & you haue geuen vnto them of your owne yeares: I vnderstand my frendes, that your desire is to be yonge, and very yonge, but I greatly desire, to se you old, and very old. I do not meane in yeares, whiche in you doeth surmount: but in discretion, which in you doth wante. O Claude, and Claudine, note that which I wil say vnto you, and beare it allwaies in your memory. I let you wete, that to mainteine youthe, to deface age, to lye contented, to be free from trauayles, to lengthen lyfe, and to auoyde death, these thinges are not in the handes of men, whiche doe desire them: but rather in the handes of those whiche geueth them, the which accordinge to their iustice, and not to our conetousnes, doe geue vs lyfe by weight, and death withoute measure. One thinge the olde men do, whiche is cause of slaunderynge manye, that is, that they wyl speake firste in counsels, they wyl be serued of the yonge, in seafes, they wyl firste be placed, in all that they saye they wyl be belened, in churches, they wyl be hygher then the resydue, in distributinge of offyces, they wyl haue the

moste honoure, in there oppnyons they wyl not be gaynesayde, synallye, they wyl haue the credyte of olde Sage men, and yet they wyl leade the lyfe of yonge doctynge fooles. All these preemynences, and ppylleges, it is verpe iuste that olde men shoulde haue, whiche of longe tyme haue spent their yeares, in the seruice of the common wealthe: but with this I doe aduise, and requyre them, that the authorytye geuen them with their whyte heares, be not dymnyshed by their euill workes.

Is it a iuste thinge, that the humble and honest yonge man doe reuerence to the aged man, proude, and dysdaynesfull: it is a iuste thinge, that the gentyll and gracious yonge man doe reuerence, to the enuious, and malycious olde man: is it a iust thing, that the vertuous, and pacient yonge man doe reuerence, to the foolish, and vnpatient olde man: is it a iuste thinge, that the stout, and lyberall yonge man doe reuerence, to the mysérable, and conetous olde man: is it iuste, that the dyllygente, and carefull yonge man doe reuerence, to the neglygente olde man: Is it iuste, that the abstynents, and sober yonge man doe reuerence to the gredye, and gluttonous olde man: Is it iuste, that the chaste, and continent yonge man doe reuerence, to the lecherous, and dysolute olde man: We thinketh these thinges shoulde not be such, that thereby the olde man shoulde be honoured: but rather reproued, and punysshed. For olde men offende more, by the euil example they geue, then by the faulte which they doe commit. Thou canste not deny me, my frende Claude, that it is thirtie and thye yeares sythe we bothe were at the Theaters to beholde a playe, when thou camest late, and founde no place for the to sit in, thou saydest vnto me who was set, ryse my sonne marke, and sithens now thou arte yonge, it is but iust, that thou geue me place whiche am aged. If it be true, that it is .xxxiii. yeares sithens thou

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askedst place in the theaters as an old man, tell me I praye the, and also I confute the, with what opintemente hast thou anoynted thy selfe, or with what water hast thou washed thy selfe to become yonge: O Claude, if thou hadest found any medicyne, or dysscouered anye herbe, wherewith thou couldest take whyte heares from mens heades, and from women the wrinckles of their face: I sweare vnto the, and also I do assure the, that thou shouldest be more blyssed and serued in Rome, then the God Apollo is in hys Temple, at Ephesus. Thou shouldest wel remember Ennius Pristus the old mā, whiche was our neighbour, and somewhat a kinne to the, the which when I tolde him that I coulde not be filled wth his good wordes, and to beholde his auncient white heares, he saied vnto me, O my sonne Marke, it appereth wel that thou hast not ben aged, because thou talkest as a yonge man: for if white heares do honour the parson, they greatly hurte the harte. For at that houre whē they se vs aged, the straungers do hate vs, and ours do not loue vs. And he tolde me more, I let the wete my sonne Marke, that many times my wyfe, and I talking of the yeares of another perticularlye, when she beholderh me, and that I seme vnto her so aged, I say vnto her, and sweare, that I am yet yonge, and that the white heares came vnto me by great trauailles, and the age by sickenes. I do remember also, that this Ennius Pristus was senatour one yeare: and because he woulde not seme aged, but desired that men shoulde iudge hym to be yonge: he shaued hys bearde, and hys heade, which was not accustomed amonge the senatours nor Censors of Rome. And as one daye amongest the other Senatours he entered into the hyghe Capytolle, one sayde vnto hym. Tell me man, from whence comest thou? What wylte thou? and why comest thou hither? howe durste thou being no senatour enter into the Senate? he aunswered. I am Ennius Pristus the aged, howe

chauncerh it that nowe you haue not knowen me: they replied vnto hym, if thou wert Ennius Pristus, thou wouldest not come thus shauen. For in this sacred senate can none enter, to gouerne the common wealthe: vnlesse his parson be endued with vertues, and his heade with whyte heares, and therfore thou arte banished and depryued of thy office. For the olde which lyue as the yonge, ought to be punished. Thou knowest wel Claude, and Claudine, that that which I haue spoken, is not the saynyng of Homere, neither a fable of Ouide, but that you your selues saw it with your eyes, and in his banishment I dyd helpe him with money, and more ouer, he was banished another time, for the lightnes he dyd commit in the night in the citie, and I meruayle not hereof: for we see by experyence, that olde men which are fleashed in vices, are more obstinate to correct, then the yonge. What euill fortune haue the olde men, which suffered them selues to wate olde in vices: for more dangerous is y^ester in an old house, then in a new, and a greate cut of a sword is not so perillous, as a rote fistule. Though old men were not honest, and vertuous, for the seruice of the gods, & the comon wealthe, for the saieng of the people, nor for y^e example of the yonge: yet he ought to be honest, yf it were but for the reuerence of their yeares. If the poore old man haue no teeth, how shall he eate? If he haue no heate in hys stomacke, howe can he dygest? If he haue no taste, howe can he drinke? If he be not strong, howe can he be an adulterer? If he haue no feete, howe can he goe? If he be paralytike, howe can he speake? if he haue the goutte in hys handes, howe can he play. Finallye, suche lyke, wordlye, and byttous men, haue employed their forces beyinge yonge, desirous to proue al these vices: and when they are olde, it greueth them extreamelye, that they can not as yet accomplishe their desiers.

Amongest all the faultes in olde men

(in my opinion) this is the chiefeſt, that ſince they haue proued al thinges, that they ſhould ſtill remaine in their obſtinate folly: There is no parte but they haue trauailed, no villany but they haue aſſayed, no ſortune but they haue proued, no good but they haue perſecuted, no euil but hath chaunced vnto them, noz there is any vice, but they haue attempted. Theſe vnhappy men which in this ſorte haue ſpente all their youthe, haue in the ende their commes cut with infirmities, and diſeaſes: yet they are not ſomuche greued with the vices whiche in them do abound, to hinder them from vertues, as they are tormented, for wante of corporail courage, to further them in their luſtes. ¶ If we were gods, or that they would gene licence to know the thoughtes of the old, as we ſee with our eies the dedes of the yonger: I ſweare to the God Mars, and alſo to the moother Berecynthia, that without compariſon, we would puniſhe moze the wicked deſters which y aged haue to be wycked: then the light deades of the yong. Tel me Claude, & thou Claudine, do you thinke though you behaue your ſelues as yonge, you ſhall not ſeme to be old: know you not, that oure nature is the corruption of our body, & that our bodye hindereth our vnderſtandinges, and that the vnderſtandyngeſ are kepte of our ſoule, & that oure ſoule is the mother of deſiers, & that our deſiers are the ſcourge of our youthe, and that our youthe is the enſigne of pure age, and age the ſpye of death, and that death in the ende is the houſe where life takerh hys herber, and from whence youthe flyeth a ſore, and from whence age can not eſcape a hoſebacke: I woulde reioyce that you Claude, and Claudine, woulde tell me what you ſynde in lyfe, that ſomuche therewith you ſhoulde be contented: ſince nowe you haue paſſed foure ſcore yeares of lyfe, durynge the whiche tyme either you haue bene wycked in the worlde, or els you haue ben good. ¶ If you haue ben good, you ought to thinke it log, vntil you be with the

good gods: if you haue ben euil, it is luſt you dye, to y end you be no worſe. For ſpeaking the truthe, thoſe which in .3. ſcore and 10 yeares haue ben wycked in workes, leaue ſmal hope of their amendemente of lyfe. Adrian my lord, being at Nola in Campania, one brought vnto him a nephewe of hys, fro the ſtudy, where as the yong child had not profited a lytel: for he became a great Gretian and latineſt, and moze ouer, he was ſayer, gracious, wiſe, and honeſt. And this Emperoure Adrian loued hys nephew ſo muche, that he ſaid vnto him theſe wordes. My nephew, I know not whither I oughte to ſaye vnto the, that thou arte good, or euil: for if thou be euil, lyfe ſhalbe euil employed on the, & if thou be good, thou oughteſt to dye immediately, and becauſe I am worſe then all, I lyue longer then all. Theſe wordes which Adrian my lord ſayed, doe plainely declare, and expreſſe, that in ſhozte ſpace the pale and cruel death doth aſſaulte the good, and lengthneth life a great while to the euil. The opinion of a philoſopher was, that the gods are ſo profound in their ſecrettes, high in their miſteryes, and ſo luſt in their workes, that to men whiche leaſt profite the common wealthe, they lengthen lyfe longeſt: and though he had not ſaid it, we others ſe it by experience. For the man which is good, and that beareth great zeale, and frendſhyppes to the common wealthe, either the gods take him from vs, or the enemies do ſley hym, or the daungers doe caſt him away, or the trauailes do finiſh him. ¶ The great Pompeius and Iulius Ceſar became enemies, & from that enmite came to cruel warres, the cronicles of that time declare, that the kynges and people of the occidental parte, became in the fauour of Iulius Ceſar, and the mightieſt and moſte puiſſaunte of all the oriental partes, came in the ſayde of greate Pompeius, bycauſe theſe two Princes were loued of ſeuere, and ſerued, and feared of al. Amongeſt the dyuerſitye and ſundrye nations of people, whiche came oute of the oriental

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entall parte, into the hoste of the great Pompeius, one nation came, meruaylous cruel and barbarous, which saide they dwelled in the other side of the mountaynes Asphees, which go vnto India. And these barbarous had a custome, not to lyue no longer then fifty yeres: and therfore when they came to that age, they made a greater fier, and were burned therein aliue, and of their owne wittes, they sacrificed them selues to the gods. Let no mā be affronted at that we haue spoken, but rather let the meruayle of that we wyl speake (that is to say) that the same day that anye man had accomplished fifty yeres, immediately he cast him selfe quicke in to the fier, & the parentes, chyldren and hys frendes, made a great feast. And the feast was, y they did eate the fleashe of the deade halfe burned, and dranke in wyne and water the ashes of his bones: so that the stow make of the chyldren being aliue, was the graue of the fathers beinge deade. All this that I haue spoken with my tong, Pompeius hath sene with his eyes: for that some being in the campe dyd accomplishe fifty yeres, and bycause the case was straunge, he declared it oft tymes in the Senate. Let euerye man iudge in this case what he wyl, and cōdemne y barbarous at his pleasure, yet I wyl not cease to saye what I thinke. O golden worlde, whiche had suche men. O blessed people, of whom in the world to come shalbe a perpetual memozy. What contēpte of worlde? what forgetfulnes of hym selfe? what stroke of fortune? what whippe for the fleshe? what lytell regarde of lyfe? O what brydell for the veruious? O what confusion for those that loue lyfe? O howe greate example haue they left vs, not to feare death: Sithens those here haue willingly dyspyled their owne lyues, it is not to be thought, that they did, to take y goods of others, neither to thinke that oure lyfe shoulde neuer haue ende, nor our couetousnes in like manner. O gloriuous people, and .10. thousande folde happy, that the proper sensualite be-

inge forsaken, hath overcome the naturall appetite to desire to lyue, not beleuinge in that they saw, and that hauing faith in that they neuer sawe, they strided with the fatal destiny. By the way they assalted fortune, they chaunged life for death, they offered the body to death, and aboue al haue wonne honour with the gods, not for that they should hasten death, but bycause they should take away that which is superfluous of life. Archagent, a surgine of Rome, and Anthosnius Musus, a phisition of the Emperour Augustus, and Esculapius, father of the phisike, shuld get litel money in that countrey. He that then shoulde haue sente to the barbarous to haue done as the Romaynes at that tyme dyd, that is to wete, to take stioppes in the moynnges, pylles at night, to drynke mylke in the moynng, to nopyte them selues with gromell seade, to be let bloud to daye, and purged to morrowe, to eate of one thing, and to absteyne from manye, a man ought to thinke, that he whiche willingly seeketh death, wyl not geue money to lengthen lyfe.

The xxii Chapter.

The emperour concludeth his letter, and sheweth vwhat perylles those olde men lyue in, vvhiche dissolutly lyke yonge children passe their dayes, and geueth vn to them hollsome counsell for the remedy therof.



Vt returninge nowe to the Claude, and to the Claudine, me thinketh, that these barbarous being fifty yeres of age, and you others hauing aboute the scoze & 10. it shuld be wyl, y sithis you were elder in yeres, you were equal in vertue, and thoughe (as they) you wyl not accept death patiently: yet at the least you ought

ought to amend your euell lues willingly. I do remembre, that it is many yeres sithens that Fabrice the yonge, sonne of Fabrice the old, had ordeyned to haue deceiued me, of the whiche if you had not told me, great inconueniencies had happened: and sithens that you did me so great a benefite, I wold now requite you the same with an other like. For amongst them is no equal benefite, then to deceyue the deceyner. I let you know, if you do not knowe it, that you are poore aged folkes, your eyes are sonke into your heades, the nosetrelles are shutte, the heares are white, the hearinge is losse, the tongue saltreth, the tethe fall, the face is wrinckled, the fete swolne, and the stomacke cold. Finally I saye, that if the graue could speake, as vnto his subiectes, by iustyce he might commaund you to inhabite his house. It is great pity of the yonge men, and of their youthfull ignorance, for then, vnto such their eyes are not opened to know the mishappes of this miserable life, when cruell death doth end their dayes, & adioyneth them to the graue. The deuine Plato in his booke of the common wealthe sayde, that in wayne we giue good counsellers, to sonde & light yong men. For youth is without experience of that it knoweth, suspicious of that it heareth, incredible of that is told him, despising the counsaile of an other, and very poore of his owne. For so much as this is true that I tell you Claude, & Claudine, that without comparison, the ignorance which the yong haue of the good, is not so much: but the obstinacion which y old hath in the euell, is more. For the mortal goddess many times do differ with a .1000. offences committed by ignorance, but they neuer forgive the offence perpetrated by malice. Claude, and Claudine, I do not meruaile that you do forget y gods (as you do) which created you & your fathers which begot you your parentes which haue loued you, & your frendes whiche haue honored you: but that whiche most I meruaile at is, y you forget

your selues. For you neuer consider what you ought to be, vntil such time as you be there where you would not be, & that without power to retorne back againe. Awake awake, since you are drowned in your dreames, open your eyes, since you slepe so much accustome your selues to trauailes, sithens you are vncaboundes, learne that which becometh you, sithens now you are so olde. I meane, that in time conuenient you agree with death, befoze he make execution of life. For yeres haue I knowen the thinges of the worlde, and yet I neuer sawe a woman so aged through yeres, nor old man with members so feble, that for want of strength could not (if they list) do good: nor yet for y same occasiō should leaue to be euell if they list to be euell. It is a merueilous thig to se, & worthy to note, y al y corporal members of man waxeth olde, but the inward hart, & the outward tongue: for y hart is alwayes grene to inuent euils, & the tongue is alwayes able to tell lies. My opinion shoulde be, that the pleasaunt somer being past, you shoulde prepare your selues for the winter which is at hande. And if you haue but fewe dayes to continue, you shoulde make hast to take vp your lodging. I meane that sith you haue passed the dayes of your life with trauaile, you shoulde prepare your selues against the night of death, to be in the haven of reste. Let mockeries passe as mockeries, and accept truth as truth, that is to wete, that it were a very iust thinge, & also for your honoz necessary, y al those which times past haue sene you yōg & folish, shuld now in your age, se you graue & sage. For there is nothing y so much desireth y lightnes & folly of y youth, as doth grauice & the cōstācy in age. What y knight connerth his carter, they blame him not for y the horse mayne is not finely cōmed: but because he is not wel ruled. What greater cōfusiō can be to any pārsō, or greater sclaundre to our mother Rome, thē to se y which now adares therein we se, that is to wete, the old which

can scarcely creape through the streates, to beholde the playes and games as younge men, which serche nought elles but pompe and banity. It greaueth me to speake it, but I am muche more ashamed to se that the olde Romaynes do daylye cause the white beares to be plucked out of theyr heades, because they woulde not seme olde, to make their berd small, to seame ponge, wearing their hosen very close, theyr shertes open before, the gowne of the senatoure imbroidered, the Romayne signe richelye enameled, the collar of golde at the necke, as those of Dace. Ringes in their gownes, as those of Saphire, hoopes in their battes, as the Grekes, and perles on their fingers, as those of India. What wilt thou I tell the more, then I haue tolde the, but that they weare their gownes longe and large, as those of Tharenthe, and they weare the hem of the colour as men of warre, and euerye weke they haue chaunge as players, and the woozse of all is, that they shewe themselves as dotting in loue, now in their age, as others haue done heretofore in their youth. That old men are overcome by yonge desires, I do not meruaile, for that brutish lust is as naturall, as the daylye foode: but that the old men (being old men) should be so dissolute, herewith men iustlye ought to be offended. For the old men couctous, and of fleshe vicious, both offend the gods, and sleaundze the common wealth. Whow many I haue knowen in Rome, who in their youth haue bene highlye praysed and esteemed: and afterwarde through the geuinge them selfe to very muche lighnes in theyr age, haue bene of all abhorred. And the worst of all is, y they haue lost all their credite, their parentes, their fauour, and their poore innocent children theyr profite. For many times the goddes permit, that the fathers committinge thoffence, the payne should fall vpon their owne children. The renowned Gaguino Cato, who descended from the high lignage of the sage

Catoes, was slue peres Flamen priest, & administratoz to the vestal virgines, thre peres pretoz, two peres Censoz, one yeare dictatoz, and fīue times Consull, being. 75. peres old, he gaue him selfe to folowe, serue and to desire Rosana, the doughter of Eneus Cursius, a lady of treuth, very yong and saye, and of many desired, and much made of: the time afterwarde passinge as way, and the god Cupide doing his office, the loue was so kindled inwardlye in the hart of this old man, that he ranne almoste madde. So that after he had consumed all his goodes in seruing her, dayly he sighed, and nightly he wept, onelye for to see her. It chaunced that the sayd Rosana fel sicke of a fenere ague, wherwith she was so discontented, that she could eat no meate, but desired greatly to eat grapes: and sithens there were none ripe at Rome, Gaguino Cato sent to the riuer of Rheyn to fetch some, being farre and many miles distant from thens. And when the thing was spred through Rome, & that all the people knewe it, and the senate vnderstanding the follye of him: the fathers commaunded that Rosana should be locked vp with the vestal virgines, and the old man banished Rome for euer, to the end that to them it should be a punishment, and to others an example. Truly it grieved me soze to se it, and also I had great paynes in wryting it. For I sawe the father die in infamy, and his children liue in pouerty. I beleue that al those which shal heare this example, and al those which shal reade this wryting, shal finde the facts of this amorous old man, both vile and filthy, and they wil allowe the sentence of the senate which they gaue against him, for good & iust. I swere that if Gaguino Cato had had as many yong men in his banishment in Rome, there should be casse awaye so many menne, neyther so manye women euill married. It chaunceth oftymes, that when the olde men (speciallye beyng noble, and valyaunt) are aduertysed of theyr seruantes

seruauntes, are rebuked of their parentes are prayed of their freindes, and accused of their ennemtes, to be dishoneste in suche a place, they aunswere, that they are not in loue but in geast. When I was very yong no lesse in wisdom, then in age, one night in the Capitoll, I met with a neighbour of mine, the which was so olde, that he might haue taken me for his nephew, to whom I sayd these wordes. Lord Fabrice are you also in loue: he aunswered me. You se that my age suffereth not that I should be a lover, if I should be, it is but in sport.

Truly I marvelled to mete him at y^e houre and I was ashamed to haue suche an aunswere. In old men of great age, and grauitie, such request can not be called loue, but grief, not pastime, but losse of time, not mokerie, but villany: for of loue in test ensueth infamy in deede. I aske you Claude, & Claudine, what a thinge is it to se an olde man to be in loue: Trulye it is no nother, but as a garland before the tauerne dozes, where all men thinke that there is wine, & they sel noughtels but vineger. They are egges white without, & rotten within, they are golden pilles, the tast wherof are verie bitter, & as empty bores in shoppes, whiche haue newe wittinges on them, or as a new gate, and within the house is full of filth & cobwebbes, finally, y^e old lover is a knight of Erchetes, which helpeth to lose mony, & can deliuer no mā frō perill. Let this word be noted, and alwayes in your memozye committed, that the old man which is vicious, is but as a leke which hath the head white, and the tayle greene. We thinketh that you oughte to breake the winges of time, since that you haue feathers to flye withal. Deceiue not your selfe nor your frendes, and neighbours, saying that there is time for all. For the amendment is in your handes, but time is in the handes of god to dispose. Let us come nowe to remedy this great damage, do what you can by the day of youth, & deferre it not vntill the

night of age: for ill cutteth the kniffe, when the edge thereof is dulled, and ill can he gnawe the bones, which is accustomed to eate the fleshe. I tel you, and aduertise you that when the old and rotten houses beginneth to fall, vnderset not them with rotten wood, but with hard timbre. I meane, with the vpright thoughtes of accomptes, which we ought to geue to the goddess of our life, and to men of our renoume. Forther I say, that if the vine be gathered of our vertues we ought to graffe againe the amendment: and if the thredes of our gatheringes be drye, and withered, throughe our peruers workes we ought to set them agayne with newe mould, and good desires. The goddess are so gentle to serue, & so good to contēt y^e if for all the seruices we owe them, and for the giftes which they giue vs, we can not pay them in good workes: they demand no more in payment but good willes. Finally I say, that if thou Claude, and Claudine, haue offered the meale of youth to the world, offer nowe the bloude of age to the goddess. I haue written longer then I had thought to do. Salute all my neyghbours specially Drusie the patrician, and noble Romayne widow. I remembre that Go-brine your niece, did me a pleasure, the day of the feast of the mother Berecinthia, wherfore I send 2. thousand Sesterces, one thousand to helpe to mary her: and thother thousand, to helpe to relieue your povertye. My wife Faustine is sicke, and I sende you another, 1000. Sesterces to giue to the bestal virgines, to pray to the gods for her, My wife sendeth to the Claudine, a cofer, by the immortal gods I sweare vnto the, I can not tell what is in it, I beseeche the goddess, sithens you are aged, to giue you a good death, and to me and Faustine, they suffer vs to leade a good life. Marcus of mount Celio with his owne hand writteth this.

The

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The.xxiii.Chapiter.

That Princes ought to take hede
that they are not noted of aua-
rice, for that the couetous man
is both of god and man hated.



HE great Alexander,
king of Macedony, & Darius
the vnfortunate kinge of
the Persyes, were not onely
contrary in warres and con-
questes, whiche they made. but also in the
condittions and inclinacions whiche they
had. For Alexander naturallye loued
to glue, and spende: and king Darius to the
contrary, to heape, locke, and kepe. When
the fame of Alexander was spred abrode
through out all the world, to be a prince of
honour, and not couetous, his owne loued
him entirclye, and straungers desyred to
serue him faithfully: The miserable kyng
Darius, as he was noted of great auarice
and of small liberalitie, so his dō disobey
him, and straungers hated him, Whereof
may be gathered that princes and great loz-
des by geating, do make them selues riche
and in heapinge they make theym selues
pooze. Plutarcke in his apothegmes decla-
reth, that after king Darius was dead, and
Alexander had triumphed, ouer al the ori-
ental partes, a man of Thebes beinge in
the market place of Athenes setting forth
the fortune of Alexander, for the sundrye
countreyes whiche he had conquered: and
describng the euell fortune of Darius, for
the great nombze of men whiche he had lost
a philosopher with a loude voice saide. O
man of Thebes, thou art greatly deceiued
to thinke that one prince loseth many seg-
noyes: and that the other Prince winneth
many realmes. For Alexander the great
wonne nought but stones, and coueringes
of cities: for with his liberalitie he had alres-

de gotten the good willes of the citizens,
And to the contrary, the vnfortunate Da-
rius did not lose, but stones, and the couer-
tures of cities, for with his couetousnes
and auarice he had nowe lost al the hartes
of those of Asia. And forther this philoso-
pher sayd vnto him, that princes which wil
enlarge their estates and amplify their re-
almes in their conquestes, oughte firste to
winne the hartes, & to be noble, and liberal
and afterwarde, to sende their armies to
conquere the fortres, and walles, for other-
wise, little auayleth it to winne the stones, if
the hartes do rebell. Wherby a man maye
gather, that that which Alexander wan,
he wan by liberalitie and stoutnes: & that
which king Darius lost, he losse for beinge
miserable, and couetous. And let vs not
oueraple hereat, for the princes and great
lordes which are ouercomed with auarice
Doubte whither they euer shall so theym-
selues conquerours of many realmes. The
vice of auarice is so detestable, so euell, so o-
dious, and so perillous, that if a man shuld
employe him selfe to write all the discom-
modities therunto belonging, my penne
shuld do nought elles, then to presume to
drye vp all the water in the sea: For the sto-
make where auarice entreth, causeth a mā
to serue vices, and worshippe Idolles. If a
vertuous man would prepare him selfe to
thinke on the great trauaille, & litle rest
this cursed vice beareth with him. I thinke
that none would be vicious therein. Though
the couetous mā had no other trauaille, but
alwayes to go to bed wyth danger, & to
rise vp with care. He thinketh it is a trou-
ble sufficient: for such one whē he goeth to
bed, thinketh y he shold be killed in his bed.
or y sleeping his cofers shold be rifled, and
fro that time he riseth he is alwayes tormē-
ted w feare to lose y which he hath wonne,
& careful to augmēt y litle into much. The
deuine Plato in the first booke of his cōmō
welth, said these wordes y mē be made rich
because they neuer learned to be rich: for he
which

continually, and trulpe will become riche, first ought to abhorre couetousnes, before he beginne to occupie him selfe to locke up goods. For the mā which setteth no bond to his desire: shal allwayes haue litle: though he be se him selfe lord of y^e worlde. Truly this sentence was worthily spoken, of such a man. The sentence of the Stoyckes doth satisfy my mind much, wherof Aristotel in his polittikes maketh mention, where he sayth, that vnto great affayres, are alwaies required great riches: and there is no excreame pouerty, but where there hath bene great aboundaunce. Therof ensueeth, that to princes & great lordes which haue much they wāt much, bicause to men which haue had litle, they cā not wāt but litle. If we admonithe worlde lings not to be vitious, they will allwayes haue excuses to excuse theym selues, declaring why they haue bene vitious, the vice of auarice excepted, to whō, & with whō, they haue no excuse. For if one mayne reason be readye to excuse thē, there are 2000. to condemne thē. Let vs put example in all the principall vices, & we shall se howe this onely of auarice, remayneth condemned, & not excused. If we reason why a prince or great lord is haughty & proude, he wil aunswere that he hath great occasion: For the natural dispositiō of men is, rather to desire to commaund with trauaile, then to serue with rest. If we reprove any man that is furious, and geuen to anger, he wil aunswere vs, that we maruaile not, since we meruaile not of the proude: For the enemy hath no moze authority to trouble any mā then the other to take reuēge of him. If we blame him for y^e he is fleshly & vitious, he wil aunswere vs, y^e he can not absteyne from that sinne: for if any man can eschew the actes, he fighteth continually with vncleane thoughtes. If we say that any man is negligent, he will aunswere vs, that he deserueth not to be blamed: for the villenes for our nature is suche, that if we do trauaile it, immediately it is weary, and if we rest it, immediately it reioyceth. If we re-

buke any man that is a glutton, he wil aunswere vs, that without eatinge and drinking we can not lyue in the worlde: for the deuine worde hath not forbidden man to eate with the mouthe, but the vncleane thoughtes which come from the hart. As of these felwe vices we haue declared, so maye we excuse al the residue: but to the vice of couetousnes, none can geue a reasonable excuse. For with money put into the cofer, the soule cannot profite, nor the bodye reioyce. Boetius in his booke of consolation sayd, that money is good, not whē we haue it in possession: but when we wante it, and in very dede the sentence of Boetius is very profound: for whē man spendeth mony, he attayneth to that he wil, but hauing it with him, it profiteth him nothing. We may say of riche, & couetous men, that if they heape and kepe, they say it is but for deare & dyre, peres, and to releue their parentes and frendes. We may aunswere them, that they do not heape up to remedye the pooze in suche like necessities, but rather to bringe the common wealth to greater pouertye. For then they sel al thinges deare, and put out theyr moncy to greates vsurpe: so that this couetous man dothe moze harme with that he doth lend them, then the dyre yere doth with that it hath taken from them. The noble & vertuous men, ought not to cease to do wel for feare of dyre peres: for in the ende, if one deare yere come, it maketh all deare, and at such a time, & in suche a case, he onely may be called happy, which for being free and liberal in almes, shall reioyce that his tabke should be costlye. Let couetous men beware, that for heaping of much goodes, they giue not to the deuill their soules: for it may be, y^e before the dere yere cometh to sel their corne, their bodies shalbe layde in the graue. What good doth god to the noble mē, getting the liberal hartes: & what ill luck haue couetous mē (hauing as they haue their hartes so hard laced. For if couetous mē did tast how swete & necessary a thing it is to giue: they coulde kepe litle for the selues

THE DIALL

The xxiiii. Chapter.

Howe sithens the miserable and couetous men, haue not the hart to giue to their fren des, to depart to their parentes, to succour the pooze, to lend to their neighbours, nor to susteine the orphanes, it is to be thought that they wil spend it on them selues. Truly I saye no moze, for there are men so miserable, and so hard of that they haue, that they thinke that as euill spente, whiche amonge theym selues they spende: as that which one robbeth fro them of their goods. Howe will the couetous and miserable wretche giue a garmente to a naked man, which dare not make him selfe a cote: Howe will he giue to eate to the pooze famlyar, which as a pooze slaue eateth the bread of bzaime, & selleth the floure of meale: Howe shal the pilgrymes lodge in his house, who for pure misserye dare not entre: and howe doth he visite the hospitall, and relieue the sicke, that oftentimes hasardeth his owne helth and life, for that he wil not giue one peny to the phisition: how shal he succour secretly the pooze and neady, which maketh his owne children go barefoote, and naked: how can he helpe to marve the pooze maydes being orphanes, when he suffereth his owne daughters to waire olde in his house: how wil he giue of his goodes to the pooze captiues, which wil not pay his owne men their wages: how wil he giue to eate to the children of pooze gentelmen, whiche alwayes grudgeth at that his owne spende: howe shoulde we beleue that he wil apparel a widow, whiche will not giue his owne wife a hooche: howe doth he daylye giue almes, which goeth not to the churche on the Sonday bicause he wil not offer one peny: how shal y couetous man reioice the hart, sith for spending of one peny, oftentimes he goeth supperles to bed: And finally I saye, that he wil neuer giue vs of his owne prosper goodes, whiche weapeth alwayes for the goodes of an other.

The auctor foloweth his matter, and vvith great reasons discom mendeth the vices of couetous men.



ONE of the thinges wherin the deuine prouidence sheweth, that we do not vnderstand the maner of her gouernement, is to see that she geueth vnderstanding to a man to knowe the riches, she geueth him force to seke them, subtiltye to gather them, vertue to susteyne them, courage to defend them, and also longe life to possesse them. And with all this she gyueth him not licence to enioye them, but rather suffereth him, that as withoute reason he hath made him selfe lord of an other mans, of righte he shoulde be made slaue of his owne: thereby a man may knowe, of howe greater excellencye vertuous povertye is, then the outragious couetousnes, for so much as to the poze, god doth giue contentation of that litell he hath, and from the riche man, he taketh contentation of the great deale he possesseth. So that to the couetous man we se troubles encrease hourly: and the gaine cometh vnto him but momentarily. Let vs compare the ryche and couetous man to the pooze potter, and we shall see, who shall profite most, eyther the potter with his pottes that he maketh of earth, or els the couetous, with the mony whiche he hath in the earth. Though I make no answer to this, yet answer here in hath bene alreadye made, that the one is muche better at ease with the earth, then the other is with the good. For the potter getteth his lining by selling pottes, and the couetous man loseth his soule by keeping riches. I humblye requyre the high princes, and also I beseech the great lordes, and further I admonithe the

other nobles, & Plebeians, alwayes to haue this woꝛde in memoꝛy. I saye, and affirme, that the moꝛe strögly the man keapech, and locketh his treasures: the moꝛe strögly, and pꝛtuelly is he kepte: foꝛ if he put two keyes to keape his treasure, he putteth seuen to hys harte not to spende them. Let the noble, and ballaunt men beware, that they gene not their myndes to heape by treasures: foꝛ if once their hartes be kindled with couetousnes, foꝛ feare of spendinge a halypenny, they wyll daylye suffer them selues, to fall into a thousande myseries. The Plebeians which are very riche, may saye, that they haue not heaped by much treasures, sithens they can not behold a hundred, oꝛ two hundred ducates. To this I answer, that þe states considered, tenne ducates to asmuch harme to a treasurer, as to others tenne thousand.

foꝛ the faulte consisteth not, in keaping, oꝛ hiding (much oꝛ lytel) riches: but foꝛ somuch as in keapinge them, we cease to doe many good woꝛkes. To me it is a straunge matier, that nigarlines hath greater foꝛce to the couetous, then conscience hath in others. foꝛ there are many, whiche notwithstandinge conscience, doe pꝛofite with the goods of others: & the couetous hauinge moze misery, then conscience, cannot yet pꝛofite with their owne. With much care, and no small diligence, the couetous men doe pꝛouyde, that the myllers doe not robbe the meale, that their beastes make no wastes, that the hunters runne not thorough þe coꝛne, that their wine perissh not, that those which owe them any thing, do not go, and make them selues banke routes, & whinels doe not eat their coꝛne, & þe theues robbe not their goods: but in the end, they watche none so wel, as them selues. foꝛ al þe others (erly, oꝛ late) haue alwaies opoꝛtunitie to robbe fro them some what: but þe couetous hath neuer the herte, to chaunge a ducate. He ought to take great pitye of a couetous man, who by his owne wil, & not of necessity, weareth his gowne al to toꝛne, his shoes out, his poyntes without

aggletes, an euill fauored girdle, hys cote rente, hys hatte olde, hys hose seame rente, hys cappe greasye, and hys sherte lousye: finallye I saye, that dyuers of these mylers sayne, that they haue a greate some to paye, and it is foꝛ no other thinge, but foꝛ not wearinge a good garmente. What can the couetous do moze, then foꝛ keaping a peny in his purse, he wil goe two monethes and not trimme hys bearde: sithens it is true that these pynchpenies doe behaue their parsons so euill, doe ye thinke they haue their houses any thing the better furnished? I saye no, but you shall see their chambers full of cobwebbes, the doores oute of the hinges, the windowes rüer, the glasses broken, the planches lose, the couertures of the house withtare gutters, the stoles broken, the beddes woꝛme eaten, & chimnies redy to fall: so þe to herber a frēd, oꝛ kinsma of theirs, they are constrained to lodge him in their neighbour's house, oꝛ els to sed to boꝛtow al that they want. And passinge ouer the garmentes they weate, and the houses wherein they dwel, let vs se what table they kepe: foꝛ of their gardeins they eate no frute, but þe that falleth, of their bigness, but rotte grapes, of their shepe, the sickest, of their coꝛne, the wettest, of wine, þe whiche hath taken winde, of lardal, þe is yelowe, of milke, þe is toꝛned: and finallye I say, the felicity that gluttons haue in eating, the selfe same haue they in keaping. O unhappy are þe gluttons, & much moze are þe couetous: foꝛ the tast of one consisteth only in þe throte, & þe felicity of þe other consisteth, in þe he may locke by in his chest. We haue now senē, how the couetous weare symple apparayle, keape a poze table, and dwell in a filthy house: and yet they lesse regarde those thinges that touche there honour. foꝛ if they had their cares as open to heare, as they haue their hartes bent, at eche houre to gather, and heape vp: they shoulde heare howe they are called mylers, bseters, nygardes, pinchpenies, oppressours, cruell, vnthankfull, and

THE DIAL

Unthankesful, & vnfortunate. Finally I say, that in the common wealthe they are so hated, that al men had rather lay handes vpon their bodyes to kyll them, then tonges on their renoume to defame them. The couetous man is of al other moſte vnlucky. For if he fall at ſtriſe with any, he ſhall finde no one frend that wyl come to viſite him in his houſe: but he ſhall haue a hundred theues whiche wil robbe him of his goods. For to reuenge a couetous enemy, a man nedde deſire nought els but that he liue long: for he is moze tormeted in his life, with hys owne couetouſnes, then he can be otherwiſe, with any penance. A riche men would ſay vnto me, that they doe not reſoyce to haue ſayer houſes, ſithen they may haue them, neyther of curioſ apparel, ſince they may weare it, nor of deinty meates, ſithens they may eate them, & that that whiche they do, is not to be couetous, but for that they are good chriſtians. In ſo luſt a thinge, reaſon woulde my pen ſhuld ceaſe: but I am ſory, they ſo lytell exteame thinges touching their honoz, and much leſſe the matters touching their conſcience. If the Auaritiouſ ſaye, he heapeſh goods to doe almes, I doe not beleue it: for daily we ſe, that if a poze man aſke him almes, he anſwereth them immediately, god helpe you, for he hath neyther purſe nor penny. The couetous vſeth this, y he neuer geueth any almes in his houſe, but fat meate, and reſty baken, rotten cheſe, & hore breade: ſo that it ſemeth rather y they make cleane their houſe, then geue almes to the poze. If the couetous mā would tel vs, that y whiche they haue, is to dyſcharge ſome dettes of their predeceſſours, wherw they are burdened, I ſay it is a baine excuſe: ſithens we ſe, that the wiſles of their fathers, of their mothers, & of their graūdfathers, be not as yet perſquied, neyther wyl they thinke to perſorme them, whiche ſemeth to be very true. For ſince the houres that they laſed their fathers in the graue, they neuer ſaw ther one cadelighted for his ſoule. He whiche of pure couetouſnes & miſery, ſuffreth hym ſelfe to

dye for hunger & cold. I thinke that neyther with almes, nor good deades, hys ſoule can be plucked from purgatory. If the couetous mā ſay vnto vs, that y whiche he heapeſh, is for no other cauſe, but to builde a ſumptuous chappel, & to leaue of the ſome memozye, to this I anſwere. That if ſuche one doeth it with his owne proper ſwet, & maketh reſtitucio of al the euill that he hath done, it ſhall be ſanctified, & of al good men commended: but if the couetous wyl that many lyue in great pouerty, only to make a riche graue, god doth not commaund that, neither doeth the church admit it: for ſacrifice done to god with the cries & ſwet of others, is not acceptable. If the couetous ſay, y though they heape treaſures, it is not but at their death to commaund, that they ſay many trentalles, for the ſoules of thoſe whiche are departed, I ſay, that I comend this purpoſe, if there be no moze peril in the matter: but I am ſory, that a couetous man ſhuld thinke, y he dyſchargeſh al the wickednes of his life, for comannding only a dirge, oz trental to be ſaid after his death, ſith he hath brought to the hoſpital two thouſande whiche he hath robbed. I would thinke it moze ſure, that princes and great lordes ſhuld ſped their goods, to marye poze maydens, beinge orphans in their lyfe, then to commaund many maſſes after their death. For oftentimes the heires whiche remaine, cauſe them to ſaye a ſcwe maſſes, and in the meane tyme, they vndoe many orphanes. Oh how greatly ough he to be comended, that plucketh a ſoule fro purgatory, & he alſo whiche ſaſerth the poze yong maidens, from ſallyng into the vices of the world. Suppoſe y a couetous mā chaunceth to traffique at Medine in Spaine at Liōs in Fraunce, at Liſbone in Portingal, at Londō in Englād, at Andwarpe in Flaunders, at Millaine in Lombardy, at Florēce in Italy, at Palermo in Scieil, at Praga in Boemen and at Buda in Hungary: finally with his eyes he hath ſene all Europe, & by traffique he hath knowledge of all Aſia.

Admir

Admit now that in every place he hath gotten goods, and that which he hath gotten, was not with hole conscience, but according to the companies, so hath the offences bene diners. In this case, if at y^e houre of death, when the covetous man beliveth his money betwene the children, he myght also denide his offences, so that he dyspossessyng him selfe of the goods, myght thereby be free from the offences, then it were wel. But alas it is not so, for the wicked chyldren lyue triumphinge on the yearch with the goods, and the miserable father goeth weeping to hell with his sinnes.

The xxv. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Emperour vvrote to hys frende, vvherin he touched those gentlemē, vvwhich vvill take vpon them the trade of marchaundise againste their vocation.

MARCE the Emperoure with his brother Annus Verus, fellow in the Empire, wryteth to the Cicinnatus of Capua health to thy persō, & grace against thy evil fortune. Fro y^e feast of our mother Beccinthe, I haue sent, neither seruaut of thy house, nor red any letter of thy hand, vvich thinge maketh me suspecte greatly, that thy health is in dauger, or that thou mistrustest our frendshipp: for earnest frendshipp, requirith daply communication, or visitacion: I praye the be not so careless from henceforth, and do not forget vs in such wise, I meane, that thou wilt come and se vs, or at the least, that thou wilt write vnto vs ofte: for the letters of faithful frendes, though vtterly they doe not take from vs the desire of the presence: yet at the least they make vs hope for

a meetinge. I know that thou mayste answer me, that in the comon wealth of Capua thou art so busied, that it is impossible thou shouldest write vnto me: hereto I answer the. That in no affaires thou canst be so occupied, that it be a lawfull let, not to communicate, or write vnto thy frend. For we may wel cal the time vviche we lue, to be wel employed, vviche is spente in the service of god, and in the conversation of our frendes. At the residue that we waste in talking, travaillinge, sleapinge, eating, and resting, we ought not to write it in the booke of life, but in the register of death. For al be it that in such semblable vvorkes, the bodye is refreshed: yet therewith the hert cannot be comforted. I sweare vnto the therfore (my frend) that it is impossible the man take any contentacion of any vvorldly thinge, where the hert is not at rest: for our comfort is not in the sinnes or in the bones of the bodye, but in the luelye power of the soule. It is longe stithens that you and I haue knowen togethers, it is long time likewise y^e I loved the, and thou me: and sith we are so true old frendes, it is but reaso that to good vvorkes we do renew our frendshipp. For falsely they vsurpe the name of frendshipp, vvich are not conuersant one to the other, no moze then if they were straungers. The man vviche speaketh not to me, vviche wryteth not to me, vvich seeth me not, vviche visiteth me not, vvich geneth me not, & to vvho I gene not, I would not be vvere my enemy: but it listen analleth me, y^e he cal me frend, for particular frendshipp consisteth not in aboundaunce, but y^e frendes doe ope their hartes, & talke to their persōs. Peradventure y^e wilt say, y^e the great distaunce vvich is fro rome, to y^e countrey, hath ben occasiō to diminish our frendshipp: for y^e noble hertes are on fier, vvith the presence of that they loue, & haue great paine, vvith y^e absēce of that they desire. I answer, that the forder the delitious vvines are sent, fro the place vvhere they grow: the greater strenght they haue. I meane, that herein true

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friendes are knowen, when theſe perſons are furtheſt ſeuered: for then are their wylles moſt conſoyued. Tel me I pray the Ciccinnatus, ſithens alwayes thou haſte founde me a diſpyt friend in thy ſeruite, why doeſt thou miſtruſt my faythfull good wyl: The grene leaues outwardly doe ſhewe, that the tree inwardly is not dry. I meane, that the good woꝝkes outwardly do declare, the ſeruentnes of the harte inwardly. If thou Ciccinnatus preſumeſt to be a true frend of thy frend, I wil thou know this rule of frendſhpy, whiche is: Where perfect lone is not, there watech alway faithfull ſeruite: & for the contrary, he that perfectly loueth, aſſuredly ſhal be ſerued. I haue ben, am, and wylbe thine, therefore thou ſhalt doe me greate iniury, if thou arte not mine.

The xxvi. Chapter.

The Emperoure declareth vwhat vertues men oughte to vſe, and the vices vvhiche they ought to eſchevve.

IN tymes paſte I beinge yong, and thou old, I did ſuccour þ with money, & thou me with good coucel: but now the world is otherwyſe chainged, in that thy white heares doe iudge the to be old, & thy woꝝkes do cauſe þ to be yōg. Therfore neceſſity cōpelleth me, þ we chaūge our ſtile, which is: þ I ſuccour þ w good coucel, though þ geue me no money therfore: for I coult thy couetonſnes to be ſuch, þ for all the good coucel, & coucellours of rome, þ woulte not vouchſafe to geue one quatraine of Capua. Now for þ good þ I wiſhe þ, & for that which I owe to þ law of frendſhip, I wil preſently geue þ a coucel, wherby þ maiſt know what a good mā ought to do, to be loued of god, & feared, & loued of men. If thou wylte quietly leade thy life in this miſerable world, retaine this wel in memory, which I write unto þ. Firſt, þ good deades þ haſt receiued of any, thoſe ſhalt thou remēber: & þ woꝝges

thou haſt ſuſtained, them ſhalt thou ſorget. Secondly exteme muche thy owne lytel: and wape not the much of another. Thirdly, the compayny of þ good alwayes couer: and the cōuerſatiō of the euil dayly fly. Fourthly, to the greate, ſhowe thy ſelfe graue: & to the ſmal more cōuerſat. Fiſthly, to thoſe whiche are preſent do alwayes good woꝝkes: and of thoſe that be abſent alwayes ſpeake good woꝝdes. Sixtely, wape litle the loſſe of fortune, and eſteeme much thinges of honour. The ſeuenth, to winne one thing, neuer adventure thou many: no: for many thinges doubtful, doe not thou adventure anye one thinge certayne. Finally, I praye the, and aduertise the, that thou haue no enemy: and that thou heape but one frend. He which among the good wil be couēted for good, none of theſe thinges he ought to wante. I know wel, that thou wylte haue great pleaſure to ſe theſe my counſels wel wyrtē: but I enſure the, I ſhal haue greater pleaſure to ſe the in thy deades wel obſerued. For by wyrtē to geue good counſel, it is eaſy: but by woꝝkes to follow the ſame, is marueylous hard. My faithfull frendſhpy to the plightred, & thy great abylyty conſydered, cauſed me alwayes for the to come to procure honozable offices, & by my ſute þ haſt bene Edel, & tribune & maſter of þ hoꝝles, wherē þ behaueſt thy ſelfe w ſuch wiſedō, & al the ſenate therfore yelded me moſte hartly thankes, I procuryng the for the, and thou for thy ſelfe winnyng ſuche perpetuall renowne. One thing of the I vnderſtand, which wiſh good wil I wold not haue knowē, & much leſſe þ any ſuch thing by the ſhuld haue ben cōmiſſed: þ is to wete, þ thou leauyng thy office of the pretoꝝhpy in the warre, by lād, haſt taken vpothe traſicke of a marchaūt by ſea: ſo that thoſe which in rome knew þ a knight, do ſe the now in Capua a marchaūt. My pē inditlyng this my letter, for a tyme ſtoode in ſuſpence, for no other cauſe, but onely to ſee what thing in þ firſt I might beſt blame: ether the noble office which þ diſceſt forſake, or þ bile & baſe ſtate which thou haſt choſe.

And though thou be so much bereued of thy
sensis, yet cal to mind thy auncient prede-
cessours which dyed in the warres, onely to
leane their chyldren, and nephewes, armed
knightes: & that thou presently sekest to lose
that lyberte by thoughe thy couetousenes,
which they wanne by their valiauntnes. I
thinke I am not deceiued, that if thy prede-
cessours were reuiued, as they were ambi-
tious of honour, so would they be greedy to
eate the in morsels, sinnes, bones, and all.

For the children which vniustly take hono-
r from their fathers, of reason oughte to lose
there lyues. The castels, towne, howsen,
mountaines, wood, beastes, Jewelles, and
siluer, whiche oure predecessours haue lefte
vs, in the end by long continuance do perishe:
& that whiche causeth vs to haue perpetual
memozy of the, is the good renowne of their
life. And therefore if this be true, it is great
shame for the parētes to haue such chyldren, in
whom the renowne of their predecessours doth
ende. In the flourishyng tyme of Cicero the
orator, when by his counsel the hole com-
mon wealth was gouerned, he beinge then
of power, both in knowledge and of money:
Salust sayd vnto him in his inuēctiue, that
he was of base stocke: wherunto he aunsw-
red. Great cause haue I to render thanks
vnto the gods, that I am not as thou art, by
whom thy high linage is ended: but my poze
stocke by me doeth now begin to rise. It is
great pity to se, how many good, noble, and
valiaunt men are deade: but it is moze greife,
to se presently their chyldre vicious, and vni-
iustes. So that there remaineth as much
memozy of their infamy, as there doeth of
the others honesty. Thou makest me asha-
med, the thou hast forsake to conquer the ene-
mies as a romaine knight: & that thou arte be-
come a marchaūt, as a poze plebeins. Thou
makest me to muse a litel, my frend Cicinna-
tus, that thou wilt harme thy familiers, and
suffer straungers to lyue in peace. Thou se-
kest to procure death, to those whiche geue
vs life: & to deliuer from death those, which

take our life. To rebels thou geuest rest, & to
the peace makers thou geuest anoyance.
To those which take fro vs our owne, thou
wilt geue: and to those whiche geue vs of
theirs, thou wilt take. Thou condemnest the in-
nocent, & the condemned thou wilt deliuer.
A defender of thy countrey thou wilt not be,
but a tiraunt of thy common wealth. To all
these thynges aduerteth he, which leaureth
weapons, & fauleth to marchaundise. With
my selfe oftentimes I haue mused, what oc-
casion shuld moue the to forsake chivaldrie,
wherin thou haddest such hono: & to take in
hand marchaundise, whereof foloweth such
infamy. I say, it is as muche shame for the
to haue gon from the warres, as it is hono-
r for those which are bozne vnto office in the
comō wealth. My frend Cicinnatus, my end
tendeth not to condemne marchaundise, nor
marchaundes, nor euyl to speake of those
which trafficke, by the trade of bring, & sel-
ling. For as without the valiaunt knightes,
warre can not be cheued: so likewise w oute
the diligēt marchaūtes, the common wealth
can not be maintained. I can not imagyne for
what other cause thou shuldest forsake warre,
& traffique marchaundise, vnles it were, by
cause thou not beinge old, and wantest force to
assaulte me openly in the straites: shuldest w
moze ease sittinge in thy charite, robbe se-
cretly in the market place. I poze Cicinna-
tus, stithes thou best cheape, & sellist deare, pro-
misest much, and performest litel: thou byest by
one measure, & sellest by another, thou watchest
that none deceiue the, & playest therin as o-
ther marchaūtes accustome. And to conclude
I sweare, that the measure wherw the gods
shall measure thy lyfe, shalbe muche luster,
then of thy merytes. Thou hast taken on
the an office, wherw, the which thy copaigni-
ons in manye dayes haue robbed. Thou in one
houre by discette doest get: & afterwarde the
time shall come, when all the goode whiche
thou hast gotte, both by trueth, & faldred, shal
be lost, not only in an honre which is longer:
but in a moment whiche is but short. Whe-

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ther we geue much, we haue much, we may doe much, or we liue much: yet in the end, the gods are so iust, that al þe euill we doe commit shalbe punished, and for all the good we worke, we shalbe rewarded, so that þe gods oftentimes permit, þe one alone shall scourge many, & afterward þe lōg time punisheth al.

The xxvii. Chapter

The emperor Marcus Aurelius, perswadethe his frende to dyspyse the vanities of the vvorde, and sheveth though a man be neuer so vvyse: yet he shal haue nede of an othet mans counsell.



IF I knew thy vvisedom esteemed the worlde, & banities therof, so much as the worlde doth possesse the, & thy dayes, as by thy white heares most manifestly doth appere: I nede not take the paines to perswade the, nor þe shuldest be annoyed in hearing me. Notwithstanding, thou being at the gate of great care, reaso would that some shuld take the clapper to knocke therat, w some good counsell: for though the raser be sharpe, it needeth sometymes to be whet. I meane, though mā's vnderstādinge be neuer so cleare: yet from tyme, to tyme, it needeth coucel: verrouns men oftentimes doe erre not because they would fesse: but for þe thinges are so euill of digestiō, & the veritie they haue, suffyleth not to tell the, what thing is necessary for their profite. For the which cause it is necessary, þe his wil be bydded, his wit fined, his opinion charged, his memory sharpened, & aboue al, now & then, that he forsake his owne aduise, & cleane vnto þe coucel of another. When which couet to make high, sumptuous, fayer, & large buildynges, haue great care, þe the foundaciō therof be surely layed: for where þe foundacions are not sure, there the hole buildynges are in great danger. The maners & condicions of this worlde (þe is to wete) the prosperous esta-

tes, wherby þe childre of banity are set, are founded of quicke sand: in that sorte, that be they neuer so valiant, prosperous, & myghty, a litel blast of wind doth stirre them, a lytel heate of prosperitey doth opē the, a showre of aduersitey doth wet the, and vnwares death striketh the al flat to the ground. When seing they can not be perpetual, do procure to continue them selues, in raising by proud buildynges, & leauing to their childre great estates: wherin I count the foolcs, no lesse then in thinges superfluous. For admit þe pillars be of gold, the beames of silver, & that those which toyne them be kynges, & those which bild the are noble, & in that mīning they consume a thousand yeaeres before they can haue it out of the grounde, or that they can come to the bottomes: I sweare vnto them, that they shall finde no steady rocke, nor lyhely mountaine, wher they may tld their house sure, nor to cause their memoy to be perpetual. The immortal gods haue participated al thinges to the mortall mē, immortality only reserved: and therefore they are called immortal, for so much as they neuer dye, & we others are called mortalles, because daily we vanish away. O my frend Cicinnat, men haue an end, & thou thinkest that gods neuer ought to end. Now grene, now ripe, now rotte, frute is seuered fro this lyfe, & the tree of þe miserable fleshy, & esteeme this as nothyng, for so much as death is naturall. But oftentimes in þe lease or flower of youth, the frost of some disease, or the peril of some mishap doth take vs away: so that when we thinke, to be aloue in the moonyng, we are ded in the night. It is a tedious & lōg worke to weaue a cloth: yet whē in many dayes it is wouē, in one mement it is cut. I meane, that it is much folly, to se a mā w what toile he enricheth hym selfe, & into what peryl he putteth hym selfe, to winne a state of honoz: and afterwarde whē we thinke litel, we se hym perishe in his estate, leauyng of hym no memoy. O my frēd Cicinnatus, for þe loue þe is betwene vs, I desire þe, & by the immortal gods I couere the, that þe geue no credite

to the world which hath this cōditiō, to hide muche copper vnder litell golde, vnder the colour of one truth; he telleth vs a. 1000. lies, & with one short pleasure, he minglet h. 10. thousand displeasures. He begileth those to whō he pretendeth most loue, & procureth great damages to thē, to whom he giueth most goodes, he recōpenseth them greatlye which serue him in gess, & to those which truly loue him, he geueth moches for goods. Finally I say, that whē we slepe most sure, he waketh vs with greatest peril.

¶ Cyther thou knowest the world w. his decepte, or not: if thou knowest him not, why dost thou serue him: if thou dost know him, why dost thou folowe him? Tell me I pray the, wouldest not y take y these for a foole; which would bie the rope wherw. he should be hanged, & y murderer that would make the sword, wherwith he shuld be beheaded: & the robber by the high waye, that woulde shewe the wel wherin he should be cast: and the traytour that shoulde offer him selfe in place for to be quartered: the rebel y should disclose him selfe to be Monarch. Then I sweare vnto the, that thou art much more a foole, which knowest the world, & will folowe it, & serue it. One thing I will tel the, which is such, that thou oughtest neuer to forget it: that is to wete, y we haue greater neede of sayth, not to beleue y banittes whiche we se, then to beleue the great malices which w. our eares we here. I retorne to aduise the, to read & cōsidre this word which I haue spokē, for it is a sentence of profound misery. Dost thou thinke Cincinnatus, y rich men haue litel care to get great riches? I let the wete, that the goods of this world are of such cōditiō, y before the poore man doth lock vp in his chesses a. 100. crownes: he feleth a thousand griefes & cares in his hart. Our predecessours haue sene it, we se it presently, & our successours shal se it: y y mony which we haue gotten, is in a certain nombze, but the cares & trauailes which it bringeth, are infinite. We haue selue paynted houses, & fewe noble estates in Rome, y

within a litle time haue not great cares in their hartes, cruel enmities w. their neyghbours. much euil toll of their herres, disordinate importunities of their frēdes, perilous malices of their enemies, & aboue al, in the senate they haue innumerable pces, & oftentimes to locke a litle good in their chesses, they make, 10. thousande blottes in their honoz. Whome many haue I known in Rome, to whō it hath chaunced, that al y they haue gotten in Rome, to leaue vnto their best beloued child: an other heyre with litle care of whō they thought not, hath enjoyed it. There can be nothinge more iust, thē that al those which haue begiled others with discesses in their life, should be found disceiued in their dayne imaginaciōs after their death. Inuiuous shoulde the gods be, if in al the euil, that the euil p. posed to do, they should geue them time & place conuenient to accōplish the same. But the goddes are so iust & wise, that they disceble with the euil, to thend thei should begitt, & folow the thinges accōrdinge to their owne willes & fantasies: & afterwarde at the beste time, they cut of their liues, to leaue thē in greater torment. The gods should be very cruel, & to thē it should be great greife, to suffer that that which the euil haue gathered, to the p. iudice of many good: they should enjoy in peace, for manye peres. We thinketh it is great folly, to know that we are home weeping, & to se that we die sighing, & yet for al this that we dare lye laughing. I would aske the world & his worldlings, sithe y we enter into the world weeping, & go out of the world sighing why we shold lye laughing: for the rule to measure al parties, ought to be equal. O Cincinnatus, who hath begiled the, to the end y for one bottell of water of the sea of this worlde, for thy pleasure, y wilt blisse thy hande w. the rope of cares, & brouse thy body in shaker of troubles: & as boue al to aduenture thine owne honour, for a glasse of water of another man.

By the saythe of a good man I sweare vnto thee, that for all the greates

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quāttle of water thou draswest, for þ great
deale of monye thou haste, thou remaynest
as nuch dead for thurst, drinke of that wa-
ter: as when thou were without water in
the cup. Consider now thy peres, if my coun-
sel thou wilt accept, þ shalt demaund death
of the gods to rest the as a vertuous man:
and not riches, to liue as a foole. With the
teares of my eyes I haue bewayled manye
in Rome, when I saue them depart out of
this world, & the I haue bewayled, & do be-
wape (my frende Cicinnatus) with drop-
pes of bloud, to se the retozne into þ world.
The credite thou haddest in the senate, the
blouds of thy predecessours, my frendship,
the aucthority of thy persō, the honoz of thy
parentage, þ sclaunder of thy cōmō welth,
ought to withdraue the from so great co-
uetousnes. D þoze Cicinnatus, þ whete ho-
nozed heyres which do fall, ought to be oc-
cupied in the noble armies: sithens þ arte
noble of of bloud, valiaunt in persō, auctēt
of peres, & not euell willed in the common
wealch. For thou oughtest to consider, that
more worth is reason, for the way of men
* which are good: then the common opinon,
which is the large high way of the euell.
For if it be narrowe to go on the one side,
there is no dust wherw the eyes be blinded
as in the other. I wil geue the a counsell, &
if þ sealest thy selfe euell, neuer count thou
me for frend. Lust no more after the grea-
se fatte of tempozal goodes, sith thou hast
thort life: for we se dayly many, befoze they
come to thy age die, but we se fewe after
thy age liue. After this counsell I wil giue
the an aduise, that þ neuer trust pzesēt pros-
perity: for then allwaye thou art in daūger
of some euell fortune. If thou art mounted
into such pricking thornes, as a foole me
thinketh thou oughtest to descēd as a sage.
And in this sort, al wil say amongst þ peo-
ple, that Cicinnatus is descended, but not
fallen. My letter I wil conclude, & the con-
clusion therof se wel þ ncte, that is to wete,
that thou, & thy trade shalbe cursed, where

you oher marchauntes will liue poze, to
die rithe. Once againe I retozne to curse
you, for that the couetousnes of an euell mā
is alwayes accomplished, to the pzeudice
of many good. My wife Faustine dothe sa-
lute the, & she was not a litel troubled, whē
she knewe thou were a marchant, & that
thou kepest a shoppe in Capua. I sende the
a hōze to ride vpon, and one of the most ri-
chest arras of Tripoli to hange thy house
withal, a pzeious ringe, & a pommell of a
swoorde of Alexandrie: & all these thinges
I do not sende thee, for that I knowe thou
hast nede therof: but rather not to forgette
the good custome I haue to giue. Pāphile
thy aunt, & my neighbour, is dead. And I
can tel the, that in Rome died not a womā
of longe time, whiche of her liue suche rea-
sonne: for so much as she forgot all enmy-
ties, she succoured the pooze, she visited the
banished, she interteyned frendes, and also
I hard saye, that she alone did light all the
temples. Pre stilla thy cōsen hath the health
of bodye, though he for the deathe of her mo-
ther her hart is heauy.
And without doubt, she had reason: for the
only sorowes whiche the mothers suffer to
bzingē vs forth, though he with dropes of
bloud we shoulde bewape, yet we can not
them recompence. The goddes be in thy cu-
stody, and pzeferue me, with my wife Fau-
stine, from al euell fortune. Parks of
mount Celio, with his tōne hand.

The xxviii Chapter.

* The auctour persvadeth prin-
ces and great Lordes to flye co-
uetousnes and auarice, and to
become liberal, vvhich is a ver-
tue semely for a royal parson.



Pisistratus the renowned tyrant among the Atheniēs, sins his frendes coulde not endure the cruelties that he committed, eche one returned to his owne house, & bitterly forsoke him.

The which when the tyrant saw, he layd al his treasure and garmentes on a heape together, and went to visite his frendes, to whome, with bitter teares he spake these wordes. Al my apparayle & monye here I bring you, to determinaciō, & if you wil vse my cōpany, we will go all to my house; & if you wil not come into my cōpany, I am determined to dwel in yours. For if you be wery to folow me, I haue great desire to serue you: sithes you know, & they cā not be called faythful frendes, where & one cā not beare to the other. Plutarke in his Apothegmes sayth, that this tyrant Pisistratus was very rich, & extrenie couetous, so that they wrote of him, & the gold & siluer which ones came into his possession, neuer man sawe it afterward: but if he had necessity to bye any thing, if they would not present it vnto him willingly, he would haue it by force. When he was dead, the Atheniēns determined to wepe him and his treasure: the case was meritiaplous, that & golde and siluer he had, weyed more then his dead body, 6. times. At that time, in Athens there was a philosopher called Lido, of whō the Atheniēns demaunded, what they should do with & treasure and dead body: he thinketh (quod this philosopher) that if those which are liuing, did knowe any siluer or gold, which the tyrant toke from theym, it should be restozed agayne immediately: and do not meruayle, that I do not require it to be put in the common treasure. For god wil not permit, that the common welch be enriched with the thefte of Tyrantes: but with the swer of the inhabitants. If any goodes remayne, whiche do not appeare from whom they haue bene taken, he thinketh & they ought to be distributed among the poore: for nothing can be more iust, the

that with the goodes wherewith the tyrants haue enpouertished manye, with the selfe same we should enriche some. As touching the herpall, he thinketh he ought to be cast out to the foules to be eaten, and to the dogs to be gnawen. And let no man thinke this sentence to be cruel: for we are bounde to do no more for hym at his deache, then he dyd for him selfe in his lyfe; who beyng so ouercome with auarice, that he would neuer dysbourse so much money, as should be hym seuen foote of yerth, wher in his graue should be made. And I wyll you knowe, that the gods haue done a great good to all Grece, to take life fro this tyrant. First it is good, because much goodes are dispersed which heretofore lay hid, and serued to no purpose. Secōdly, that many tongues shall rest, for the treasures of this tyrant, made great want in the common wealth: & our tonges the greatest parte of the daye were occupied, to speake euil of his parson. We thinketh this philosopher hath touched two thinges, whiche the couetous man doth in the common wealth, that is to wete, that drawing much gold & siluer to the hid treasure, he robbeth the marchaundise wherewith the people do liue: The other damage is, that as he is hated of al, so he causeth rage and malice in the hartes of all: for he maketh the riche to murmour, and & poore to blasphemē. One thing I read in the lawes of the Lombardes worthy (of trowth) to be noted and knowen, and no lesse to be folowed, which is: that al those which should haue gold, siluer, mony, silkes, and clothes, euery yere, they should be registered in the place of iustice. And this was to the end, not to consent, nor permit theym to heape much: but that they should haue to bye, to sel and to traffike, wherby the goodes were occupied amonge the people. So & he which did spend & money, to & profite of his house, it was taken for good of & cōmō welth. If & chrystians would do ynow a dayes which & Lombardes did, there should not

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not be so many treasures hid, nor so many covetous men in the common welth: for nothing can be more untrust, then that one rich man should heape by that, which would suffice, 10. thousand to live with all. We can not deny but that the cursed avarice, & disordinate covetise to all states of men, is as prejudiciall, as the moght, whiche eateth all garments. Therfore speaking the troth, and with libertie, there is no house that it dothe not defile: for it is more perillous, to have a clodde of earth fall into a mans eye, then a beame upon his fore. Agelias the renowned king of the Lacedemonians, beinge asked of a man of Thebes what word was moost odible to be spoken to a king: and what worde that was, that could honoꝝ him most: he answered. The prince with nothing so much ought to be annoied, as to say unto him that he is rich, and of nothing he ought so much to reioyce as to be called poore. For the gloꝝy of the good prince consisteth not, in that he hath great treasures: but in that he hath given great recompentes. This worde without doubte, of al the world was one of the most royallest, and worthiest to be committed unto memoꝝy. Alexander, Pirrus, Nicanor, Ptolomeus, Pompeius, Julius Cesar, Scipio, Hannibal, Marcus Porcius, Augustus, Chrito, Traian, Theodose, Marcus Aurelius, all these princes have ben very balaunt and vertuous: but forning them with all, the wꝛiters whiche have wꝛitten the dedes that they didde in their lynes, have mentioned also the povertie which they had at their death. So that they are no lesse etalted, for the riches they have spent: then for the pꝛoves they have done. Admit that men of meane estate be avaricious, and princes & great lordes also coue: consider the fault of þe one is not equall to the vice of the other, though in the end all are culpable. For if the poore man kepe, it is for þe he would not want, but if the knight hurde, it is because he hath to muche.

And in this case I would saye, that cursed be the knight, which tranayleth, to the end that goodes abound, and doth not care that betwene 2. bowes his renowne fall to the ground. Sithen princes and great lordes wil, that men do count them noble, vertuous and balaunt, I would know what occasion they haue to be nigardes and hard. If they say, that that which they kepe, is to eate, herein there is no reaso: for in the end, where the rich eateth leasste at his table, there are manie that had rather haue that which remaineth, then that whiche they pꝛovide to eate in their houses. If they say, that that which they kepe is to appayle them, herein also they haue as litel reaso: for the greatnes of lordes consisteth not, in that they should be sumptuously appayled, but that they pꝛovide that theiꝝ seruantes go not rent, nor tozney. If they say it is to haue in their chambers pꝛecious tewels, in their halles riche Tapistries, as litell woulde I admitte this answer: for all those which enter into princes palaces, do behold moze if those that haunt the chambers be vertuous, then that the tapistries be riche. If they say that it is to compass theiꝝ cities with walles, or to make fortresses on their frontiers: so likewise is this answer amogest the others very cold. For good princes ought not to trauaile, but to be wel willed, & if in their realmes they be wel beloued, in þe world they can haue no walles so strong as the hartes of their subiectes. If they tel vs, þe that they kepe is to mary their childꝛe, as litel reaso is þe: for thes princes & great lordes haue great inheritances, they neede not heape much. For if theiꝝ childꝛen be good, they shal increase & shal be left the: & if by mishap they be cruel, they shal aswel lose þe, & shal be geue the. If they say unto vs þe that which they heape is for þe warres in like maner, þe is no iust excuse: for if such warre be not iust, þe prince ought not to take it in hand; nor the people therunto to cōdescend, but if it be iust, þe can

wealth then, and not the prince, shal beare the charges therof. For in iust warres it is not sufficiente that they giue the prince all their goodes: but also they must theym selues in parson hazard their lines. If they tel vs, that y they kepe is to giue and dispose for their soules, at their dying day: I say it is not onelye wante of wisdom, but extreme folly. For at the hower of death, princes ought moze to reioyce for y they haue geuen: then for that at that time he ginerh. How princes and great lordes are euell counsayled, since they suffer them selues to be flandered for being couetous, onelye to heape a litel cursed treasure. For experiece teacheth vs, no manne can be couetous of goodes, but nedes he must be prodigall of honoꝝ, & abandone liberalite. Plutarke in the booke which he made of the fortune of Alexander, saith that Alexander y great had a priuate seruaunt, called Perdyke, the which seing y Alexander liberallye gaue all that which by great trauayle he attained, on a daye he sayde vnto him. Tell me, most noble prince, siithens y geuest all that thou haste to others, what wilt thou haue for thy selfe: Alexander answered, The glorie remaineth vnto me, of that I haue wonne and gotten: & the hope of that which I wil giue and winne. And forther he sayd vnto him, I wil tell the true Perdyke: If I knew that men thought, that all that which I take were for couetousnes, I sweare vnto the, that I woulde not beate downe one corner in a towne: and to winne of y world, I would not go one dayes iourney. My intencion is to take the glorie to my selfe, and to deuide the goodes amongst others. These wordes so high, were worthy of a valiant & vertuous prince, as of Alexander which spake the. If that which in booke I haue red, do not begile me, & y which these eyes I haue sene: to become rich, it is necessary y a mā geue: for y princes & great lordes, which naturally are geue to be liberal, are alwayes fortunate to haue. It chauncessometimes, that some mā geuing litel, is coun-

ted liberal: & an other geuing much, is counted a niggard. The which proceedeth of this y they know not y liberality & niggardnes consisteth not in geuing much, or litel: but to knowe wel how to geue. For the rewarde and recompences, which out of rike are distributed, do nother profite the which receiue them, neither agre to him which geueth theim. A conetous man geueth moze at one time, then a free hart dothe in. 20. so sayth the comō prouerbe, y the niggard spendeth asmuche as the liberal. The difference betwene the liberality of the one, & the mysery of the other is, that the noble and vertuous, doth giue that he geueth to many: but the niggard, geueth that he geueth to one onely. Of the which vnaduisement, princes ought greatly to beware. For if in such case one man alone shold be found which would comend his liberality: there are. 10. thousand which would condepre his couetousnes. It happeneth oftentimes to princes & great lordes, that in dede they are free to recompence, but in geuinge they are very vnfortunate. And y cause is, that they giue it not to vertuous parsons & well condicioned, but to those which are vnthankfull, & do not acknowledge the benefite receiued. So that in geuing to some, they haue not made the their frendes: & in not geuing to others they haue made the their enemies. It sufficeth not to princes & great lordes, to haue great desire to giue: but to knowe when, howe, or where, & to who they ought to geue. For if they be accused other wise, to heape by treasures, they ought also be condepre for y they do geue. As he, a mā hath lost all y he hath in playe, in whores, in bankets, and other feble vices, it is but reaso they be ashamed: but whi they haue spent it like noble, stout & liberal, they ought not to be discontented, for y wise mā ought to take no displeasure for y he loseth: but for y he euell spendeth: & he ought to take no pleasure for that he geueth, but for y he geueth not wel. Dio in the lyfe of the emperour Severus sayeth that one daye in the feast of the godas

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Ianus, whē he had geuen diuers rewardes and sondry giftes, as well to his owne seruantes, as to straungers, & that he was greatly commended of all the Romaynes, he sayde vnto theim. Do you thinke nowe (Romaynes) that I am very gladdē for the giftes, rewardes, and recompenses which I haue bestowed: & that I am verie glorious for the prayles you haue geuen me: by the god Mars I sweare vnto ye, & let the god Ianus be so mercifull vnto vs all this pere, that y^e pleasure I haue is not so great, for that I haue geuen: as the griefe is, for that I haue no more to geue.

The.xxix.Chapiter.

The auctour persvadeth gentlemen, not to abasse them selues by taking vpon them any vile offices for gaine sake.



PLVTARCHE in his Apothemes declareth, y^e the king Ptolome⁹ the first, was a prince of so good a nature, and so gentle in conuersation, that oftentimes he wēt to supper to the houses of his familiar frendes, and manye nightes he remayned there to sleape. And truly in this case he shewed hym selfe to be welbeloued of his. For speaking according to the truthē a prince, on whose life dependeth the hole state of the comō welth, ought to credite fewe at the table, and also fewe in the bed. Another thing this Ptolomeus did, which was, when he invited his frendes to dinner or supper, or other straungers, of some he desired to borrow skooles, of others napkins, and of the others cuppes, and so of other thinges, for he was a prodigal prince. For al that his seruantes in the morning had bought, before the night, for

leaving he gaue it away. One day al the nobles of his realme of Egypt assembled together, and desired him very earnestly, that he should be more moderate in giuing: for they said, though his prodigality the hole realme was impouershed. The king answered. You others of Egypt are marvellously decepued, to thinke that the poore and needy prince is troubled. In this case I dare say vnto you, y^e the poore & needy prince oughte to thinke hym selfe happy, for good princes oughte more to seke to enrichē others, then to heape by treasours for theim selues. O happy is the comō welth which deserueth to haue such a prince, & happy is y^e tongue, which could pronounce such a sentence. Certainlye this prince to all princes gaue good exāple & counsell, that is to wete, y^e for thē it was more honestye, & also more profite, to make others rich: thē to be richē thē selues. For if they haue much, they shal want no crauers, & if they haue litell, they shal neuer want seruantes to serue them. Suetonius Tranquill⁹ in the booke of Cæsars saythe, that Titus the emperour one night after supper, from the bottome of his hart, fetched a heauy sigh, and he beinge demaunded of those whiche were at his table why he sighed so sore, he answered. We haue lost this day al my frēdes. By y^e which wordes the emperour ment, that he couēted not that day amongst those of liue: wherin he had geuen no reward nor gifte. Truly this noble prince was ballaunt, & mighty, ins he sighed & had displeasure, not for y^e which in many dayes he had geuen: but because y^e one day he had sayled to giue any thing. Pelopide of Thebes, was a man in his time, very ballaunt & also rich: & sith he was fortunatē in getting, & liberal in spending, one asked him, why he was so prodigal to giue: he answered. If to the it seemeth that I geue muche, to me it seemeth yet I should geue more: sithens the goods ought to serue me, & not I to honor them. Therfore I wil that they call me the spender.

of the goods: & not of the sword of his house. Plus
 tarche in his apothemes saith, y king Da-
 rius willing to moche to king Alexander
 for being poze, set to know where his treas-
 ures were, for such great armys to whom
 Alexander the great answered. Tel kinge
 Darius, that he heapech in his cofers his
 treasures of metall: & that I have no other
 treasures, then y herbes of my frendes. And
 further tel him, y one mā alone cā robbe all
 his treasures: but he & al þ world cā not take
 my treasures frō me, which are my frēdes.
 I durst say, affirming y Alexander sayde, y
 he cā not be called poze, which is rich of frē-
 des: netther cā he be called rich, whiche is
 poze of frēdes. For we saw by experieñce, A-
 lexander to his frēdes take king Darius trea-
 sures frō him: & kinge Darius to al his trea-
 sures, was not possibill enough to take A-
 lexanders frendes frō him. Those whiche of
 their natural inclinatio are shamefast, & in-
 estate noble, they ought aboue al thinges to
 fly þ flānder of couetousnes: for wout doubte
 greater is y honoz which is lost, thē y goods
 that are gotten. If princes & great lordes of
 their owne natural dispositions be liberal,
 let thē folow their nature: but if pchañce of
 their owne nature they are enclined to co-
 uetousnes, let thē enforce their will. And if
 they will not do it, I tel thē which are ptelet
 that a day shal come whē they shal repēt: for
 it is a general rule, y the disordinate coue-
 tousnes do raise agānst thē selues all be nī-
 mous tōges. Think that whē you watche
 to take māns goods, þ others watche in lyke
 manner to take your honoz. And if in suche
 case you hazard your honoz, I do not thinke
 that your life cā be sure: for there is no law
 that doth ordeyne, nor patieñce y cā suffer, to
 se my neyghbour lyue in quiet, by y sweet of
 my þrowes. A poze mā esteemeth as much a
 cloke, as a rich man doth his delicious lyfe.
 Therefore it is a good cōsequēt, y if the riche
 mā take y golwe frō the poze: the poze mā
 ought to take life frō y rich. Phocid amon-
 gest y grekes was greely renowned, & this
 not so much for y he was sage as for that he
 wold despise al worldly riches. vnto whō, whē

Alexander y great (kyng of Macedony)
 had set him a hundred markes of siluer, he
 said vnto those y brought to. Why doth A-
 lexander send this money vnto me, rather
 thē to other philosophers of Grece: they an-
 swered him. He doth send it vnto y, for that y
 art y least cotterous, & most vertuous. Then
 answered this philosopher. Tel Alexan-
 der y though he knoweth not what belon-
 geth to a prince, yet I know wel what pte-
 neth to a philosopher. For y state & office of
 philosopher is to dispise y treasures of prin-
 ces: & the office of princes is, to aske counceyl
 of philosophers. And further Phocid sayd,
 you shal say also to Alexander, y in that he
 hath set me, he hath not shewed hym selfe a
 pitiful frēd, but a cruel enemy: for esteem-
 ing me an honest mā (such as he thought I was)
 he shuld haue holpen me to haue ben surer.
 These wordes were worthy of a wise man.
 It is great pity, to se valiant & noble mē to
 be defamed of couetousnes, & only for to get
 a few goods, he abaseth hym selfe to vile offi-
 ces: which apperteyne rather to meane para-
 sons, then to noble men & valiant knightes.
 Whereof ensueth, y they lye infamed, & al
 their frēdes flāndered. Declaring further I
 say, y it seemeth great lightnes, that a knight
 shuld leaue y honozable state of cheualry, to
 exercise the hādycraft of husbandry: & that y
 horse shuld be chaūged into oxen, y speres to
 mattoches, & y weapōs into plowes. Final-
 ly, they do bestre to toyle in the felde: & refuse
 to fight in the frontiers. How much some
 knightes of our time haue degenerated, frō
 that their fathers haue be in times past: for
 their pdecessours byd aduāce thē selues of
 the infidels, which in y felde they flew, and
 their children brag of the cozke & shepe they
 haue in their groundes. Our aūciēt knightes
 were not wōt to sigh, but whē they saw thē
 selues in greate dystres: & their successours
 wepe now, for y it rained not in the moneth
 of maye. Their fathers did strue, whiche of
 thē could forntly most men, haue most wea-
 pōs, & kepe moste horses: but their children
 nowe a dayes cōtentde, who hath the fynest
 wit, who can heape by greatest treasure

and who can kepe most shepe. The auncientes strived, who should kepe most men; but these wordlinges at this day strive, who shall haue greatest revenues. Wherefore I saye, since the one doeth desire as much to haue greates rentes, as the other dyd delyghte to haue many weapons: it is no thought fathers should take the sword by the pommel, and the children by the scaberd. Al the good artes are peruerred, and the arte of chenalrye, aboue al others is dyspyled: not without cause I called it an arte, for the auncient philosophers consumed a great tyme, to wyte the lawes that the knightes ought to kepe. And as now the order of the Carthians semeth to be most streight: so in times past, the order of knight hode was yf streightest. To whō I swere, that if they obserued the order of chenalrye, as good and gentil knightes: there remayned no tyme vacante for them in life to be bitious, nor we should accuse them at their death as euil christians. The true and not fayned knight, ought not to be proud, malicious, furious, a glutton, coward, prodigal, nigarde, a lyer, a blasphemour, negligent. Finally I saye, that al those ought not to be iudged as knightes, whiche haue golden spurs: vnles he bathe therewith an honest life. And if it pleased the king of heauen, that princes would now a dayes examyne as straitly those, which haue cure of soules: as the Romaines dyd those, which had but charge of armys. In old tyme, they neuer doubbed any man knyghte, vnlesse he were of noble bloude, proper of parson, moderate in speache, exercised in the warr, couragious of harte, happye in armes, and honest in lyfe: fynallye, of al he ought to be beloued for his vertue, and of none hated for his vice. The knightes in whom these vertues shyned byghte in Rome, had dyners libertyes, that is to wete, that they onely myghte were rynges, ryde on horse backe throughte the streates, they myghte haue a shyld, whiche they gates at dynner, they myghte dynke in cappes of splur,

speake to the senate, and make a despaunce: they myghte demaunde the ensigne, weare weapons, take the charge of imballage, and warpe at the gates of Rome. The auctoure hereof, is Blondus, in the booke of *De Italia illustriata*. If Plinie deceue vs not in an Epistle, and Plutarche in his pollytrikes, Seneca in a tragedy, and Cicero in his paradoxes, there was nothinge where in the auncientes were more circumspect, then in electing of their knightes. Now it is not so, but that one hauing mony to by a lordshyp, immediately he is made knight: that which is worst, when he is made a knight, it is not to fighte agaynst the enemyes in the feld, but more frely to commit byes, & oppresse the poore in the towne. So then he maye be a good christyan, he oughte to beholde Ihesus crucified: and to be a good knyght, he ought alwayes to beholde the armys of his shyld, the whiche his graundefather, or greate graundefather wanne. For they shal see, that they wanne them not beinge bitious in their houses: but in sheadyng their bloude of their enemyes in the frontiers.

The xxx. Chapter

The emperour v writeth to his frēd, vwherein men maye learne the daungers of those, vvhiche traficke by sea, and se the couetousnes of them by lande.



M Arcus Aurelius Emperour of Rome, bozne in mount Celio, wytheth to the Mercurus his specyall frende, health and consolacion, in the Gods the onely comforters. It semeth wel, that we are frendes, sithens we doe the woorkes of charytye. For I vnderstanding here

here thy myshappe, immediatlye sente a
 messenger to comforte the: and in hearyng
 my displease, thou sendest a friend of thine to
 visite me. Wherefore men may perceiue,
 if thou hadest me in minde, I dyd not forget
 the. I vnderstand, that the messenger hat
 wente, and the other that came, met in Ca-
 pua: the one carped my desier for the, and
 the other broughte thy letter for me. And
 as aspyllogen:lye thou haddest red myne,
 as I attend:lye haue harde thine: thou
 shouldest thereby playnlye knowe, that my
 herte was as full of sorowe, as thy spyryte
 was full of payne. I was very glad, and
 greates thanks I yelde the, for that thou di-
 dost sende to comforte me in my feuer tex-
 sien: and thy visitacion and comforte came
 at the same houre, that it lesse me. But if
 the gods dyd leaue this sacle in my handes,
 euen as they haue thoughte it good to fire
 the feuer in my bones: I would not leaue
 the withoute comforte, nor geue place to
 the feuer to retourne agayne. O holwe
 greate, is oure pryde, and the myserye of
 mans life. I speake this, because I doe pre-
 sume to take manye realmes from other,
 and yet I haue not the power to plucke the
 feuer out of my owne bones. Tel me I pray
 the (Mercurus) what profite is it to vs, to
 desire muche, to procure muche, to attayne
 muche, and to presume muche, since oure
 daies are so bryfe, and our persons so fraile:
 It is long tyme since we haue ben bound to-
 gethers in frendshyp, & many yeares haue
 passed sithes we haue knowe the one the o-
 ther: & the day that thy frendshyp trusted my
 sayth, immediatlye my sayth was bounde,
 that thy euils shuld be myne, and my goods
 thine: for as the deuine Plato sayd, that one
 lye is true frendshyppe, where the bodys
 are two, and the wylls but one. I count
 that suspitious frendshyppe, where the
 hartes are so deuyded, as the wylls are se-
 uered: for there are dyuers in Rome great
 frendes in wordes, whiche dwell but ten
 houses in soder, & haue their hertes. 10. thou

sad myles dyffaut. Whē thou wentest from
 Rome, & I came fro Sammla, thou knowest
 the agrement whiche we made in Capua,
 wherof I trust I will not deceiue me now,
 but I am another thou here, & that thou
 shouldest be another I there: so I my absence
 with thy presēce, & thy presēce with my
 absēce, be alwayes together. By relation of
 thy messenger, I vnderstode I thou haddest
 lost much goods: but as by thy letter I was
 informed, I angostly of thy perill was much
 greater. As we vnderstod here, thou dydest
 send a shyppe laden w marchandise to Grece,
 and the maryners and factours despyrings
 more to profite by their wyse dom, bent to
 accompythe thy conueniēces: & so they
 traualled to lande their persons. In dede it
 so streight and perillous a case, thou hadst no
 reaso to accuse them, nor yet they are bound
 to satisfy the: for no man can commit grea-
 ter folly, then for the goods of others, to ha-
 zard his owne proper life. Pardon me (Mer-
 cury) I pray the, for that I haue spoke, and
 also for that I will saye, which is, that for so
 muche as the maryners and factours were
 not thy children, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy
 frendes, so that thy marchandise might haue
 come to I selfe haue: thou haddest litel puffed,
 if they had al ben drowned in I depe gonllē
 of the sea. Further I saye, though I would
 not say it, & thou much lesse here it, I accor-
 ding to the litel care which you other con-
 siderous me haue, of the chyldren, & factours of o-
 thers, and according to the disordinate lōne
 which you haue, to your pper goods: where
 as I wepest bitterly for I losse of thy goods,
 though I hadest sene al the maryners drow-
 ned, thou wouldest not haue shed one teare.
 For to maine marchantes wepe rather for
 10. crownes lost, which they cannot recouer:
 then for 10. me dlong, the whiche 10. crownes
 woulde haue saued. We thynkerth it is neither
 iust, nor honest, that thou doe that whiche
 they tel me thou doest, to complaine of thy
 factours, and accuse the maryners: only to
 D. II. recouer

THE DIAL

reconer of the poze men by land, that which the fishe haue in their possession in the Sea. For as thou knowest, no man is bounde to chaunge healtche, lyfe, nor the renowne of their parsons, for the recouerye of goods. Alas, what ppy haue I on the Mercury, in that the shyppe was loden with thy merchandise: and the worste of all is, that accordinge to my vnderstandinge, and thy feelinge, the Pirattes haue not cast suche fardelles into the Sea, as thoughtes hath burdened and oppressed thy harte. I neuer saw man of such condicion as thou art, for that thou seest that the shippe (until such time as they cast that merchandise ouer the boorde) coulde not sayle safelye: and yet thou doest lode thy selfe with riches to go to thy graue. Agreuous, and curst ryches, with the whiche neither in the depe seas, neither yet in the maine lande, our persons are in safeguard, knowynge thy property, I would rather bind my selfe, to seke the leade & rinne: then thy hert so wounded. For in the end, thy leade is together in some place in the bot- some of the sea: but thy conetousnes is scattered thzough al the hole yearth. If perhaps thou shuldest dye, and the surgins with the sharpe rayser shuld open thy stomake, I were vnto the, by the mother Berecinthe, (whiche is h mother of al the gods of rome) that they shuld rather synd thy herte drowned in the leade: then in life with thy bodye. Now thou canst not be sicke of the fener ter- rien as I am, for the heate is in thy betye, and h paine in thy head, would cause the to haue a doble quartaine: and in such disease, thou canst not be healed in thy bed, but in the shippe, not in lād, but in the sea, not in phis- ians, but in pirates. For h phisians would carry away thy money, & the pirates would trow the where thy lead fel. Trouble not thy selfe so muche Mercury, for thoughe thou hast not thy leade with the in the lād, it hath the with it in the sea, & thou oughtest inough to cōforte thy selfe: for where as besore thou hadst it in thy cofers, thou hast it presently

in thy intralles. For there thy life is dy- ned, where thy leade is cast. O Mercury, now thou knowest, that the daye that thou didest recommend thy goods to the vnkno- wen rockes, and thy shyppe to the ragynge seas, and thy outrageous auarice to the fu- rious wyndes, holwe muche that thy factors wente desirynge thy pzoptye, and gayne: so muche the more thou myghtest haue bene assured of thy losse. If thou haddest had this consyderation, and haddest vled this diligence: thy desire had ben drowned, and thy goods escaped. For men that dare ad- venture their goods on the Sea, they ought not to be heauy for that that is losse: but they ought to reioyce, for that that is escap- ed. Socrates the auncient and great Phi- losopher, determyned to teache vs, not by word, but by worke, in what estymation a man ought to haue the goods of this worlde: for he cast in the sea not leade, but gold, not litel, but much, not of another mans, but of his owne, not by force, but wyllyngly, not by fortune, but by wysedome. Finallye in this worthy factche shewed so great corage, that no conetous mā would haue reioyced, to haue found so much in the lande: as this philosopher dyd delighte, to haue cast in the sea. That which Socrates dyd was muche, but greater oughte we to esteeme that he sayde, whiche was: Dye dysceitful goods, I wyll drowne you, rather then you shoulde drowne me. Since Socrates feared, and drowned hys owne proper goods: why doe not the conetous feare, to robbe the goods of other? This wyse Philosopher would not truste the fyne golde: and thou dost truste the harde leade. Drowne you two lotes, Socrates of Athens, and thou of Sa- mye. Se whiche of you two haue erred, or done well: he to carry golde from the land to the Sea, or thou by the Sea to bring golde to the lande. I am assured, that the aun- cyent Romaynes woulde saye, that it is bet- but the conetous of this presente worlde woulde saye, that it is then, That which in this

this case I thinke is, that thou in prayſyng it, doeſt dyspraiſe thy ſelfe: and Socrates in dyspraiſyng it, of all is prayſed, and eſtimated.

The xxxi. Chapter.

The Emperoure in his letter rebuketh his frende for that he taketh thought, for the loſſe of his goodes. He ſheveth the nature of fortune, and the condicions of the couetous man.



His meſſenger tolde me, that thou arte very ſad, that thou cryeſt oute in the nyght, & impoſtuneſt the gods, wakeſt thy neyghbours, and aboue

al, that thou complaineſt of fortune, whiche hath bleſed the ſo euill. I am ſorry for thy greſe for greſe is a frend of ſolitud, enemye of company, a louer of darkenes, ſtraunge in conuerſation, & heire of deſperation. I am ſorry thou criest in the nyghte, for it is a ſigne of folly, a token of ſinall patience, the point of no wiſſe man, & a great proſe of ignoraunce: for at the houre when all the world is couered with darkenes, thou alone doeſt diſcouer thy hert with exclamations. I am ſorry that thou arte bered with the gods, ſayeng that they are cruel. For ſomuche as if they haue take any thing from the, for thy pryde, they ſhuld reſtoze it agayne vnto the for thy humillity. For ſomuche as we offed the gods through the offence, ſomuch do we appeaſe them with patience. My frende Marcu-

rus, knoweſt thou not, that the patience whiche the Gods haue in diſſemblyng our faultes is greater, then that whiche men haue in ſufferyng their chaſtiſementes: by cauſe, for we others vniuſtlye doe offende them, and they iuſtlye doe punyſhe vs. I am ſorry, that with thy exclamations and complayntes thou ſlauntereſt thy neyghbours: for as thou knoweſt, one neyghboure alwayes enuyeth another, in eſpeciallye the poore, the ryche. And accor dyng to my counſell, thou ſhouldeſt diſſemble thy payne, and take all thinges in good parte: for if perhappes thy ryches haue cauſed thy ſorrowe, thy patience wyl moue them to compaſſion. I am ſorrye thou complaineſt of thy fortune, for fortune (ſithe ſhe is known of all) doeſt not ſuffer her ſelfe to be deſamed of one: it is better to thinke, with fortune how thou mayſt remedye it, then to thinke with grieſe howe to complaine. For there are dyuers men, whiche to publiſhe their paine, are very carefull: but to ſeke remedye, are as negligent. My poore Mercurus, after ſo longe forgetfulneſſe, arte thou moze aduynſed to complaine of fortune agayne: and dareſt thou deſpe fortune, with whom all we haue peace? We vnbend our bowes, and thou wylt charge thy lances: thou knoweſt not what warre meaneſt, and yet thou wylt winne the victorye al: are deceiued, and wylt thou alone goe ſafe? What wylt thou moze I ſaye vnto the, ſynke I ſee the commit thy ſelfe to fortune: Doeſt not thou knowe, that it is ſhe that beateſt downe the hygge walles, and defendeth the towne dyches: knoweſt thou not, that it is ſhe that peopleth the vnhabitable deſertes, and diſpeopleth the people Cities: knoweſt thou not, that it is ſhe that of enemyes maketh frendes, and of frendes enemyes: knoweſt thou not, that it is ſhe that conquereth the conquerours? knoweſt thou not, yf it is ſhe yf of traytours maketh faithfull, & of faithfull ſuſpitions: ſpeciallye I wyl yf knowe, yf fortune is ſhe whiche

THE DIALL

turneth realmes, breaketh armyes, abaseth
kinges, raiseth straunges, geueth lyfe to the
ded, and beriethe the liuing. Doeſt thou not
remember, that the ſecond kyng of the La-
cedemonians had ouer hys gates ſuche
wordes.

*The pallace here behold where men doſtrive
by fruitles toyle to conquire what they can
And fortune eke that princes ſancies riuie
by his vnbrideled wyl that alwayes wan.*



Certainely theſe wordes were
highe, and proceeded of a highe
vnderſtandyng. And if in this
caſe I maye be beleued, they
ought to be wel noted of wiſe men, and not
written befoze the gater, but within the her-
tes. Better knew he fortune theſe thou, ſince
he toke him ſelfe for one diſherited, and not
as heſte: and whē he loſt any thing as thou,
he knew that he receiued it by loue, and not
that it was hys owne. Men in this liſe are
not ſomuche deceiued for any thinge, as to
thinke that the tempoꝛal goods ſhoulde re-
maine with them duringe lyfe. Nowe that
god doeth ſuffer it, now that oure woſul for-
tune doeth deſerue it, I ſee no greater miſ-
ſhappes fal vnto any, then vnto them which
haue the greateſt eſtates and ryches, ſo that
trulye we maye boldely ſaye, that he alone
whiche is ſhet in the graue, is in ſafegarde
from the vncouſtancye of fortune. Thy
meſſenger hath tolde me further, that
this ſommer thou preparedſt thy ſelfe to
Rome, and nowe that it is wynter thou
wylt ſayle to Alexandria. O thou vnhap-
pye Mercury, tell me I praye the, howe
longe it is, ſithence thou loſte thy ſenſis:
for ſomuche as when thy lyfe doeth ende, thy
auaryce begynneth a newe: Thou foundeſt
two cityes very meate for thy trafficke,
that is to wete, Rome which is the ſcourge
of all vertues: and Alexandria which is
the cheſteſt of all vyces. And if thou lookeſt
greatly theſe two cityes, heare I praye the

what marchandys are ſolde therein. In
Rome, thou ſhalte lode thy body with vyces:
and in Alexandria, thou ſhalte ſwell thy
herte with cares. By the faith of a good
man I ſweare vnto the, that if perchaunce
thou byeſt any thing of that that is there, or
ſellſt oughte of that thou byyngſt from
thence: thou ſhalte haue greater hunger of
that thou ſhalt leaue, then contentacion of
that thou ſhalt byinge. Thou doeſt not re-
member that we are in wynter, and that
thou muſt paſſe the ſea, in the which, if the
pyrates do not deceiue me, the ſureſt tran-
quilltye, is a ſigne of the greateſt tormen-
ts. Thou mighteſt tel me, y thy ſhyppes ſhould
retourne without frayte, and therfore they
ſhall ſayle more ſurely. To this I aunſwere
the, that thou ſhalte ſende them more loden
with couetouſnes: then they ſhall retourne
loden with ſilkes. O what a good chaunge
ſhoulde it be, if the auariſe of Italy coulde be
chaunged, for the ſilke of Alexandry. I
ſweare vnto the, that in ſuche caſe, thy ſylke
woulde fraight a ſhyppe: and our couciſe
woulde lode a hole nauye. That couetouſnes
is greate, which the ſhame of the worlde
doeth not oppreſſe: neyther the feare of
death, doeth cauſe to ceaſe. And this I ſaye
for the, that ſpyens in this daungercus
tyme thou durſte ſayle: eyther wyſedome
wanteth, or els auaryce and couetouſnes
ſurmounteth. To ſatiſſye me, and to ex-
cuſe the, with thoſe which ſpeake to me
of the, I can not tell what to ſaye vnto
them, but that GOD hath forgotten the,
and the ſeas doe knowe the. I praye the,
what goeſt thou to ſeke, ſince thou lea-
neſt the gouernance of thy houſe, and ſay-
leſt in Alexandria: Peraduenture thou
goeſt to the goulphe Arpin, where the ma-
ryners caſt in the leade.

Take hede Mercury, and conſider well
what thou doeſt, for peraduenture where as
thou thinkeſt to take from the fiſhe the hard
lead, thou mayſt leaue vnto them thy ſoſte
fleſhe. I haue knowen many in Rome,
whiche

which for to recouer one parte of that that they haue lost, haue lost al that which was left vnto them. O my friend Mercury, note, note, note wel this last word, wherby thou shalt knowe, what it is that you couetous men gape for in this life. Thou sekest care for thy selfe, enuy for thy neighbours, spurs for straungers, a bayte for theues, troubles for thy bodie, dampnation for thy renowne, vnquietnes for thy life, annoyāce for thy frendes, and occasion for thy enemies. Finally, thou serchest maledictions for thy heyres: & long suites for thy children: I can not write any more vnto the, because the feuer dothe so behementlye bere me. I pray the, pray to the goddess of Samnia for me: for medecines litel profitech, if the goddess be angry with vs. My wife Faustine salueth the, and she sayth that she is sorre for thy losse: she sendeth the a riche setwell for Fauill thy doughter, & I send the a commission, to thende one shoulde geue the a shippe in recompence of thy leade. If thou saylest with it, come not by Rhodes, for we haue taken it from these pirates. The goddess be in thy custody, & geue me & Faustine a good life with ours, & a good name among straungers. I do not write vnto the with mine owne hand, for that my sickenes doth not permit it.

The xxxii. Chapter

That Princes and noble men ought to consider the miserie of mans nature, and that brute beastes are in some poyntes (reason set apart) to be preferred vnto man.



MYDAS the auncient king of Phrigia, was in his government a cruell tyrant, & contented not him selfe to play

the tyrant in his owne proper countrey, but also mainteyned rouers on the sea, & theues in the land, to robbe straungers. This king Mydas was well known in the realmes of orient, & in such sort, that a friend of his of Thebes sayd vnto him these wordes. I let the wete kinge Mydas, that all those of thy owne realme do hate the, and all the other realmes of Asia do feare the, and this not for that thou canst do muche, but for the craftes & subtilties which thou vsest. By reason wherof, all straungers, & al thine owne haue made auowe to god, neuer to laugh duringe the time of thy life: nor yet to wepe after thy death. Plutarche in the booke of polliciques sayth, that when this king Mydas was borne, the antes brought corne into his cradel, and into his mouth: and when the noyse would haue taken it from him, he shut his mouth, and would not suffer any parson to take it fro him. They beinge all amased with this straunge sight, demaunded the oracle what this betokened. Who answered, that the child should be maruaylous riche, & with that exceeding couetous: whiche the antes did betoken, in filling his mouth with corne: And afterwarde he would not glue them one only grayne, and so it chaunced, that king Mydas was exceeding riche, & also verie couetous: for he would neuer geue any thing, but that which by force was taken from him, or by subtilty robbed. In the scooles of Athens, at that time flourished a philosopher called Silenus, who in letters and purenes of life, was highly renowned. And as king Mydas was knowen of many, to haue great treasures: so this philosopher Silenus, was no lesse noted for despising the. This philosopher Silenus trauielling by the borders of Phrigia, was taken by the theues which robbed the countrey: & being brought before king Mydas. The kinge sayd vnto him.

Thou art a philosopher, & I am a kinge: I art my prisoner, and I am thy lord, I will parson;

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that immediately thou tell me, what raunsome thou canst geue me to redeme thy parson: for I let the wete that I am not contented any philosopher should perish in my countrey, because you other philosophers saye, that you will willingly renounce the goodes of the world, sith you can not haue it. The philosopher Silenus answered him. He thinketh (king Mydas) that thou canst better execute tyranny, then to talke of philosophy: for we make no account your boodes be taken but, your wills be at liberty. Thy demand is very simple, to demand raunsome of me for my parsonne, whether thou takest me for a philosopher or no. If I be not a philosopher, what moueth the to feare, to kepe me in thy realme: for sooner shouldest thou make me a tyrant, then I the a philosopher. If thou takest me for a philosopher, why dost thou demand mony of me: sith thou knowest I am a philosopher, I am a craftes man, I am a poete, & also a musician. So that the time that thou in heaping by riches hast consumed: the selfe same time haue I, in learninge sciences spent. Of a philosopher to demand eyther gold or siluer for raunsom of his parson is either a word in mockery, or els an inuention of tyranny. For sithes I was borne in the world, riches neuer came into my handes, nor after the hath my hart lusted. If I (king Mydas) wouldest geue me audience & in the faith of a prince beleue me. I wold tel the what is the greatest thing, & next vnto the second, & the gods maye geue in this life: & it may be, & it shalbe so pleasaunt vnto I to here, & so profitable for thy life, that I will pluck me from my enemies, & I may diswade the fro tyrannies. When king Mydas hard these wordes, he gaue him licence to say these 2. thinges swearing vnto him to heare him, w^{as} as muche patience as was possible. The philosopher Silenus, hauing licence to speake frelye, takinge an instrument in his handes, beganne to playe and sing in this wise,

*He senate of the goddes when they forethought
T On earthly wights to stil some yall grate
the chiefest gifte the heauenly powers had wrought
had bene to sowe his sede in barrayne place*

*But when by steppes of such deuine constraint
they forced man perforce to fixe his line
The highest good to helpe his bootles plaint
had bene to slippe his race of scender twine*

*For then the tender babes both want to knowe
the dere delight, that life doth after hale
And eke the dread, that grieslye death doth shewe
Er Charon's boate, to figne on shore duth sale*



The chiefest gifte that the gods could geue to man, was, not to suffer him to be borne.

The seconde benefite was, that when they constrained him to be borne, they shoulde immediately make him die. For then the litel babes haue no desire to liue, nor feare to dye. These two thinges the philosopher proued with so highe, and natural reasons, that it was a merueylous matter, so se with what vehemence Silenus the philosopher fange them: and with what bitterness Mydas the tyrant wept. Without doubt, the sentences were maruallous profound, which the philosopher spake: and great reason had that king, to esteeme it so muche. For if we do prepare our selues to consider, wherof we are, and what we shall be, that is to wete, that we are of earth, and that we shall retorne to earth: We would not cease to wepe nor sigh.

One of the greatest banntypes whiche I finde amonge the chyldzen of banntype is, that they ymploye them selues to consyder the influences of the starres, the nature of the planettes, the motion of the heauens and they will not consydere theym selues of the whyche consyderacyon they shoulde take some profyte.

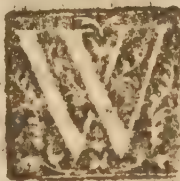
For man gentinge his minde to thinke on straunge thinges, cometh to forgette his owne propze. And if we woulde consider the corrupcion wherof we are made, the fylth wherof we are ingendred, the infinite tra- uaple wherewith we are bozne, the longe tediousnes wherewith we are noyshed, the great necessities and suspitions wherewith we lue, and aboue all, the greaue perill wherewith we dye: I sweare and affirme, that in such consideration, we finde a thousand occasions to wissh death, & not one to desire life. The children of banckie are occupied many peres in y^e scholes to learne rethorike, they exercise the selues in philosophy, they heare Aristotell, they learne Homere without booke, they study Cicero, they are occupied in Xenophon, they herken Tis- tus Liuius, they forget not Aulus Gellius, and they knowe Ouide: yet for all this I say, that we can not say that the man know- eth himselfe, whiche doth know him selfe. El- chimes the philosopher sayd well, that it is not the least, but the chiefest part of philoso- phy to knowe man, and wherfore he was made: for if man woulde depelye consider what man is, he shoulde finde in him things in him, which woulde moue him to humble him selfe, then to stirre him to be proud.

If we do beholde without passion, & if we do examine it with reason, I knowe not what there is in man. A miserable & fraile nature of manne, the whiche taken by it selfe is litel woorth: and compared with an other thing is much lesse. For man seeth in brute beastes manye thinges whiche he doth enuy: & the beastes do se much moze in men, wherof (if they had reason) they wold haue compassion. The excellency of the soule layde aside, and the hope whiche we haue of eternal life, if man do compare the captiuitie of men to the libertie of beastes, with reason we may se, that the beastes do liue a peaceable life: and that which menne do leade, is but a longe deathe. If we pre- pare our selues to consider from the time

that both the man and the beast come into this worlde, vntill suche time as they both dye, and in how many thinges the beastes are better then men: with reason we maye say, that nature like a pitifull mother hath shewed her selfe to beastes, & that she doth handle vs as an iniuste stepmother. Let vs beginne therfore to declare moze parti- cularly the originall of the one, and the be- ginning of the other: and we shall se howe much better the brute beastes are endowd, and how the miserable men are disferited.

The xxxiii. Chapter

The auctour reasoneth of the my- sery of men, and of the libertie of beastes.



We oughte deapelye to consider, & no wold nor tame beast is so longe before he come to his shape, as the mi- serable man is: who with the corrupcion of bloud and vile matter, is 9. monethes hid in the wombe of his mother. We se the beast when she is great: if neede require (for she labour all exercises of hus- bandry: so that she is as readye to labour when she is great, as if she were empye. The contrary happeneth to women, which when they are bigge with child, are weary with going, troubled to be layd, they ryde in charlottes throughe the market places, they eat litell, they voyde that vppwardes which they haue eaten, they hate & whyche is profitable, and lone that which doth harme: finally a woman with childe is re- nted with noyng, and she fretteth and deteth with her selfe. Sithens therfore it is true, that we are noysome and troubles- some to our mothers when they beate vs in

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in it? why to not we giue the some safeconduite when they are in theyr belluering? O miserable state of man, since the brute beastes are borne wout destroy- ing their mothers: but the miserable men before they are borne, are troublesome and careful, and in the time of their birthe, are both perillous to them selves, and daunge- rous to their mothers. Which semeth to be very manifest: for the preparation that mā will make whē he will die, & selfe same ought the woman to do, when she is ready to be de- liuered. We must also cōsider, that though a beast hath but .ii. fete, as the birdes haue, he can go, moue, and runne, immediatly, whē it cometh forth: but when mā is borne, he can not go, nor moue, & much lesse run. So that a poppingey ought more to be esse- med, which hath no handes: then the man which hath both handes and feete. That which they do to the litel babe, is not but a prognostication of y^e which he ought to suf- fer in the progresse of his life: y^e is to wete. That as they are not contented to put y^e still doer in prison, but they lode his handes with yrones, and set his feete in the stocks: so in like maner to the miserable man, whē he entred into the charter of his life, imme- diatly they bind both his handes & his fete, & lay him in the cradel. So y^e the innotēt babe is first bound & rolled, before he be imbrac- ed, or haue sucke of the mother. We must note also, y^e the hower whereith the beast is brought forth, though it know not y^e father which begat it, at y^e least it knoweth y^e mo- ther which brought it forth: which is appa- rant for so muche as if the mother haue milke, the yongling forthewith doth sucke her teates: & if perchance she haue no milke, they go afterwarde to hylde the selues vnder her wings: Of y^e miserable mā it is not so, but y^e day y^e he is borne, he knoweth not the nurse y^e getteth him sucke, neither the father which hath begottē him, the mother which hath borne him, nor yet the midwife which hath receyued him: mozeouer he can not se wth his eyes, heare wth his eares nor

iudge wth y^e tast, & knoweth neither what it is to touche, or smell: so y^e we see him, to whō the signory ouer al brute beastes, & o- ther thinges (y^e are created) pertaineth to be borne the most vnable of al others beastes. We must also cōsider, that though the beast be neuer so lytel, yet it can seke for the teates of hys mother to sucke, or to wander in the felde to feede, or to scrape the dunghil- les to eate, or els it goeth to the fountaynes and riuers to drinke, and that he learneth not, by the discouers of time, or that any o- ther beast hath taught it, but as sone as it is borne, so sone doth it know what thinge is necessary for it. The miserable mā is not borne wth so many present commodities, he can not eate, drinke, nor go, make him selfe ready, aske, nor yet complayne, and y^e whiche is moze, he knoweth not scarcelye howe to sucke, for the mothers ostimes would giue to their children (if they could) y^e bloud of their harte: & yet they cā not cause the to take the milke of their breasts. O great misery of mans nature, forsomuche as the brute beastes as soone as they are come forth of their mothers wombe, can knowe & seke: but when it is offered vnto man, he can not knowe it. We must note also, that to brute beastes, nature hath geue clothing, wherewith they may kepe them- selues from the heat of Summer, and defend them selues from the cold of winter: which is manifest, for that to lambes & shepe, she hath geuen woll, to birdes feathers, to hog- ges bristles, to horses heare, to fishe scales, & to snayles shelles. Finally I say, there is no beast which hath nede wth his handes to make any garment, nor yet to borrow it of another. Of all this the miserable man is depriued, who is borne al naked, and de- eth al naked, nor carpyng wth him one onelye garmente: and if in the time of his life he will vse anye garment, he muste de- maunde of the beastes, both lether, wolle, and thereunto he must also put his labour and industry.

I would

I would aske princes, and great lordes, if when they are borne, they bring with them any apparel: and when they dye, if they carry with them any treasure? To this I answer no: but they die as they are borne, as wel the riche as the poore, and the poore as the rich. And admit that in this life, fortune doth make difference betwene vs in estates, yet nature in time of our birth, and death, dothe make vs all equall. We must also thinke and consider, that so much as nature hath provided the beastes of garments, she hath also taken from them the care of what they ought to eat: for there is no beast that doth eyther plowe, sowe, or labour, but doth content her selfe, and passeth her life, eyther with the litel flies of hye, with the corne that she findeth in the high wayes, with the herbes in the feldes, with the antes of the earthe, with the grapes of the vine, or with the frutes which are fallen. Finally I say, that without care all beastes take their rest, as if the next day should come, they should have no neede to eat. What a great benefite should god do to the miserable man, if he had taken from him the trouble to apparel him selfe, and the care to search for thinges to eat. But what shall the poore miserable man do, that before he eateth, he must till, sowe, he must reape, & chuse the corne, he must cleanse it, grinde it, passe it, and bake it, and it can not be provided without care of minde, nor be done without the propre sweate of the browes. And if perchance any man did provide for him selfe with the sweate of others, yet shall he live with his owne offences. Also in other thinges the beastes do excell vs: for in the flowers, in the leaues, in the hearbes, in the strawe, in the otes, in the bread, in the fleshe, or in the fruite whiche they eat, or in the water whiche they drinke, they feelee no paine, although it be not sweete: nor take any displeasure, though their meates be not sauory. Finally, suche as nature hath provided them, without disgysing, or ma-

king them selues better, they are contented to eat. Man could lose nothinge, if in this point he agreed with beastes: but I am very sorre, that there are manye vicious and proude men, to whom nothinge wanteth, eyther to apparale, or eat, but they haue to much to mainteyne theym selues, and herewith not contented, they are such vnderhardes to tast of diuers wines, and suche Epicures to eat of sundry sortes of meates that oftentimes they spend more to dresse the, then they did cost the bying. Now when the beastes are brought forth, they haue knowledge both of that that is profitable, & also of that that is hurtful for them. For we see this, that the shepe flyeth the wolfe, the cat flieth the dog, the ratte flyeth the cat, and the chicken the kite: so that the beastes in opening the eyes, do immediatly know the frendes whom they ought to folowe, & the enemies whom they ought to flye. To the miserable man, was utterly denyed this so great priuiledge. For in the worlde there hath bene many beastly men, who hath not onely attayned that, whiche they ought to knowe whiles they liued: but also euen as like beastes they passed their dayes in this life, so they were inflamed at the tyme of their death. Miserable creatures that we are, whiche live in this wicked worlde, for we knowe not what is hurtfull for vs, what we ought to eat, from what we ought to absteyne, nor yet whom we should hate: we do not agree with those whom we ought to loue, we knowe not in whome to put oure trust, fro whom we ought to fly, nor what it is we ought to choose, nor yet what we ought to forsake. Finally I say, that when we thinke oftentimes to enter into a sure hauiens, within 3. Steppes afterwarde, we fall headlong into the depe sea. We ought also to consider, that both to wilde and tame beastes, nature hath geuen armes, or weapons to defend them selues, and to assault their enemies: as it appereth, for that to birdes she hath geuen winges, to the hartes steyfe

feete

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feete to the Elephantes towthes, to the serpentes scales, to the Eagle talions, to the falcon a beake, to the lions teethe, to the bulles hornes, and to the beares pawes. Finally I saye, that the hath geuen to the foxes subtilty to knowe howe to hide them selues in the earth, and to the fishes litle finnes howe to swimme in the water. Admit that the wretched men haue fewe enemies, yet in this they are none otherwise prised, then the beastes: for we se (without feares it can not be tolde) that the beastes which for the seruice of men were created, with the selfe same beastes, men are now adayes troubled, and offended. And so thed it seame not we should talke of pleasure, let euerye man thinke with him selfe, what it is that we suffer with the beastes of this life: For the Lyons do feare vs, the wolves deuoure our shepe, the dogges do bite vs, the cattes scratche vs, the beare doth teare vs, the serpentes poyson vs, the bulles hurt vs with their hornes, the birdes do ouerfly vs, the rattes do trouble vs, the spiders do annoy vs, and the worst of all is, that a litle flye sucketh our blud in the daye, & the pooze flea doth let vs fro slepe in the night. O pooze and miserable man, who for to suffer this wretched life, is enforced to begge al thinges that he nedeth of the beastes. For h beastes do gene him wol, h beastes do draw him water, h beastes do cary him fro place to place, the beastes do plough h land, and carieth the corne into their barnes. Finally I saye, that if the man receiue anye good, he hath not wherewith to make recompence: and if they do him any euill, he hath nought but the tonge to reuenge. We must note also, that though a man lode a beaste with stripes, beate her, drine her by the soule wayes, though he taketh her meate from her, yea though her yonglinges dye: yet for none of all these thinges she is sad, or sorrowfull, and muche lesse doth wepe, & though she should wepe, she can not. For

beastes litell esteeme their life, and muche lesse feare death. It is not so of the unhappy and wretched man, whiche can not but bewaile the unthankfulness of their frendes, the deathe of their children, the want which they haue of necessities, the case of aduersitie which do succede them, the selfe witness which is brought against them, & a thousand calamities whiche do torment their hartes. Finally I saye, that the greatest comfote that men haue in this life, is to make a riuer of water, with the teares of their eyes. Let vs inquire of princes and great lordes, what they can do when they are bozne, whether they can speake as orators, if they can conne as poesses, if they can gouerne them selues as kinges, if they can fight as men of warre, if they can labour as labourers, if they can worke as the masons, if they knew to teach as maisters, these litell children would answer, that they are not onely ignorant of all that we demaunde of them, but also that they can not vnderstand it. Let vs retourne to aske them what is that they knowe, since they know nothing of that we haue demanded them: they wil answer, that they can do none other thing, but wepe at their birth, and sorrowe at their death. Though al those (which in this so perillous sea sayle) do reioyce and take pleasure, and seme to slepe soundly: yet at the laste there cometh the winde of aduersity, which maketh them al to knowe their folly. For if I be not deceyued, and if I know any thing of this world those which I haue sene at the time of their birth take shippe weeping: I doubt whether they wil take land in the graue laughing. O unhappy life (I should say rather death) which the mortalles take for life, wherein afterwarde we muste consume a great time, to learne all artes, sciences, and offices: and yet notwithstandinge, that whether we are ignorant, is more then that whych we knowe. We forget the greatest parte, saue onely that of weapyng, which

man nedeth to learne: for we are borne, and lue weaping, and until this present we haue sene none dye in ioye.

We must note also, that the beastes doe lue and dye with the inclinations where with they were borne: that is to wete, that the wolfe foloweth the shepe, and not the birdes, the houndes folowe the hares, and not the ratter, the sparrow flyeth at the birdes, and not at the fishe, the spyder, the flies, and not the herbes. Finally I saye, that if we let the beaste searce his meate quietly, we shall not see hym geuen to anye other thing.

The contrarye of all this happeneth, to men, the whiche though nature hath created feble, yet Gods intencion was not they should be malicious: but I am sorre, since they can not auoyde debyltye, that they turne it into malice. The presumptiō which they haue to be good, they turne to pryde: and the desire they haue to be innocent, they tourne into enuye. The surre whiche they should take against malice, they turne into anger: and the lyberalitye they oughte to haue with the good, they conuerte into auarycce.

The necessitye they haue to eate, they tourne into gluttonye: and the care they oughte to haue of their conscience, they tourne into neglygence. Finally I saye, that the more strength beastes haue, the more they serue: and the lesse men are worthe, so muche the more thankes haue they of god.

The innocencye of the brute beast considered, and the malycce of the malicious man marked: without comparisō, the companye of the brute beaste, is lesse hurtfull, then the conuersation of euil men.

For in the ende, if ye be conuersaunte with a beaste, ye haue not but to beware of her: but if ye be in companye with a man, there is nothinge wherein ye ought to truste hym.

We muste note also, that it was neyther sene, nor red, that there was anye beaste that toke care for the graue: but the beastes beinge deade, some are torne in peces with Lyons, other dysmembred by the beares, others gnawen with dogges, other remayne in the feldes, other are eaten of men, and other by the antes.

Finallye, the intralles of the one, are the graues of others. It is not so of the myserable man, the whiche consumeth no smal treason to make his graue, which is the moste baynest thinge, that is in this myserable lyfe: for there is no greater basynitye, nor lyghtnes in man, then to be esteemed for his fayre sumptuous graue, and lytell to waye a good lyfe: I wyll sweare, that at this daye all the deade do sweare, that they care lytell, if their bodies be buried in the depe Seas, or in the golden tombes, or that the cruell beastes haue eaten them, or that they remayne in the feldes withoute a graue: so that their soules maye be amonge the celestially companies. Speakyng after the lawe of a christian, I durste saye, that it profyterh lytell the bodye to be amonge the paynted and carued stōnes: when the myserable soule is burnyng, in the fyre flāmes of hel.

O myserable creatures, haue not we suffyciente where with to seke in this lyfe, to procure, to trauayle, to accomplishe, to syge, and also what to bewayle, with oute haunyng such care, and angustye, to knowe where they shalbe buried?

Is there any man so vaine, that he doeth not care that other menne shoulde condempne his euill lyfe: so that they prayse his ryche Tombe: To those that are liuinge I speake, and saye: of those that are deade, that yf a manne gaue theym leaue to resortue in to the worlde, they woulde be occupied more to correcte their excessse, and
P. t. offensa

THE DIALL

offences: then to adourne, and repaire their graues, and tombes, though they founde them fallen downe. I cannot tell what to saye moze in this case, but to admonyshe men, that it is greate follye, to make anye great accompte of the graues.

The xxxiii. Chapter.

The Emperoure vvriteth this letter to comferte hys frende vvith al, vvwhich is comfortable to al the, that haue ben in prosperity, and are novve broughte into aduersityte.



Arke the Romain Emperoure, bozne at mounte Celio, to the Domitio of Capua, wyssheth health, and cōsolacion from Gods the onely comforters.

The bitter winter in these partes, haue reised boisteous wyndes, and the wyndes haue caused muche rayne, and the muche rayne hath caused greate moystures: the whiche engendered in me sondry dysseases. Among the whiche, the golwe of my handes is one, and the Siatica in my legge is another. Escchinas the philosopher saide, that the libertye of the soule cannot be esteemed to much, nor the health of the bodye, and also muche lesse be bought for money. Tel me I praye the, what can he doe, or what is he worth, that hath neither lybertye, nor health. The deuine Plato in his bookes of his common wealth, reciteth thre thinges.

✿ The first, that the man which oweth noo thinge, cannot saye that he is poze. For the day that I owe money to another, another, and not my selfe, is lord of myne owne,

The seconde, the man whiche is no seruante, nor captyue, hath not reason to saye that anye thinge maye make hym vnhappye. For fortune in nothinge sheweth her selfe so cruel, as to take from vs the libertye of this life.

The thirde whiche Plato saied, is that amonge all temporall goods there is none moze greater, nor greater felicitye, then the treasure of health. For the man whiche is persecuted vvith sickenes, vvith rythes can haue no contentacion. In the tyme of our olde fathers, when Rome was wel corrected, they did not only ordeine the thinges of their common wealth: but also they provided for that whiche touched the health of euery person. So that they watched to cure the bodye, and they were circumspecte to destroy vices. In the tyme of Gneus Patroclus, and Iulius Albus, they saye, that the city of Rome was ordinarily vsyred vvith sickenes. Wherefore first they dyd forbyd, that in the moneth of Iulye, and August, there should be no steeues for women. For the blond of the yong, was corrupted in venereal actes.

The second, that no man shuld bring any frutte from Salon, nor Campania, to sell during these, 2. monethes in Rome. For the delicate ladies of Rome for extreme heate, and the poze for their pouerty, dyd not eate in sommer, but frutes: and so the market places were ful of frutes, and the houses ful of agues.

The thirde, they dyd defend that no inhabitant shoulde be so hardye, to walke after the sonne were set. For the yong men, though the lightnes they vsed in the nightes, toke dysseases whiche vered them in the dayes.

The fourth, they dyd prohibite that no man shoulde be so hardye, to sell openly in Rome wyne of Candie, or Spayne. For in the greate heate of the sommer, as the sonne is very whote, so the wyne as poison doeth kill yong men.

The

The fische, that they shoulde purge the
pyrpyres, and make cleane the streates, and
houses.

For of the corruption of the ayer, is en-
gendered the plague amonge the people.
When Rome was ryche, when Rome profes-
pered, all these thinges were obserued in
the common wealthe. But since Catilina
the Tiraunte dyd rebell, since Scilla and
Marius dyd slander it, since Cesar and
Pompeius dyd playe the tirauntes, since
Octavius Augustus and Marcus Anto-
nius dyd robbe it, since Calligula & Nero
dyd defame it, they cared litel whether they
entred into Rome, to sel the wyne of Spaine
or Candia. For they feared moze the kniffe
of the ennemys: then the heate of the som-
mer. Greate reason had the auncientes to
forbyd these thinges in Rome, for to save
the trouthe, they are not healthfull. When
I was yonge in Rome, my heade dyd not
ake with talkynge in the nyghte, nor I did
fele my bloude chafed with drinking wyne.

Then I was not troubled to sette in the
heate in the sommer, nor I was annoyed
to goe bare legged in the wynter.

But nowe that I am olde, there is no heate
but offenderh me, nor colde but perferh me.

For men throughe muche euill rule in
their youthe, come to greuous diseases in
their age.

As if mortal men, after that they be olde,
coude at anye tyme worke with the gods,
that they shoulde become yonge agayne:
I swere vnto the, by the faith of a good
man, that they woulde behaue them sel-
ues so wel, that the world shuld not agayne
deceiue them. Since men haue bene victo-
rious in their youthe, I doe not meruell
though they are ful of dysceases when they
are olde.

For howe can he lone his health, which
hateth vertue? Al that which I haue spo-
ken here befoze, is to the ende you maye
knowe, and beleue, that I am sicke, and
that I cannot wyte vnto these longe as I

woulde, and as thou desirest: so that heres
of it foloweth, that I shall betwayne thy
payne, and thou shalt be greued with my
gouie. I vnderstode here, howe that at the
feaste of the god Ianus, through the run-
ninge of a horse, greate strepe is ryfen be-
twene the, and thy neighbour Patricio.
And the hurt was suche, that they haue
confiscated thy goods, battered thy house,
banysed thy chyldren, and depyued the
from the Senate for .x. yeaeres.

And further, they banysed the oute of
Capua for ener, and haue put thy fellowe in
the pryson Mamortine: so that by this lytle
surp, thou hast cause to lament al the daies
of thy life. Al those which come from thens,
doe tel vs, that thou arte so wofull in thy
harte, and so chaunged in thy parson: that
thou doest not forget thy heauy chaunces,
nor receiuest consolacion of thy saythfull
freendes.

Thinke not that I spake this, that thou
shouldest be offended: for accorpyng to the
often chaunges which fortune hath shewed
in me, it is longe since I knewe what for-
row ment.

For trulpe, the man whiche is sorow-
full, sigheth in the daye, watcheth in the
nyghte, delyreth not in companie and with
only care he resteth. The light he hateth, the
darkenes he loueth, with bitter teares he
watereth his earth, with heuy sighes he per-
ceth the heauens, with infinite sorowes he
remembreth that that is passe, and forleeth
nothinge that is comen. He is dyspleased
with hym that doeth comforte hym, and he
taketh rest to expresse his sorowes.

Finallpe, the vnforsunate man is cons-
tented with nothinge, and with hym selfe
continualpe he doeth chafe. Beleue me
Domitio, that if I haue well touched the
condicions of the sorowfull man, it is for
no other cause, but for that my euill for-
tune hath made me taste them all. And
hereof it cometh, that I can so wel dys-
cribe them: for in the ende, in thinges

whiche touche the sorowes of the spryte, and the troubles of the bodye, there is greate difference from hym that hathe red them, and from hym that hathe felt them. If thou dydest feele it there, as I doe feele it here, it is sufficiente to geue the and thy frendes, greate doloure, to thinke that for so small a tryfle, thou shouldest vndoe the, and all thy parentage. And speaking with the trouthe, I am verie sorie to see the caste awaye: but muche more it greueth me, to see the drowned in so litle a water. Whether men are noble, and heape their hartes highe, they oughte to take their enemyes agreeable to their estates, I meane, that when a noble man shall aduenture to hazard his person, and his goods, he oughte to doe it for a matter of greate importaunce. For in the ende, more defamed is he that ouercommeth a labourer, then he whiche is overcome with a knyghte. Howe varyable is fortune, and in howe shorte space doeth happen an euill fortune? In that whiche nowe I wyll speake, I doe condemne my selfe, and accuse the. I complayne to the Gods, I reclayme the deade, and I cal the lyuinge, to the ende they may see, howe that before the eyes we suffer the greifes, and knowe them not, with the handes we touche them, and perceiue them not, we goe ouer them, and see them not, they sound in our eares, and we heare them not, daylye they doe admonyshe vs, and we doe not beleue them: synallye, we fele the peryll, where there is no remedye of oure greife. For as experyence doeth teache vs, with a lytell blasse of wynde the fruite doe fall, with a lytel sparke of fyre the house is kyndeled, with a lytell rocke the shippe is broken, at a lytell stone the foote doeth stumble, with a lytel boke they take great trespasse, and with a lytel wounde dyeth a greate person.

For all that I haue spoken, I meane, that oure lyfe is so frayle, and fortune so fickle, that in that parte where we are so

rest harnessed, we are sonnest wounded. Seneca wytyng to his mother Albina, whiche was banyshe from Rome, sayed.

Thou Albina arte my mother, and I thy sonne, thou arte aged, and I am not yonge, I neuer beleued in fortune, though she woulde promysse to be in peace with me. And further he sayde, at that whiche is in me, I counthe it at the disposition of fortune, aswell of trybes, as of prosperities: and I keape them in suche a place, that at any houre in the nyght when she lysteth, she maye carpe them awaye, and neuer wake me. So that though she carpe those oute of my cofers: yet she shall not robbe me of this in my intralles. With oute doubte, suche wordes were merueylous pithy, and verie decenre for suche a wyse man.

The Emperoure Adryan my Lord, did weare a ryng of golde on his fynger, whiche he sayed was of the good Drucius Germanicus, and the posye about the ring in latine letters sayde thus. Illis est grauis fortuna, quibus est repentina. Fortune is to them mosse cruell, whome suddenlye she assauleth. We see oftentymes by experyence, that in the systula whiche is stopped, and not in that whiche is open, the Surgeon maketh doubte. In the shallow water, and not in the depe seas, the Pilot despayreth. The good man of armes is more asfayde of the secrete ambushment, then in the open battayle. I meane, that the valyaunte man oughte to beware, not of straungers, but of his owne, not of enemyes, but of frendes, not of the cruel warre, but of the sayned peace, not of the manifest damage, but of the prey peryll.

Howe manye we haue sene, whome the myshappes of fortune coulde neuer chaunge, and yet afterwarde haunyng no care, she hathe made them fall. I aske nowe, what hope can man haue, whiche wyll neuer truste to the prosperitie of fortune. Since for so lyghte a thinge, we haue

haue sente suche trouble in Capua, and so greate a losse of thy person and goods: If we knewe fortune, we woulde not make so greate complaynte of her.

For speakyng the trouthe, as she is for all, and woulde contente all, thonghe in the ende she mocke all, she geueth and she weth vs all her goods. And we others take them for inherytaunce. That whiche she lendeth vs, we take it for perpetuall, that whiche in tesse she geueth vs, we take it in good earnest, and in the ende, as she is the mocker of all, so she goeth mockyng of vs, thynkyng that she geueth vs another mans, and she taketh oure owne proper. I let the wete, that knowyng that of fortune whiche I knowe, I feare not the curmoyles of her trauayles, neyther doeth her lightnynges or thunders astony me, nor yet wyl I not esteeme the pleasauntenes, of her goodlye sayer flateryes. I wyl not truste her swete reioysynges, neither wyl I make accompte of her frendshyppes, nor I wyl soyne my selfe with her enemyes, nor I wyl take anye pleasour of that she geueth me, neyther grete of that she taketh from me, nor I wyl haue respecte when she telleth me truthe, nor I do not regarde it, thonghe she tell me a lye.

Finallye, I wyl not laughe for that she asketh me, nor I wyl wepe for that she sendeth me. I wyl now tel the (my frende Domitio) one thinge, and hartely I desire the to keape it in memozye. Dure lyfe is so doubtreful, and fortune so sodaine, that when she thretneeth, she cryketh not alwayes, neyther doeth she thzeaten alwayes when she cryketh.

The man whiche presumeth to be sage, and in all thinges well prouyded, goeth not so fast, that at euerye steppe he is in daunger of fallynge, nor so softelye, that in longe tyme he cannot aryue at his fornyes ende. For the false fortune gauleth in stede of crykyng, and in stede of gauling

cryketh.

Therefore since in yeares I am older then thou, and haue moze experyence of affaires: if thou haste marked that I haue tolde the, thou wylte remember well that whiche I wyl saye vnto them, whiche is: that that parte of thy lyfe is troublesome, whiche vnto the semeth to be mosse sure. Wylte thou that by example I tell the all that, whiche by wordes I haue spoken? Beholde Hercules of Thebes, who escaped so manye daungers, bothe by sea and by lande, and afterwardes came to dye in the armes of a harlotte.

Agamemnon the greate Captayne of Grekes in the .x. yeares whiche he warred agaynst Troye, neuer had anye peryll: and afterwardes in the nyght, they kyled hym entryng into hys owne house.

The vnuincyble Alexander the great, in all the conquestes of Asia, dyd not dye: and afterwardes with a lytle popson, ended hys lyfe in Babilon. Pompeius the greate, dyed not in the conquest of hys enemyes: and afterwardes hys frende Ptholomeus slewe hym.

The couragyoue Iulius Cesar, in .lxx. battailes could not be overcome: and afterwardes in the Senate, they slewe hym with .xlii. woundes.

Hannibal, the terryble captayne of Carthage, slewe hym selfe in one momente (whiche the Romaynes coulde not doe, in .xlii. yeares) onelye bycause he woulde not come into the handes of hys enemyes. Asclipa, brother of greate Pompeius, in .xx. yeares that he was a rouer on the seas, neuer was in anye peryll: and afterwardes drawyng water oute of a well, was drowned therein. Tenne Captaynes, whome Scipio had chosen in the conquest of Africa, geastyng on a bydge, fell into the water, and there were drowned. The good Bibul, going triuphyng in his chariote at Rome, a tile fel on hys head: so þat hys bayne
P.iii. glozys

glory, was the ende of his good lyfe. What
 wylte thou more I saye vnto the, but that
 Lucia my syster, hauinge a nedell on her
 brest, and her childe betwene her armes: the
 chylde layeng his hande vpon the nedell,
 thruste it into her breste, whereby the mo-
 ther dyed. Guetus Ruphinio: which was a
 very wyse man, and also my kinsman; one
 daye keampnge hys whyte heares, strake a
 tothe of the combe in his heade, wherewith
 he gaue him selfe a mortall wounde: so that
 in shorte space after, his lyfe had ende, but
 not hys doctrine, nor memozy. Howe thin-
 kest thou Domitio: by the immortal gods I
 swere vnto the, that as I haue declared the
 this small nomber, so I coulde recite the o-
 ther infynite. What mysshap is this, after
 so many fortunes: what reproche, after such
 glory: What peril, after suche surety: what
 euil lucke, after suche good successe: What
 darke night, after so clere a day: What so e-
 uil enterteynmente, after so greate labour:
 What sentence so cruel, after so longe pro-
 cesse: What inconueniencye of death, after
 so good begynnyng of lyfe: Being in these
 steade, I can not tell what I woulde, but I
 had rather choose vnforsunate lyfe and ho-
 nourable death: then an infamous death,
 and honourable lyfe. That man which wyl
 be counted for a good man, and not noted
 for a brute beaste, oughte greatlye to tra-
 uayle to lyue well, and muche more to
 dye better. For the euill death maketh
 men doubte, that the lyfe hath not bene
 good, and the good death is the excuse of an
 euill lyfe. At the begynnyng of my letter
 I wrote vnto the, howe that the gowt trou-
 bleth me euill in my hande: I say it were
 to muche to wyte anye longer, and though
 the letter be not of myne owne hand, these
 two dayes the loue that I beare the, and
 the grieve that holdeth me, haue stryued to-
 gether. My wyll desireth to wyte, and
 my fingers can not holde the penne. The
 remedye hereof is, that since I haue no po-
 wer to doe what I woulde as thine, thou

oughtest to accepte what I can as myne. I
 say no more herein, but as they tel me, thou
 buildest nowe a house in Rhodes: wherfore
 I sende the a thousande sextercies to accom-
 plythe the same. My wyfe Faustyne salu-
 teth the, who for thy payne is sore dysea-
 sed. They tell vs thou haste bene hurte,
 wherfore she sendeth the a weight of the
 balme of Palestyne. Heale thy face there-
 with, to the ende the scarres of that wound
 doe not appeare. If thou fyndest grene al-
 mondes, and netwe nuttes, Faustyne de-
 syreth the that thou wylte sende her some.
 By another man she sendeth a gowne for
 the, and a kirtell for thy wyfe. I conclude,
 and doe beseeche the immortal Gods, to
 geue the all that I desire for the, and that
 they geue me all that thou wyshest me.
 Thoughe by the handes of others I wyte
 vnto the, yet with my harte I loue the.

The. xxxv. Chapter.

That Princes and noble men
 oughte to be aduocates for vvi-
 dooves, fathers of orphanes, and
 helpers of all those vvhiche are
 comfortles.



Acrobis, in the
 thirde booke of the
 Saturnalles saterh,
 that in the noble cy-
 ty of Athens, there
 was a temple called
 Misericordia, whi-
 che the Athenians kepte so wel watched,
 and locked, that without leaue and lycence
 of the Senate no man might enter in.
 There were the Images of pitiful prynces
 onely, and none entred in there to praye,
 but pyrefull men.

The Atheniens abhorred alwayes seuerer and cruel dedes, because they would not be noted cruell. And thereof cometh this manner of saying, that the greatest injury they could say vnto a man, was that he had neuer entred into the scole of the philosophers to learne, nor into the temple of Misericordia to pray. So that in the one, they noted him for simple: and in the other, they accused him for cruell. The historiographers saye, that the mosse noble lineage that was at that time, was of a king of Athens, the whiche was excedyng ryche and lyberall in geuing: and aboue all verie pitifull in pardoning. Of whom it is wrytten, that after the great treasours which he had offered in the temples, and the great riches he had distributed to the poore: he took vpon him to bryng vpon all the orphanes in Athens, and to fede all the widowes. Whow much more did that stature of the sayd pitiful kinge shine, in that temple, who nourished the orphanes, the ensignes which are set vpon in the Temples of the captaynes which had robbed the widowes. All the ancient princes, I saye, those that haue bene noble, and valiaunt, and that haue not had the name of tirauntes, though in some thinges they were noted: yet they alwayes haue bene praysed, esteemed, and commended to be gentle and mercifull: so that they recompensed the fierenes & cruelty whiche they shewed to their enemies, with the mercy and clemencye whiche they vsed to the orphanes. Plutarke in his polittikes sayth: that the Romaynes among them selues ordeyned, that all that whiche remayned of bankettes and feastes, which were made at mariages and triumphes, shoulde be geuen to widowes, and orphanes. And this custome was brought to so good an order, that if any rich man would vse his profite of that which remayned, the orphanes mighte iustlye haue an action of felonye against him, as a thing robbed from them. Aristides the philosopher in an oration he

made of the excellences of Rome, sayeth, that the princes of Persia had this custome, netter to dine nor suppe, but first the trumpets shoulde blowe at their gates: the which were more loude, then armonious. And it was to this end, that all the widowes and orphanes shoulde come thither: for it was a lawe amongst them, that all that which was left at the royal tables, shoulde be for the poore and indigent personnes. Phalaris the tirant wrytinge to a frende of his, sayde these wordes. I haue receyued thy bryefe letter, with the rebuke likewise which thou gauest me therein, more bitter then rebysous. And admit that for the time it greued me, yet after I came to my selfe, I receyued thereby great comfort. For in the ende, one lousinge rebuke of his frende is more worth: then a fayned flattery of his enemy. Amongest the thinges wherof thou accusedst me, thou sayest that they take me for a greates tiraunt, because I disobey the gods, spoyle the temples, kill the priestes, pursue the innocentes, robbe the people: and the worst of all, that I do not suffer to be entreated, nor permit that anye man be conuersant with me. To that they saye I disobey the gods, in very dede they say true. For if I dyd all that the gods woulde, I shoulde do litle of that men do aske me. For as much as they saye, I robbe the temples, therunto also I graunt. For the immortall gods do demaunde rather of vs pure hartes, then that we shoulde buylde their temples. For that they say I kil priestes, I confesse also, that it is true. For they are so dissolute, that I thinke I do more seruices to the gods, to put them to deathe: then they do, in doinge their sacrifices whiles they liue. For that they say I rob the temples, I also confesse it: for I defending it as I do from enemies, it is but mere and reasonable they find me and my seruantes. For that they say I suffer me not to be entreated, it is true. For dayly and hourelye they aske me so many vniust, and vnrasonable thinges *

THE DIAL

things, that for them and for me, it is better to denay them : then for to graunte them.

For that they saye that I am not conuersant with any, I confesse it is true. For euer when they come into my pallasce, it is not so much to do me seruite, as to aske me some perticuler thing for their profite. For that they saye, I am not pitifull amongst the miserable, and will not heare the widowes, and orphanes, in no wise to that I will agree. For I sweare vnto the, by the immortall gods, that my gates were neuer shutte to widowes, and orphanes. Pulio in the life of the emperour Claudius sayth, that ones a poore widow came before Claudius the Emperoure with wepinge eyes, to desire him of iustice. The good prince beinge moued with compassion, didde not onely wepe as she: but with his owne handes dried her teares. And as there was about the emperour many noble Romans, one amongst them sayd vnto him. For the authoritie and grauntie of Romayne princes, to heare theyr subiectes in iustice, suffiseth onely: though they dye not the teares of their faces. This emperour Claudius answered. Good princes ought not to be contented, to do no more than iust iudges: but in doing iustice, a man must know that they are pitifull. For oftentimes those which come before princes, do retourne more contented with the loue they shewe them: then with the iustice they minister vnto theym.

And further he sayd. For asmuche as you saye that it is of small authoritie, and also of lesse grauntie, that a prince do wepe with a widowe, and with his handes wipe her eyes, I aunswere the: that I desire rather to be partaker of the griefes with my subiectes, then to giue them occasion to haue theyr eyes full of teares.

Certeynlye these wordes are woorthye to

be noted, and no lesse folowed.

Admit that clemencie in all things deserueth to be praysed, yet muche more oughte it to be commended, when it is executed on women.

And if generallye in all, muche more in those which are boyde of healtie, and comforte. For women are quickely troubled, and with greater difficultie comforted.

Plutarche, and Quintus Curtius saye, the good intertaynement which Alexander the greateshewed vnto the wyfe and chyldren of kynge Darius (after he was bitterlye banquysshed) exalted his clemencie in suche sorte, that they gaue rather more gloire to Alexander, for the pitie and honestie which he vsed with the chyldren: then for the byctorye he hadde of the father. And when the unhappye kynge Darius knewe the clemencie, and pitie, which the good Alexander vsed to hys wyfe, and his chyldren, he sente vnto hym hys embassadours, to the ende that on his behalfe they should thanke hym for that that is past, and shoulde desire hym that he would continew so in tyme to come: sayeng, that it myghte chaunce, that the Gods and fortune woulde mitigate their wyathe againste him.

Alexander answered to the imbassadours these wordes. We shal saye in my behalfe to your king Darius, that he gette me no thankes for the good and pitifull worke that I haue done to hys captiue women, since he is certaine I dyd it not for that he was my frende: and I woulde not cease to doe it, for that he is myne enemye. But I haue done it, for that a gentle Prince is bounde to doe in suche a case. For I ought to employe my clemencie to women, which can doe nought but wepe: and my puissance power Princes shall fele, which can doe nought els but wage battayle.

Truly

Truly these wordes were worthy of such a prince. Many haue enuy at the surname of Alexander, which is great. And he is called Alexander & great, because if his hart was great in the enterprises he toke vpon him: his courage was much more greater in cities and realmes which he gaue. Many haue enuy at & renowne which they geue Pompeius, because they cal him great, for this excellent Romayne made him selfe conquerour of .12. realmes, and in times past hath bene accompanied with .25. kinges.

Many haue enuy at the renowne of Scipio & Affricane, who was called Affricane, because he ouercame and conquered the great and renowned city of Carthage: the whiche city, in riches was greater then Rome, in armes, and power, it surmounted all Europe. Many haue enuy at Scipio the Asian, who was called Asian, because he subdued the proude Asia: the which until his time was not but as a churchyard of Romaynes. Many haue great enuy at the immortal name of Charles, who was called Charles the great, because being as he was (a little king) he did not onely vanquish and triumph ouer many kinges, & strange realmes: but also forsoke the royal see of his owne realme.

I do not maruaile, that & proude princes haue enuy agaynst the vertuous and balyant princes: but if I were as they, I wold haue more enuy at the renowne of Antonius the emperour, then of the name and renowne of all the princes in the world.

If other princes haue atteyned such proude names, it hath bene for that they robbed many countreies, spoyled many temples, committed much tyranny, dissembled with many traitours, persecuted diuers innocentes, and because they haue from diuers good men, not onely their goodes: but also their liues: For the world hath suche an enuie property, that to exalt the name of one only, he putteth downe .500. Neyther in such enterprises, nor with such titles, was

the emperour Antonius Pius his name, & renowne. But if they cal him Antonius the pitifull, it is because he knewe not but to be father of Orphanes: & was not prayed, but because he was advocate of widowes. Of this most excellent prince is red, that he him selfe did heare, and iudge the complayntes, and processe, in Rome of the orphanes: And for the poore, and widowes, the gates of his pallace were alwayes open. So that the porters which he kepte within his pallace, were not for to let the entre of the poore: but for to let and kepe backe the rich. The historiographers oftentimes say, that this good prince said, that the good and vertuous princes, oughte alwayes to haue their hartes open for the poore, and to remedy the widowes, and neuer to shut the gates agaynst the. The god Apollo sayth, that & prince whiche will not speedily iudge the causes of the poore, the goddes will neuer permit, that he be well obeyed of the riche. A high and worthy wordes, that it pleased not the god Apollo, but our lyuing god, that they were written in the hartes of princes, For nothinge can be more vnjust or dishonest, then that in the pallace of princes and great lordes, the riche and the foolles should be dispatched: and the widowes and orphanes friends should haue no audience. Happy, and not once, but a hundred times happy is he, that will remember the poore afflicted, and open his harte to comfort them, and dothe not shet his coffers from heaping theym: vnto him I assure, and promise, that at the straghte daye of iudgemente, the proces of his lyfe shall be iudged with mercy and pity.

The xxxvi. Capter.

That the troubles and griefes, and sorowes of women are much greater then those of men, whether fore princes & noble men ought to haue more compassion vpon women: then on men.



Tis great pitye to see a noble, and vertuous man sorowfull, alone, and a widower, if respect allye he liued contented when he was married.

For if he will not marie, he hath lost his sweete companie: and yf he thynke to marie an other, let him be assured, he shall scarcely agree with his seconde wife. There is much sorow in that house, where the woman that gouerned it, is dead. For immediately the husband forsaketh him selfe, the children do lose their obedience, the seruantes become neglygent, the bondmaides become wanton, the frendes are forgotten, the house decayeth, the goodes wast, the apparayle is lost: & finally, in the widowers house there are many to robbe, and fewe to labour. Heauy & lamentable are the thoughtes of the widower: for if he thinketh to marie, it greueth him to geue his children a stepmother. If he can not be married, he fealeth greater payne, seinge him all the daye to remayne alone: so that the poore miserable man sigheth for his wife he hath lost, and wepeth for her whom he desireth to haue. Admitte that this be true, there is great difference from the cares and sorowes of women, to that of men.

A thing very clere, for so muche as the widower lawfully may go out of his house, he may go to the fieldes, he maye talke with his neyghbours he may be occupied with

his frendes, he may pleade his proces, and also he may be conuersaunte, and restreffe him selfe in honest places.

For commonly men are not so sorowfull in takinge the death of their wyues, as the wyues are, in takinge the death of their husbands. All this is not spoken in the disfauour of wise and sage men, whom we make small streames, with the teares of their eyes for the death of their wiues: But for many other baine and light men: which (the dates of the funeral pass) a man doth see without any shame to go through the stretes, beholding the ladies and damselles which are in the windowes.

Trulye the wofull women, whiche are honest, vse not such lightnesse. For whyles they are widowes, it is not lawfull for the to wander abroad, to goe out of the house, nor speake with straungers, nor practyse with her owne, nor be conuersaunt with her neyghbours, nor pleade with their creditours, but agreeable to their wofull estate to hide and withdraue them selues in their houses, and to locke them selues in theyr chambers, and they thinke it theyr dutye, to water their plantes with teares and impoortune the heauens with sighes.

O howe wofull: o howe greuous: o howe sorowfull is the state of wydowes: for so much as if a widowe go out of her howse, they take her for dishonest,

If she wil not come out of the house, she loseth her goodes. If she laugh a litle, they count her lighte. If she laugh not, they call her an hypocrite. If she goe to the church, they note her for a gadder. If she go not to the church, they saye she is vthankesfull to her late husbände. If she go ill apparayled, they count her to be a nigarde. If she haue her gowne cleane, they saye now she would haue a new husband. If she do marye teyne her selfe honestly, they note her to be presumptuous. If she kepe company, immediately they suspect her haule.

Finale

Finally I saye, that the poore miserable widowes that finde a thousand whiche iudge their liues, and they haue not one that will remedy their paynes. Much loseth the woman, who loseth her mother whiche hath borne her, or her sisters whych she loueth, or the friends whiche she knoweth, or the goodes whiche she hath heaped vpp: but I saye and affirme, that there is no greater losse in the worlde vnto a woman, then the losse of a good husband. For in other losses there is but one onely losse: but in that of the husbände, all are losse together: After that the wife doth see her louing husbände in the graue, I would aske her what good could remayne with her in her house.

Since we knowe, that if her husband were good, he was the haue of al her troubles, the remedy of all her necessities, the inuentour of all her pleasures, the true loue of her harte, the true lord of her parson, and the toll who she honoured: finally he was the faithful steward of her house, and the good father of her children, and familie. Whether family remayneth or not, why the children remaine or not, in the one and in the other, trouble and veraciō remaiñeth most assuredly to the poore widowe. If perchance she remayne poore, and haue no goodes, let every man imagine what her life can be. For the poore miserable unhappy woman, eyther will aduenture her parson to gette, or will lose her honestye to demaunde. An honest woman, a noble and worthy woman, a delicate woman, a swete woman, a woman of renowne, a woman that ought to maynteyne children, and familie, ought to haue great reason, to be full of anguishes and sorowes: to see, that if she will maynteyne her selfe with the needle, she shall not haue sufficient to finde her selfe bread and water. If she gayne with her bodie, she loseth her soule. If she must demaund others, she is ashamed. If she fulfill the testament of her husband, she muste sell her gownes. If she will not pay his dettes, they

cause her to be brought before the iudge. As women naturallye are tender, what harte will suffer theym to suffer suche inconueniences: and what eyes can abstaine to shed infinite teares? If perchance goodes do remayne to the miserable widowe, she hath no litel care to kepe them. She is at great charges, and expences, to susteyne and mayntayne her selfe in longe suite aboute her landes, muche trouble to augment them, and in the ende, much sorow to depart from them. For al her children, and heires, do occupy the selues moze to thinke how they might inherite: then in what sort they ought to serue her. When I came to this passage, a great while I kept my pen in suspence, to se whither I ought to touch this matter or no, that is to wete, that oftentimes the poore widowes put openly the demaund of their goodes: and the iudges do secretly demaund the possession of their parson, so that first they do injury to her honour, before they do minister iustice to her demaundes. Though perchance she hath no childe, yet therfore she remayneth not without any comfote, and for that the parentes of her husbände do spoyle her of her goodes. For in this case, their heires oftentimes are so disordered, y for a woꝛne cloke, or for a broken shirte, they trouble & soze bere the poore widowe. If perchance the miserable widowe haue children, I say, that in this case she hath double sorowe. For if they are yonge, she endureth muche payne to bringe them vp: so that ech heure and moment, their mothers liue in greatesorowes, to thinke onely of the life, & health of their children. If perhappes the children are olde, truly the griefes whiche remayne vnto them are no lesse. For so much as the greatest parte of theym are eyther proude, disobedient, malicious, negligent, adulterers, gluttons, blasphemers, false liers, dulheaded, wanting witte, or sickely. So that the toy of the woful mothers is to bewaile the death of their welbeloued husbādes, & the

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to remedye the discordes of theyr yowthful children. If the troubles which remaine to the mothers with the sonnes be great: I saye that those which they haue with their daughters, be much more. For if the daughter be quicke of witte, the mother thinketh that she shal be vndone. If she be simple she thinketh that euery man will deceyue her. If she be fayre, she hath enough to do to kepe her. If she be defourmed: she canne not mary her. If she be well manered, she wil not let her go from her. If she be euell manered, she can not endure her. If she be so solitary, she hath not wherewith to remedy her. If she be dissolute, she wil not suffer her to be punished. Finally, if she put her from her, she feareth she shal be scanda- lized. If she leaue her in her house, she is afraid that she shal be stollen. What shall the wofull poore widow do, seeing her selfe burdened with daughters, and enuironed with sonnes, and neither of them of suche sufficient age, that there is any time to remedy them: nor substance to mainteyne them, Admit that she mary one of her sonnes, and one daughter, I demaunde thereof: if the poore widow wil leaue her care, and angusthe? Trulye I saye no, though she chose rich personages, and wel disposed she can not escape: but the daye that she replenisheth her selfe with daughters in lawe, the same daye she chargeth her hart, with sorowes, trouayles, and cares. O poore widowes, deceyue not your selues, and do not imagine that hauing married your sonnes, and daughters, from that time forthward, ye shal liue more ioyfull & contented. For that layd aside, which their nephews do demaund them, and that their sonnes in lawe do rob them: when the poore olde woman thinketh to be most surest, the yong man shall make a clayme to her goodes. What daughter in lawe is there in this worlde, who saythfully loueth her stepmother? And what sonne in lawe is there in the worlde, that desireth not to be heire to his father in lawe? Sup-

pose a poore widow to be fallen sick, the which hath in her house a sonne in lawe, & that a man aske him vpon an other, which of these two thinges he had rather haue: either to gouerne his mother in lawe, with hope to heale her, or to bury her with hope to inheryte her goodes.

I sweare, that such that such wold sweare, that he could reioyce more, to geue a ducke for the graue: than a penny to the phisicion, purge and heale her. Seneca in an epistle sayth, that the fathers in lawe naturallye loue their daughters in lawe, and the sonnes in lawe are loued of their mothers in lawe. And for the contrary he sayth, that naturallye the sonnes in lawe do hate their mothers in lawe: But I take it not for a generall rule, for there are mothers in lawe which deserue to be worshipped, and there are sonnes in lawe, which are not worthy to be beloued. Other troubles chaunce daily to these poore widowes, whiche is, that when one of them hath one onely sonne, whom she hath in the stead of a husbände, in stead of a brother, in stead of a sonne, she shal se him dye, whom sith she had his lyfe in such great loue, she can not though she would, take his death with patience: so that as they burye the dead body of the innocent childe, they burye the liuely hart of the wofull mother. Let vs omit the sorowes which the mothers haue when their children dye, and let vs aske the mothers what they fele, when they are sicke. They will aunswere vs that allwayes and as oftentimes as their children be sicke, the death of their husbandes then is renewed, imagining that it wil happen so vnto them, as it hath done vnto others. And to say the trouth, it is no mar- uayle, if they do feare. For the vine is in greater peril, when it is budded, then when the grapes be ripe. Other troubles oftentimes encrease to the poore widowes, the which amongst other, this is not the least: that is to wete the lytle regard of the frendes of her husband, and the vnthankfulness

those which have ben brought by with him. The which since he was laide in his graue, neuer entred into his gates of his house: but to demaund recompence of their olde scruples, and to renewe and begin new suites, I would haue declared (or to say better, briefly touched) his traualles of wydowes, to perswade princes, that they remedy them, and to admonishe iudges, to heare them, and to desire al vertuous men, to comforte them.

For the worke of it selfe is so godly, that he deserueth moze, which remedyeth the troubles of one only: then I which wyte their miseries al to gether.

The xxxvii. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the Emperoure Mar. Au. vvrote to a Romaine lady named Lauinia, cōfortinge her for the death of her husband.

M Arcus of mounte Celio, Emperour of Rome, chiefe consul, tribune of the people, highe Bishop, appointed againste the Daces, witherth health & comfort, to the Lauinia, noble, & worthy Romaine matrone, the late wife of his good Claudius. According to that thy person deserueth, to that which becometh thy husbande I ought, I thinke wel, that thou wilt suspect, & I way the litell: for by thy great sorowes, complaints, & lamentations, are now arised my negligēt consolations whē I remēber thy merites, which can not faile, & imagining & thou wilt remēber my good wil, wherwith alwaies I haue desired to serue the: I am assured, & if thy suspicion accuse me, thy vertue & wisdom wil defend me. For speakinge the trueth, though I am the last to comfort the: yet I was the first to feele thy sorowes. As ignorance is the cruel scourge of vertues, & spurre to al vices: so it chaunceth oftentimes, that ouer much knowledge, putteth wylle in doubte, & flounders the innocent. For as much as we see by experience, & most presumptuous in wisdom, are

those which fall into moste perillous vices. We find the latins muche better to the ignorance of vices: then the grekes, with the knowledge of vertues. And the reason hereof is, for that of thinges which we are ignorant, we haue nopaine to attaine vnto them: and lesse griefe also to lose them. My intention to tel the this was, because I knew & which I would not haue knowē, & haue harde that, which I would not haue harde: that is to wete, & the daies & troubles of Claudius thy husband are ended, & now thy sorowes (Lauinia thy wife, do begin. It is now a good while, that I haue knowē of the death of his good Claudius my friend, and thy husband, though I did dyssemble it. And by the God Mars I sweare vnto the, & it was not for & I would not bewaile him, but because I would not discomfort the. For it were extreme crueltye, & the which was so comfortlesse, & sorowefull, for the absence of so long time: shuld be killed with my hand, through the knowledge of the death of her so desired husband. It were to vnkind, & vnseemely a thing, & the, of whom I haue receyued so manye good workes: shuld receiue of me, so cruel newes. The ancients of Carthage held for an inuiolable law, that if the father did tel the death of his sonne, or the sone the death of his father, or the woman the death of her husbande, or the husband the death of his wyfe, or any other semblable wofull, & lamentable death: he shuld be cast into the pyllow, among the which were condemned to dye. It seemed to those of Carthage, & he which sated vnto another, & his brother, kinsman, or friend was dede, immediately they shuld kill him, or he ought to dye, or at the least he shuld neuer be sene in his presence. If in this case, the lawe of the Carthaginens was iuste: then I oughte to be excused, though I haue not tolde the this heuynelwes. For as ofte as we see hym, who hath brought vs anye euyl tidynges: oure sorowes by his sighte, is renewed agayne. Since Claudius thy husband dyed, I haue not had one howre of rest,

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for to passe the tyme alwaye: for feare leasse such woeful, & sorrowfull newes, should come to thy knowledg. But now that I knowe thou knowest it, I fele double payne. For now I fele his death, my care, and thy want of consolacion: and the damage by his death shall solow to the Romayne Empire. Thou hast lost a noble romaine, valiant in bloud, moderate in prosperities, patient in aduersities, courageous in dangers, diligente in affaires, wyle in counsailes, faithfull to hys frendes, subtille & ware of his enemies, a louer of the common wealch, & very honest in his person: & aboue all, and whereof I hane most enuy is, that he neuer offended mā in his lyfe, nor hurte any with hys tonge. We finde seldom times, so many vertues assembled, in one man. For sayeng the trouthe, if a mā did narrowly examine the vices of many, whiche presume to be very vertuous: I swere, y he shuld find moze to reprove, then to praise. Since thou hast lost so good a husband, & I so faithfull a frēd: we are bounde, thou to bewaile so great a losse, & I to sighe for so good a companion. And this I do not desire for Claudine, who now resteth with the gods: but for vs others, whiche remayne in daunger of so many evils. For the dead do rest, as in y sure hāne: & we others do sayle, as yet in ragynge sea. ¶ Thou heuy harte, howe doe I se the, betwene the bell, and the clappers, that is to wete, that thou wantest the companye of the good: & arte enuironed with the flocke of euill. For y which occasiō, I doubt oftentimes, whether I may first bewaile the euill, which liue: or y good, whiche are dead, because in the end, the euill men do offend vs moze, which we finde: then doeth the good men, which we loose. It is a great pitye, to se the good and vertuous men dye: but I take it to be moze sorrowe, to see the euill, and vicious men lyue. As the deuine Plato sayeth, the Gods to kyll the good whiche serue them, and to geue longe lyfe to the euill whiche offend them, is a mystery so profound, that dayly we do lament it, and yet we can neuer aytayne to the secretes

therof. Tel me I pray the Lancia, knowest thou not now, that the gods are so mercifull with whom we goe whē we dye, & that men are so wicked, with whom we be whiles we liue: that as y euill were bozne to dye, so the good dye to lyue: for the good man though he dye, liueth: and the euill man though he lyue, dieth. I sweare vnto the by the mother Berecynthia, and so the god Iupiter do preserue me, y I speake not this whiche I wyl speake fainedly: whiche is, that consideringe the rest that the deade haue with the Gods, and seinge the sorowes and troubles we haue here with the liuyng: I say, & affirme once againe, y they haue greater cōpassiō of our life, then we others haue sorrow of their death. Though y death of mē were as the death of beastes, y is to wete, that there were no furies, nor deuils, which shuld torment the euill, and that the gods should not rewarde the good: yet we ought to be comforted, to se our frēdes dye, if it were for no other, but to se them deliuered frō the thraldome of this miserable world. The pleasoure that the Pilot hath to be in sure haven, the glory that the captaine hath to se the day of victoꝝ, the rest that the trauelour hath to se hys iourney ended, the contentacion that the woꝝke man hath to see his woꝝke come to perfection, all the same haue the deade, seinge them selues oute of this myserable lyfe. If men were bozne alwaye to lyue, it were reason to lamente them, when we see them dye: but since it is trouthe, that they are bozne to dye, I woulde saye, since nedes dye we muste, that we oughte not to lamente those whiche dye quickelye, but those whiche lyue longe. I am assured, that Claudine thy husbāde, remembꝝing that which in this lyfe he hath passed, and suffered, and seinge the rest that he hath in the other: though the Gods woulde make him emperor of rome, he woulde not be one day out of his graue. For returning to y world, he should die againe: but being to the gods, he hopeth to liue perpetually. Lade Lancia, most earnestly I desire the, so behemētly

ly not to perle the heauens with thy so heauy sighes, ne yet to weete the yearth, with thy so bitter teares: since thou knowest, y^e Claudine thy husband is in place, where there is no sorowe, but mirth, where there is no payne, but rest, where he wepeth not, but laugheth, where he sigheth not, but singeth, where he hath no sorowes, but pleasures, where he feareth not cruel death, but enjoyeth perpetual lyfe. Since therefore this is true, it is but reasoⁿ the wydow appeale her anguish, consideringe y^e her husband endureth no paine. Ofentimes with my selfe I haue thought, what the wydowes ought to imagine, whē they se them selues in such cares, and distresse.

And after my counte made, I fynd that they oughte not to thinke of the companie past, nor woful solitarines wherein they are presently, & muche lesse they ought to thinke of y^e pleasures of this worlde: but rather to remēber the rest in y^e world to come. For the true widow, ought to haue her cōuersation amonge the lyuynge, and her desire to be with the dead.

If til this presente, thou hadest payne, and trouble, to lōke for thy husband to come home: haue y^e now ioy, that he loketh for the in heauē, wherein I swere vnto y^e, that there thou shalt be better bled of the gods, then he was here of men.

For in this worlde, we knowe not what glōrye meaneth: and there, they knowe not what paynes are. Licinius Posthumus thy vncles, tolde me that thou art so sorowful, that thou wylt receiue no comforte: but in this case I thinke not, that y^e bewailest so much for Claudinus that thou alone doest thinke thou hast lost him. For since we dyd reioyce together in his life: we are bounde to wepe together at his death. The heauye and sorowful hartes, in this worlde fele no greater greife: then to see others reioyce at their sorowes. And y^e cōtrary hereof is, that the heauy & wofull harte, feleth no greater ioye, nor rest in extreame mishappes of for-

tune: then to thinke that others haue sorowe and greife of their paine. When I am heuy, and comfortles, I greatly ioye to haue my frende by me, & my harte doeth tell me, that what I fele, he feleth: so that all whiche my frend with his eyes doeth bewaile, & al that which of my greifes he feleth, the more therewith he burdeneth hym selfe, and the more therof he dischargeth me. The Emperoure Octavian Augustus (the histories saye) on the riuer of Danuby, found a kinde of people whiche had this straunge custome, that with eies was neuer sene, nor in booke at any time euer read, which was: that, frendes assembled, and wente to the autours of the temples, & there one frēd cōfederate with another: so that their hartes were maryed, as man & wyfe are maryed touchinge their bodie, swearing, & promysinge there to the gods, neuer to wepe, nor to take sorow, for anye myshap that should come to their persons. So that my frende should come to lament, and remedye my troubles, as if they had ben his owne: & I shuld lament, and remedy his, as if they had bene mine. O glorious worlde, O age most happy, O people of eternall memoire, wherein men are so gentel, & frēdes so faythful: that their owne trauailes they forgot, and the sorowes of straungers they bewayled. O Rome, without Rome, O time euill spent, O life to others euyl employed, O wretche y^e alwayes arte careles, nowe a dayes the stomache and intralles are so seuered from the good, and the hartes so ioyned with the euil: that men forgettynge them selues to be men, be come more cruell then wylde bestes. I laboure to geue the lyfe: and thou seekst to procure my death.

Thou wepest to see me laughe: and I laughe to see the wepe. I procure that thou doe not mourne: and thou seekst that I myghte fall. Fynallye, withoute the profite of anye, we cast oure selues awaye: and withoute gayne, we doe reioyce to end oure lyues.

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By the faith of a good man, I sweare vnto the (ladye Lauinia) that if thy remedy were in my handes, as thy greefe is in my harte: I would not be soye for thy sorowes, neither thou so tormented, for the death of thy husbande. But alas, though I miserable man haue the harte to fele thy anguythe: yet I want power, to remedy thy sorowes.

The: xxxviii. Chapter.

The Emperoure persvaded vvydowes to put their vvilles to the vvil of god, and exhorteth them to lyue honestly.



Ince thy remedye, and my desire cannot be accomplished, because it is a thinge impossible to receiue, and speake with the dead, and not hauing power, me semeth, that thou and I shold referre it to the gods, who can geue much better, then we can aske. O lady Lauinia, I desire the earnestly, & as a frend I counsaile, and admonithe the, and with al my harte I requyre the, y thou esseme y soz well done, which the gods haue done, y thou conforme thy selfe to the will of god, and that thou wilt noughte els, but as the gods wyl. For they only know they erre not, wherfore they haue thy husband assaulted with so sodeine death: and to the his wyfe, haue lent so longe lyfe. The gods being as they are, so mighty, & so sage, what is he y can be iudge of their proufoud iudgements? The gods know right wel those which serue them, & those which offed them: those y loue them, & those which hate the: those that praise them, & those that blasphemie them: those that yeld them thanks, and those which are vnthankfull. And I tel the further, that oftentimes the Gods are serued, moze with them which are bur-

ed in the graues: then with those which goe weapyng through the temples. Wylte thou now enter into account with the gods: thou oughtest to note and cōsider, that they haue leste the children to comforte thy selfe, they haue leste the goods wherewith thou maist auoyde pōtēty, they haue leste the frendes by whom thou shalt be fauoured, they haue leste the parentes of whom thou arte beloved, they haue leste the a good name soz to be esteemed, & health wherewith thou maist liue: finally I say, that smale is that whiche the gods take from vs, in respect of that they leaue vs. After one sozte we oughte to be haue oure selues with men, and after another we ought to serue the gods. For to men sometimes it is requisite, to shewe a countenance soz to humble them: but to the gods, it is necessary, to lye flat on the ground with thy stomacke to honoz them. And yf the Oracle of Apollo do not deceiue vs, the gods are soner with humiltype (where with we worship them) appeased: then with presumptuous sacrifices (which we offer vnto them) cōfōrted. Since thou art wydow (Lady Lauinia) and art a wise, and vertuous womā, beseeche the gods to preserve thy children, to defende thy renowne, and not to seuer thy frendes from the, & that thou scatter not thy goods, to preserve thy person in health, & as bone al, to be in their fauour. Thou cannest not winne, noz lose somuch in al thy life: as the gods can geue, or take from the in one hower.

Woulde to god the wydow knewe, howe litell she wynneth amonge men, and howe muche she loseth amonge the Gods, when she is not payente in aduersitye: soz impayence oftentimes, prouoketh the Gods to wrathe. We see it in mans bodye by experience, that there are sondrye dyscaies, whiche are not cured with wordes spoken: but with the herbes there vnto applyed.

And in other diseases, the contraye is sene, whiche are not cured with costlye me-
dicines: but with comfortable wordes.

The

The ende of this comparyson tendeth to this effecte, that al the afflicted hartes shuld knowe, that somer tymes the harte is moze comforted with one benefite whiche they do: then with a hundred wordes whiche they speake. And at another tyme, the sorrowful harte is better lychtened, with one worde of his frendes mouth: then with al the seruice of others in the worlde.

Wherche that I am, for as in the one, and in the other I am destitute: so in all I doe wante.

For considering thy greatnes, and wayeng my litel knowledge, I se my selfe verpe vnable, for that to comforte the: I wante science, and for to helpe the, I neede ryches: but I cease not to haue great sorrow, if sorowe in payment maye be receited. That whiche with my person I can do, neyther with pasper, or inke, I wyll requite. For the man which with worde only comforteth (in effect being able to remedy) declareth him selfe to haue bene a fained frend in tynes past: and sheweth, that a man ought not to take hym for a faithfull frende in tyme to come. That whiche the Romaynes with the wydowes of Rome haue accustomed to do, I wil not presently do with the (Lady Launtya) that is to wete: that thy husband being dead, al goe to visite the widow, al comforte the wydow, al wepe with the wydowe, and within a fewe dayes after, if the wofull wydow haue nede of anye small fauoure with the senate, they withdraue them selues together, as if they had neuer knowen her husbande, nor sene her.

The renoume of the Romayne wydowes, is very dainty: for of their honesty, or dishonesty, dependeth the good renoume of their person, the honoure of their parentes, the credyte of their chyldren, and the memozye of the deade. For this therfore, it is healthfull counsaile, for wyse men to speake fewe wordes to wydowes: and to doe infynyte good workes. That anayleth it wofull

wydowes, to haue their coffers fylled with letters, and promyses, and their eares, stuffed with wordes, and flateryes: If hit herto thou haste taken me for thy neyghbour, and parente of thy husband, I beseeche the from henceforth, that thou take me for a husband in loze, for father in counsaile, for brother in seruice, and for aduocate in the Senate: and all this so truly shalbe accomplished, that I hope thou wylte saue: that whiche in manye I haue losse, in Marcus Aurelius alone I haue found. I know wel (as thou doest in like maner) that when the hartes with sorrowes are ouerwhelmed, the spirites are troubled, the memozy is dulled, the flesh doeth tremble, the spirite doeth chaunge, and reason is withdrauen. And since that presentye sorrow and care, in thy house doe remaine: let the gods forsake me, if I abandone the, let them forget me, if I remember y not. But as Claudine remayned thine, wholye til the hower of death: so Marcus Aurelius wyl enermoze be thine, duringe his life. Since I loue the so intterlye, and thou trustest me so faithfully, and that thou with sorrowes art so replenished, and my harte with care so oppressed: let vs admit, that thou lady Launtya, hast the authoryte to commaunde me in thy affaires, and I licence to counsel, and aduertise the of thynges, touching thy honoz, and person.

For oftentimes the wydowes haue moze nede of a meane remedye, then of a good counsaile: I earnestlye desire the to leaue the lamentacion of the Romayne wydowes, that is to wete: to shutte the gates, to teare their heares, to cut their garmettes, to goe bare legged, to paynte the visage, to eate solytarylye, to wepe on the graues, to chide her chamberlaynes, to poure out water w teares, to put acornes on the graues, and to bite their nayles with the teeth: for these thynges, & such other semblable lightnes, behoueth not the gravity of Romayne Patrones, eyther to see them

THE DIALL

or els to knowe them. Since there is no extremitie but thereunto vice is annexed: I let the wete (Ladye Lavinia) if thou be ignorant thereof, that the widowes which are so extreame, do tormēt them selues, do trouble their frendes, do offend the gods, do forsake theirs, and in the end, they profyte not the dead: & to the enuious people, they geue occasion to talke. I woulde thinke, and me seemeth, that the women whiche are matrones, and widowes, ought to take vpon them such garment, and estate, the daye that the gods take lyfe from their husbands: as they entend to weare during their life. What anayleth it, that a wydowe be one moneth shut vp in her house, and that afterwarde with in a yere she is met in euery place of Rome: what anayleth it, that for seue dayes she hideth her selfe frō her parentes, & frendes: and afterwarde she is found the firste at the theaters: what profyterh it, that wydowes at the first do moorne, and go euil attyred: and afterwarde they dispute, & complaine of the beauty of the romaine wibes: what forceth it, that wydowes for a certayne tyme doe kepe their gates shutte: and afterwarde their houses are moze frequented then others: What skilleth it, that a man se the wydowes wepe much for their husbands, and afterwarde they see them laughe moze for their pastimes: Finally I say, that it lytel anayleth the woman, to seme to suffer muche openlye for the death of her husband: if secretly she haue another husband al redye found: For the vertuous, and honest wydowe, immediatlye as she seeth another man alīue: she renueth her sorow for her husbāde that is deade. I wyl shewe the (Ladye Lavinia) a thinge that besell in Rome, to thende thou thinke not, I talke at pleasure. In the olde tyme, in Rome there was a noble and worthy Romaine Ladye, wyfe of the noble Marcus Marcellus, whose name was Fulvia.

And it happened so, that this women seeinge her husbāde buried in the spelde of

Mars, for the great greife she had, she scratched her face, she ruffled her heare, she toze her gowne, and fell downe to the earth in a sounde, by the reason whereof, the Senatours kept her in their armes, to the end she shoulde tormente her selfe no moze. To whome Gneus Fuluius the Censoure sayed. Let Fulvia goe oute of your handes, she wyl this daye doe all the penance of wydowes. Speaking the trouthe, I knowe not, whether this Romaine spake with the Oracle, or that he were a deuine: but I am assured, that all he spake, came to passe. For that this Fulvia was the wyfe, of so excellent a Romaine, as the good Marcus Marcellus was: I woulde that so vnluckye a chaunce had not happened vnto her, which was: that whyles the bones of her husband, were a burning, she agreed to be maryed to another: and whiche was moze, to one of the Senatours that listd her vp by the armes, she gaue her hande, as a Romaine to a Romaine, in token of a faithfull marriage. The case was so abhominable, that of all men it was dysprayed that were presente: and gaue occasyon, that they neuer credyted wydowes afterwarde. I doe not speake it (Ladye Lavinia) for that I thinke that thou wylte doe so. For by the saythe of a good man I sweare vnto the, that my harte neyther suspecteth it, nor yet the authoritie of so graue a Romaine doeth demaunde it: for to the onely the fault shuld remayne, and to me the wonder. Partely I commend vnto the, thy honestye, whiche to thy selfe thou oughtest, and the care whiche behoueth so worthy and noble a wydowe. For if thou arte tormented, with the absēce of the deade, thou oughtest to comforte the, with the reputacion of the liuinge. At this presēt I wil say no moze to the, but that thy renowne amōg the present be such, & that they speake of the so in absence: that to the euell, thou giue the byddell to be silente, and to the good, spurres to come and serue the. For the widowe of euell renowne, ought

to be buried quick. Other thinges to write to the I haue none. Secrete matters are dangerous to trust, consideringe that thy hart is not presently disposed to heare newes. It is reason thou knowe, that I with thy parentes and friendes haue spokē to the senate, which haue geuen the office that thy husband had in Constantinople, to thy sonne. And truly y^e oughtest no lesse to reioyce of y^e, which they haue sayd of the thē for y^e they haue giuē him. For they say, though thy husband had neuer bene ciuill of Rome: yet they ought to haue geuen more then this, onely for thy honest behauiour. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and I will saye, I neuer sawe her wepe for any thing in the world so much: as she hath wept for thy mishappe. For she felt thy losse, whiche was very great: and my sorow, which was not litle. I send the. lxxx. thousand sesterces in money, supposing that thou hast where with to occupy them as wel for thy necessities, as to discharge thy debtes. For the complayntes, demaundes, and processes, which they minister to the Romayne matrones are greater: then are the goodes, that their husbands do leue thē. The goddess which haue geuen rest to thy husbande. Claudine, giue also comforte to the his wife Lavinia. Marcus of mounte Celio, with his owne hand.

The. xxxix. Chapter.

That Princes and noble men ought to dyspise the vworld, for that there is nothinge in the vworld but playne disceite.



PLATO, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democrites, Seuleucus, Epicurus, Diogenes, Thales, & Methrodorus, had amonge

them so great contention to describe, the world, his beginning and propeity, that in mainteyning euery one his opinio, they made greater warres wth their penne: then their enemyes haue done with their lances. Pythagoras sayd, that that which we call the world is one thing, and that which we call the vniuersal is an ether. The philosopher Thales sayde, that there was no more but one world: and to the contrary, Metrodor^{us} the astronomer affirmed, there were infinite worldes. Diogenes said, that the world was euerlasting. Seuleuc^{us} said, that it was not true: but that it had an end. Aristotel seemed to say, that y^e world was eternall. But Plato sayde clerely, that the worlde hath had beginning, and shall also haue endinge. Epicurus sayd that it was rounde as a ball. Empidocles sayd, that it was not as a bowle: but as an egge. Chilo the philosopher (in the high mount Olympus) dysputed, that the world was as men are: that is to wete, that he had an intellectuall, and sensible soule.

Socrates in his scole sayeth, and in his doctrine wrote, that after .37. thousand years, all thinges shoulde retourne as they had bene before. That is to wete, that he him selfe should be borne anew, and should be nourished, and should rede in Athens. And Dennis the tiraunt should retourne to play the tiraunt in Siracuse. Iulius Cesar to rule Rome Hannibal, to conquere Italy: and Scipio to make warre against Carthage. Alexander to fight agaynst kynge Darius, and so forth in all others past. In such and other vayne questions, and speculations, the auncient philosophers consumed many yeres. They in writinge manye booke haue troubled their sprites, consumed lōg time, trauayled many countreys, and suffered innumerable daungers: and in the end they haue set forth few truthe, and many lyes. For the least parte of that they knewe not, was much greater: then all that which they euer knewe. When I toke
of

THE DIAL

my penne in my hande, to write the banity
of the world: my entencion was not, to re-
proue this material worlde, the whiche of
the fitt. elementes is compounded. That is
to wete, of the earth that is cold and dry: of
the water that is moyste and colde: of the
ayre, that is whote and moyst, of fier, that
is drye and whote: so that taking the world,
in this sorte: there is no reaso why we shold
complayne, and lament of it, sins that with
out him we can not liue corporally. When
the painter of the world came into h world
it is not to be beleued, that he reproued
the water which bare him, when he wente
vpon it: noz the ayre that ceased to blow in
the sea, noz the earthe that trembled at his
deathe, noz the light which ceased to lighte,
noz the stones which brake in sonder, noz
the fishe which suffered theim selues to be
taken, noz the trees that suffered theim sel-
ues to be dry, noz the monumentes that suf-
fered them selues to be opened. For the cre-
ature knowledged in his creator omipoten-
tency, and the creator founded in the cre-
ature due obedience. Oftentimes and of
many parsons we here say, o woeful world,
o miserable world, o subtile worlde, o world
vnstable and vnconstaunt. And therfore it
is reason we knowe what the worlde is,
wherof the worlde is, from whence thys
world is, wherof this world is made, & who
is lord of this worlde: sins in it all thinges
are vnstable, al thinges are miserable, all
disceytfull, and all thinges are malicious,
which can not be vnderstanded of this ma-
teriall world. For in the fire, in the ayre, in
the earth, and in the water, in the lighte, in
the planets, in the stones, and in the trees,
there are no sorowes, there are no misery-
es: there are no disceyt, noz yet any malice.
The worlde wherem we are borne, where
we liue, and where we dye, differeth much
from the world, wherof we do complayne:
for the world against whom we fight, suf-
fereth vs not to be in quiet one houre in the
day. To declare therfore my entencion, this

wicked worlde is no other thinge, but the
euell life of the worlblinges, where h earth
is the desire, the fire the couetise, the wa-
ter the inconstancy, the ayre the follye, the
stones are the pryde, the flowers of the
trees, the thoughtes, the depe sea the harte.
Finally I saye, that the sonne of this world
is the prosperity: and the moone, is the con-
tinuall chaunge. The prince of this so euell
a world is the deuell, of whom Iesus christ
sayd.

The prince of this worlde shall nowe
be cast out: and this the redeemer of h world
sayeth. For he called the worlblinges and
their worldly liues, the world.

For sins they be seruauntes of sinne, of ne-
cessity they must be subiectes of the deuell.
The pryde, the auarice, the enuye, the blas-
phemye, the pleasures, the lechery, the neg-
ligence, the glotony, the yre, the malice, the
banity, and the follye.

This is the world against which we fyght
all our life, and where the good are pryn-
ces of vices, and the vices are lordes of the
vicious.

Let vs compare the trauailes which we
suffer of the elementes, with those whiche
we endure of the vices, and we shall se, that
litle is the peril we haue on the sea, and the
land, in respect of that which encreaseth of
our euell life.

Is not he in moze daunger, that falleth
through malice into pryde: then he which by
chaunce falleth from a hie rock: Is not he,
who with enuy is persecuted, in moze daun-
ger: than he, that with a stone is wounded:
Are not they in moze peril, that liue among
vicious men: than others, that liue among
bryte and cruel bestes: Do not those which
are tormeted with the fire of couetousnes,
suffer greater daunger than those, whiche
liue vnder the mount Eibna?

Finallye I saye, that they be in greater pe-
rilles whiche with hie ymaginations are
blinded: then the trees which with the im-
portunare windes are shaken.

And

and afterwarde this worlde is our cruell enemy, it is a disceitfull friende, it is that which alwayes kepeth vs in trauayle, it is that which taketh fro vs our rest, it is that that robbeth vs of our treasour, it is that which maketh him selfe to be feared of the good, and that which is greatly beloued of the euell. It is that which of the goodes of other is prodigall, and of his owne verie miserable. He is the inuenter of al vices, & the scourge of all vertues. It is he whiche entertayneth all his, in flatterye and fayze speche. This is he whiche bringeth men to dissencion, that robbeth the renowne of those that be dead, and putteth to sacke the good name of those that be alieue. Finallye I saye, that this cursed worlde is he, which to all ought to render accompte, & of whom none dare aske accompte. O vanity of vanity, where all walke in vanity, where all thinke vanity, where all cleue to vanity, where all semeth vanity: and yet this is little to seme vanity, but that in dede it is vanity. For as false witness should he beare, that would saye that in this world there is any thing assured healthfull, and true: as he that would saye that in heauen there is any vnconstant, variable, or false thinge. Let therfore bayne princes see, how vaine their thoughtes be, and let vs desire a vaine prince to tell vs howe he hath governed him with the vanities of the world. For if he beleue not that which my pen writeth, let him beleue that which his parson proueth. The wordes written in the booke of Ecclesiastes are such.

I Dauids sonne that swayes the kingly seat
With hungry thirst haue throwen amid my brest
A vayne desire to proue what pleasures great
In sheng life haue stable foote to rest

To tast the sweet that might suffice my will
With rayned counse to shonne the deper waye
Whose fireames of his delight should so distill
As might content my restless thought to staye

For loe quene follies impes through raine beleife
So proude shape ther serche of tickle reache
that though desert auayles the wane of greife
to science toppeth ther climbing wil doth stretche

And so to draxe some nice delighting ende
Of fancies toile that feasted thus my thought
I largely waide my wasted boundes to bend
to swelld realmes as wisdomes dyall wrought

I, ryall courtes haue reached from the soyle
to serue to lodge my huge attending trayne
Ech pleasaunt house that might be heapt with toyle
I reared vp to weeld my wanton rayne.

I, cause to plant the long vnused vines
to smoothe my tast with treasour of the grape
I, sipped haue the swete inflaming wines
old rust of care by hidd delight to scape

Freshe arbours I, had closed to the skies
A shrouded space to vse my suckle feete
rich gardens I, had dasing still mine eyes
A pleasaunt plot when dainty soude was met

Hie shaking trees by art I stroue to scit
to fraight desire with fruite of liking tast
When breyling flame, of some fire did hete
the blossomde bowes his shooting beames did wast

From rocky hills I forced to be brought
Cold siluer springes to bayne my fruiteful grounde
Large throwen out poudes I labourde to be wrought
Where numbers huge of swimming fishe wer founde

Great compass parkes I gloried long to plant
And wild forestes where swarmed herdes of deere
thousandes of shypen & cattell could not want
With newe increase to store the wasted yere

Whole routes I kept of seruile wightes to sarue
Defautes of princely courtes with ynke & toyle
whoes skilfull handes from conning could not swaime
ther maye was most to decke my daynyng soyle

The lerned wightes of musikes curious arte,
I trained vp, to please me with their play
Whose sugred tunes, so sailed to my hart
As flowinge grief, agreed to ebbe awaye,

The tender maidens, whose stalke of growinge yeares
yt reached not, to age his seconde rayne
Whose royall fames, were swaierd in no eares
But burnt by loue as beauties let doth gayne

THE DIALL

*To I enioyed to feede my dulled spirite
With strained voice, of sweete alluringe songe
but yet to mounie, the stage of more delight
I toyed to se their comly daunces longe.*

*The bylles of massye golde, that I vphape
So huge weare, by boure of longe exresse
That clotted claye, with prouder price was kepte
In sondry realmes, when ruthfull neede did presse.*

*In some, I say, my Ladies rollinge guide
Did gaze for nought, but subject laye to sight
By iudge of soundes, wist nothinge to abide
but was insild, to kisse ale more delight*

*The claber of my corps, yet neuer felt
that please him ought, but ay it toucht againe
my heber of sauours, as ought he smelt
that might content, his wound was neuer rayne.*

*The greey sighes, of my deuoured brest
Trauailed in thought, to conquire no delight
but yelded straight, as wiew to the wiest
to office suche, as wanton will beight.*

*But when the dore of my abused eye
Were boyssed vp, with lookes and lokes againe
And that my eere handes, did aye encline
to touche the facie, that seafend full there paine.*

*When wanton tast, was fed with eche conceyt
That straunge deuise, brought forth from flowing wit
When restlesse wall, was balast with the waight
of princely reache, that did my compasse fit.*

*I saw by serche, the sory vnsable blome
the blasted fruit, the flittinge still delight
The fickle ioye, the ofte abused dome
the slipper stay, the short contented sight*

*Of suche as set, their beaue of hyrringe lyfe
In pleasures lappe, that laughes at their abuse
Whose frowarde whele, with frowange turne is ryse
to drowne their blisse, that thynkly slept with vse.*

*For loe the course, of my dehyghyng yeares
that was embraste, in armes of fanhes past
When wisdomes sonne, through folies cloudes appeares
Doth blusse to heare, the countie that pleasure cast.*

*So now I se, the masse of huge delight
With flatteringe face, doth promise but decaye
Whose flittinge soote, entised once to flight
His restles wings, do seke to sore awaye
To thus he slipes, reclaimde with endeles paine
Possesseth while, departinge scene againe.*

This sayeth the sage Salomon, talking of the thinges of the worlde: the whiche as he spake of the worlde, so hadde he proued it in dede in his parson. Crediting, as it is reaf to such hie doctrine, I can not tell what my penne can write more in this case, sins he sayth, that after he had all proued, experymented, possessed, and tasted, he found that al that we procure and haue in this worlde is vanity. O princes and great lordes, I beseeche yee, and in the name of Iesus chryste I exhortte you, with great discretion to enter into this depe sea: sins this order is so disordered, that it byngeth al disorders, & euell customes. For all those whiche shall trauayle by the way, when they shal thinke to go most sure in the middest of their toumey, they shal finde them selues to be lost. None ought to agree with the worlde, for that he might lye sure in his house: for day and night, to all worldinges he hath his gate open, makinge their entree large and sure. But let vs beware we enter not, and muche more, that we loode not our selues with his vices, and be delighted with his pleasures. For since we do ware horse, and that we are entered therein, though we do repent, by no waye we finde the sure coming out, but that first we must well paye for our lodging. I maruell not though the worldinges at enerye momente be deceptued, sins superfiuouslye they beholde the worlde wth their eyes, & loue it profoundly wth their hartes. But if they desired as profoundly to consider it, as they do hapnly folowe it, they shold se very playnly, y^e worlde did not flater them wth prosperity, but threaten the wth aduersity. So y^e vnder y^e greatestt poynt of y^e die, which is the vi. is hid y^e least which is the ase. I would counsel princes & great lordes that they wold not beleue the worlde nor his flatteries, and muche lesse beleue them selues nor their bayne ymaginacions. The which for the most part do thinke, that after they haue trauayled and heaped vp great treasure, they shal enioye but their

their owne trauayle, wythout the trouble of any mā, or that anye man, do goe againe them. And howe bayne is suche thought, and howe ofte doth it chaunge contrarpe, The world is of suche an euill condicion, that if he let vs reste oure first sleepe, as well vs, as that whiche we haue gotten, immediately in the morning, yea oftentimes an hower from thence, he wakethe vs with a newe care, and now he hath prepared for vs some meane, to occuppe our selves about some other trouble.

The xl. Chapter.

The Emperour speketh vehemētly againste the dseities of the vworld-



Hemperour Traian sayde one day to his maister (which was Plutarche, the greate philosopher) tell me maister, why there are commonly more euill then good: and why wythoute comparyson there are more whyche folowe vices, than those that imbrace vertue? The great Plutarche answered. As our naturall inclination is more giue to lasciuiousnes and negligence: then to chastity, and abstinence: so the men whiche doo enforce theim selves to folowe vertue are fewe, and those whiche giue slacke the reynes to vices are manye. And knowe thou, if thou knowest it not (most noble Prince) that all this euill proceedeth, that men do folowe men, & that they suffer not reason to folowe reason. Feeble, and miserable is our nature, but in the end we can not deny, that for al our trauayles, we may finde remedy in it, which seemeth to be true. For so much as if the sonne doth annoy vs, we do retire to the shadow. If we are grieved going on fore, we do remedy it going on horsbacke. If the sea be

daungerous, we sayle with shypes, If the cold do bere vs, we approche nere the fire, If thurst doth trouble vs, we do quench it with drinke. If rayne doth wete vs, we go into the houses. If y plague be in one place we flye into an other. If we haue enemies we comfort our selues without frendes. Finally I say, that there is no sorowe, nor trauayle but that a man hath founde some rest and remedye. This presupposed to be true (as it is trouth in dede) nowe I aske al the worldlings, if they haue found any remedy agaynst the troubles and disceytes of this worlde: If I be not deceyued, and if I vnderstande any thing of this world, the remedies whiche the worlde getteth for the troubles, certaynlye are greater trauayles, then the trauayles them selues: so that they are salues that do not heale our woundes, but rather burne our fleche. When the diseases are not very old rooted, nor dangerous, it profiteth more oftentimes to abide a gentle feauer: then to take a sharpe purgacion. I meane, that the worlde is suche a deceyuer, and so double, that he dothe contrary to that he punisheth. That is to wete, that if he do perswade vs to reuenge an injury: it is to the end that in reuenging that one, we should receyue a thousande inconueniences. And where as we thinke it easeth care fro vs, it encreasech infinite. So that this cursed guyd, making vs to beleue it, leadeth vs vpon the dry lande, amonge our frendes: causeth vs to fall into the embushment of our enemies. Princes and great lordes, in the thoughtes they haue, & in the wordes that they speake, are greatly esteemed: and afterwarde in the workes whiche they do, and in the affaires they trauayle, are as litle regarded. The contrarpe of al this doth the wicked world, who with all those he accompanieth, in his promisses he is very gentle: and afterwarde in his deedes, he is very proude. For speakinge the trouth, it costeth vs deare: and we others do sell it good cheepe. I saye much, in say-
eng

THE DIAL

eng that we sel it good chepe: but in a ma-
 ner I shoulde saye better, that we giue it
 * willingly. For se we are those in number
 which carry away wages of the world: and
 infinite are these, which do serue it onely
 for a bayne hope. O princes and great loz-
 des, I counsaile and require you, that you
 do not trust the world neither in word, dede
 nor promise, though he sweare and sweare
 agayne, that he wil kepe all he hath promi-
 sed with you. Suppose that the world doth
 honour you much, flatter you much, visite
 you ofte, offer you great treasours, & geue
 you much: yet it is not because he wil geue
 it ye by litle, and litle, but that afterwards
 * he might take it all from ye agayne in one
 day. For it is the old custome of the world,
 that those which aboue all men he hath set
 before: now at a turne, they are furthest be-
 hind. What trust may we haue in y^e world
 and in his flatteries, since we do knowe,
 that one day we shall se our selues dep^ry-
 ued therof: and that whiche is more, he vi-
 seth such craft, and subtilty, with the one &
 the other, that in old menne whom reason
 would shoulde not be vicious, he (the more
 to torment their parsonnes) hath kindled a
 greater fire in their hartes, so that this ma-
 licious world p^attereth into old riches, a new
 couetousnes: and in the aged, engendereth
 cruel auarice, and that in that time, when
 it is out of time. We ought greatly to con-
 sider, howe by the world we are deceyued:
 but much more we ought to take hede, that
 we be not by it destroyed. For where as
 we thinke to be in open lyberty: he kepeth
 vs secrete in prison. We thinke we are
 whole, and he geneth vs sicknesse. We
 thinke we haue al thinges: yet we haue no-
 thing. We thinke that for many yeres lōge
 shalbe our life, when that at euerye corner
 we are assaulted of death. We thinke that
 it counteth vs for men that be wise, when
 he kepeth vs bonde like vnto fooles. We
 thinke that it encreaseth our good, when
 that in dede it burdeneth our conscience.

Finally I saye, that by the waye where we
 thinke to continue our renoune, and lyfe:
 we lose without recovery, both life & fame.
 O filthy world, that whē thou dost receyue
 vs thou dost cast vs of: when y^e dost asseble
 vs, thou dost seporate vs: when thou semest
 to reioyce vs thou makest vs sad: whē thou
 pleasest vs: how thou displeasest vs: when y^e
 exaltest vs how thou humblest vs: & when y^e
 dost chastice vs, how thou reiocest. Finally
 I say, y^e y^e hast thy drinckes so imppoysoned: y^e
 we are without the, & with the and hauing
 the these within the house, we go out of the
 doores to seke him. Though men be diuers
 in gestures: yet much more are they varia-
 ble, in their appetites. And such the world
 hath experience of so manye yeres, it hath
 appetites prepared, for all kinde of people.
 For the presumptuous, he procureth ho-
 noures, to the auaricious, he procureth ri-
 ches, and to those whiche are gluttons, he
 presenteth diuers meates. The fleshye he
 * blindeth with women, and the negligent
 he letteth rest: and the ende why he doth all
 these things, is that after he hath fed them
 as fishe, he casteth vpon them the nettes of
 all vices. Note princes & great lordes, note
 noble men, though a p^rince do se him selfe
 lord of al y^e world he ought to thinke y^e of no
 value is the seignory, onles he him selfe be
 vertuous. For litle it profiteth that he be
 lord of the vicious: whiche is him selfe, the
 * seruant of all vices. Manye saye that the
 world doth begile them: and other say, that
 they haue no power ag^ainst the world. To
 whom we may aunswere. That if at the
 first temptacions we would haue resisted
 the world: it is vnpossible that so ostenti-
 * mous it durst assault vs. For of our smal re-
 sistances, cometh his so great audacitie. I
 can not tel if I shall dissemble, I shal holde
 my peace, or whither I shall saye that I
 would saye, sⁱnce it greneth my harte so
 much, onely to thinke of it. For I seele my
 eyes redde to lament it, then my fingers
 able to wyte it, it is so, that euerye man
 suffereth

suffereth him selfe to be gouerned so of the world: as if god were not in heuen, and had not promised to be a good christian here in earth. For al that he wil, we wil, that which he soloweth, we solowe, and that which he chooseth, we chose. And that which is greatest sorow of al, if we do refraine our selues fro aduersity, it is not for that of our owne nature we would cease from it: but because the world wyl not commaund vs to doe it. What is that which I haue spoken, in respect of that I wil speake: which is, y the world hath made vs now so ready to his law, that from one howe, to another, it chaunged the whole state of this lyfe. So that to daye he maketh vs hate that, which yester daye we loued, he maketh vs complaine of that, which we commended: he maketh vs to be offended now with that, which before we dyd desire: he maketh vs to haue mortall enemyes of those, which before were our special frendes. Finally I saye, that the world maketh vs to loue that in our life, which afterwarde we bewaile at the howe of death. If the world dyd geue vnto his minians, any perfecte and accomplished thing: it were some what, that for a time a man shuld remayne in the seruice of his house. But since that in the world al thinges are graunted not during life, but as lending, which ought to be rendered the daye solowynge: I knowe not what man is so verie a foole, that in the world doeth hope for any perpetual thing. For all that he geneth, he geueth with such condycion, that they shall render it vnto hym, when he shall demaunde it: and not at the dyscretion of hym that doeth possesse it. Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetuall lyfe: I saye certaynely no. For in the sweetest tyme of all oure lyfe, then so dainely we are assaulted of cruell death. Peradventure the world can geue vs temporaryl goods in aboundaunce: I saye certaynely no. For no man at anye tyme had so muche ryche: but that which he wanted was moze, then that he possessed.

Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetuall soye: I saye certaynely no.

For exemptynge those dayes which we haue to lamente, and also the howes which we haue to syghe: there remaineth not for vs one moment to laughe. Peradventure he can geue vs perpetuall health: I saye certaynely no. For to men of longe lyfe, without comparyson the diseases are moze, which they suffer: then the yeares are, which they lyue. Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetuall rest: I saye certaynely no. For if the dayes be fewe, wherof we see the elementes withoute cloudes: fewe are the howers, which we feele our hartes withoute cares. Therefore, since that in this miserable world there is no health perpetuall, nor life perpetuall, nor ryche perpetuall, nor soye perpetual, I woulde knowe what it is, that the worldelynges woulde of the world, since they knowe that it hath no good thinge to geue them, but onely by lendynge, or by vsurpe: If it be vsurpe, there is no gayne of money: but rather retourne, with restitution of vices. Whylowen of banitye, Whylowen of lightnes, since it is so, that ye now determine to solow & serue the world: loke not of the world to haue any thing, but thinges of the world. In it is nothinge but pryde, enuy, lechery, hate, ire, blasphemy, auarice, and foly. And if ye aske, if he haue in his gouernaunce any vertuous thinge, he wil aunswere you, that he doeth neuer sell suche marchaundyse in his shoppe. Let no man thinke, that the world can geue vs that, which it hath not for it selfe. And if we wyl chaunge anye thinge with it, and it with vs: he is so subtile to sel, and so covous to bye, that that which he taketh shalbe of greate measure, and that which he selleth vs, shal want much weight.

THE DIALL

The xli. Chapter.

Of a letter, vvhiche the Emperoure
Marcus Aurelius vvrote to com-
fort his frend in his banishmēt,
vvhiche is notable for al men to
learne the vanities of this vworld.



MARCVS Em-
perour of Rome cō-
panyon in the em-
pire, with his bro-
ther Annius Ve-
rus to the Torquat
of the cite of Ga-
settes wisther health to thy parsonne, and
strength against thy euil fortune. I beinge
in the Temple of the bestal biergins, aboue
thre monethes hente, I receiued a letter of
thine: the which was in such sorte, that nei-
ther mine eyes for that time could make an
eade to rede it, nor since, I haue had the hart
to answer it. For in the inconueniences
of oure frendes, if we haue no facultie nor
might for to remedye it, at the least we are
bounde to betwayne it. Thy sorowle maketh
me so heauy, thy payne doeth trouble me so
much, I am so carefull of thy anguiste, so
tormented with thy griefe, that if the Gods
had geuen power to wofull men, to departe
their sorowles, as they haue geuen to ryche
men, to departe their goods: by the faith
I owe vnto god, I sweare, that as I am the
greatest of thy frendes, I woulde be he
whiche shoulde take the moste parte of thy
griefes. I knowe ryght well, and as wel
as he that hath proued it, that as much dif-
ference as there is betwene the barke and
the tree, the mary and the bone, the corne
and the strawe, the golde and the drosse,
the treuerh and the dreames: so much is there
to here the trauailes of another, and to cast

his owne. Notwithstandinge comforte thy
selfe my frende Torquatus: for where the
freendes be true, the goods and the euils are
common betwixte them. Oftentimes with
my selfe I haue merueiled, to what ende, or
intencion, the immortall Gods haue geuen
trauaile, and tormentes to men, since it is
in their power to make vs to liue withoute
them. I see no other thinge, why the myshap-
pes oughte paciently to be suffered: but be-
cause in those, we knowe who are our faith-
full frendes. In battayle, the valiaunt man
is knowen, in the tempestuous weather,
the Pilot is knowen, by the touche stone,
golde is tryed, and in aduersitye, the frend
is knowen.

For my frende doeth not inough to
make me merue, vnlesse also he doeth take
parte of my sorowle. I haue heard say here,
and nowe by thy letter I haue sene, howe
they haue banished the from Rome, and
confiscated thy goods, and that for pure
sorowle, thou arte sicke in thy bed: where
of I meruell not, that thou arte sicke, but
to be as thou arte alyen. For sayeng to the,
the trithe, where the harte is sore wound-
ded, in thorte space it hath accustomed to
yelde by vnto the bodye. I see wel that thou
complaynest, and thou haste reason to com-
playne, to se thy selfe banished from Rome,
and thy goods confiscate, to see thy selfe
oute of thy countrey, withoute anye paren-
tage: yet therfore thy sorowle ought not to be
so extreame, that thou shouldest put thy lyfe
in hazarde. For he alone oughte to haue
lycence, and also is bounde to hate lyfe,
whiche doeth not remember, that he hath
serued the Gods, nor hath done any pro-
fyte to men. If the affayres of the Empire
dvd not occupye me, and the emperyal ma-
iestie dvd not withdraue me: I woulde im-
medyatelye haue come to comforte thy per-
son, where thou shouldest haue sene by ex-
periēce, with what griefe I fele thy trouble.
And therfore if thou takest me for thy frēd, thou
oughtest to beleue of me that, which in this
case

taste I woulde beleue of the : whiche is, that as thou hast ben the most entier frend whiche I had in Rome : so is this the thing that mosste I haue felte in this lyfe.

Tell me my frende Torquatus, what is it thou suffrest there, that I doe not lament here : It maye be, that sometyme thou laughest, but I alwayes wepe: sometimes thou comfortest thy selfe, but I am alwayes sadde. It maye be, that thou lightest thy payne: but I am alwayes in sighenge. It maye be, that sometymes thou castest from the sorrowe: but for me I can not receiue consolacion. It maye be that thou hopest remedye of longe lyfe: but for me I fynde no remedye more healthful, then presente death. Finallye I saye, that here I fele all that thou felest there, and furthermore I suffer all that, whiche as a frende I oughte to suffer here: so that both oure paynes are made one mosste cruell sorrowe, wherewith my wofull lyfe is tormented. I woulde greatlye desire to come and see the, and to healepe to dysburthen the of this charge.

And since it is vnpossyble for me, I sende the this letter, wherein perchaunce thou shalt fynde some comfortable wordes. For thou knowest, that if the true frendes can not doe that, whiche they oughte: yet they doe accomplyshe it, in doing that they can. If my memozye deceiue me not, it is well xxxii. yeares since we two haue knowen togethers in Rome, durynge the whiche, fortune hath made here betwone vs dyuers alterations, in the whiche tyme I neuer sawe the one daye contented. For if thou were sad, nothinge dyd make the merre, but were as a man withoute taste: and if thou were ioyfull, thou esteemedst it lytle, as a man being troubled.

Therfore if the trouthe be so (as in dede, is) that in trauayles thou were loden with sorowes, and in prosperities thou were euill contented, so that of nothinge in the worlde thou tokest anye taste: why is it (my

frende Torquatus) that nowe againe thou arte in dyspayre, as if thou cammest newe into the worlde: Thou dydest reioyce thy selfe, xxxii. yeares, with the tryumphes and prosperities of Rome: and thou complaynest onelye of.iii. monethes, that fortune hath bene contrary vnto the.

O Torquate, Torquate, doest thou not knowe, that the wyse men (in whome wisedome reigneth) haue more feare of two vnhappye dayes in this lyfe: then of two hundred of prosperous fortune. Howe manye haue I sene goe oute of their prosperities, with the charges of another man, and their owne proper byces: so that the bayne glozpe and the faylinge prosperities endured fewe daies: but the griefe of that they haue lost, and the empties which they haue reconquered, endure many yeares. The contrarie of all this, cometh to infortunate men, which escape oute of their tribulations, spoyled of byces, enuyronned with vertues, persecutours of euill, zelers of good, frendes of all, and enemyes of none, contented with theirs, and not desirynge of others: finally, they are scaped wissely fro the snare, and haue gathered the rose, not hurtinge them selues with the prickles. What wilt thou that I say more vnto the, but that the most fortunate, are vāquyshed in peace: and the vnfōrtunate, are conquerers in warre. One of the sentences whiche mosste haue contented me, of those whiche the auncyentes haue spoken, is this, of the deuyn Plato.

That those whiche are in prosperities, haue no lesse nede of good counsaile: then the vnhappye haue of remedye. For no lesse doe they trauayle, whiche goe alwayes in the playne waye: then those, which moune on the sharpe craggie mountayne. Accordynge to that I haue gathered of thy letter, me seemeth, that when we hope mosste rest, greatest trauaile hath succeeded to the.

And hereof I doe not meruell, nor thou oughtest not to be offended.

R.ii.

For

Marshall & Henry & Thomas & John
the Emper.

THE DIAL

For as experience teacheth vs, when the trees haue h blossomes, then they are most subiecte to the froste: And when glasses are drawen oure of the furnaces, they bzeake. The captaynes hauinge wonne the victoꝝ, doe dye. When they wyl put the key in the doꝝ, the house doeth fall. The pirates peryshe, within the kenning of the lande. By that I haue spoken, I meane, that when we thinke to haue made peace with fortune, then she hath a new demaunde ready forged. All newe chaunges of fortune, causeth alway newe paine to the parson: but oftentimes it is cause of moze greate fortresse.

For the tree beareth not so muche fruite, where it first grewe, as there where it is againe planted: and the sauors are moze odiferous, whē they are most chafed. I meane, that men of hie thoughtes, h moze they are wrapped in the frowninges of fortune, the moze valiaunte and stout they shewe them selues.

The man bitterlye is folye, oꝝ hath great want of vnderstandyng, who hopeth at any time to haue perfecte rest, immagynyng that h world wil geue no assaulte vpon hym: but that the tyme shall come, wherein he shall be withoute care and feare.

This myserable lyfe is of suche condycion, that daylye, oure yeares do dimynish, and oure troubles encrease.

O Torquate, by the immortal gods I doe desire the, and in the saythe of a frende I doe require the, thou beinge boꝝne in the world, nouryshyng thy selfe in the world, lyuynge in the world, beinge conuersant in the world, beinge a childe of the world, and folowyng the world, what dydest thou hope of the world, but thynges of the world? Peraduenture thou alone wylt eate the fleashe withoute bones, geue batayle withoute peryll, traunyle withoute payne, and sayle by the sea without daunger. I meane, that it is vnpossyble for moztall men to lyue in the world, vna-

lesse they wyl become subiecte to the sorowes of the world.

The world hath alwayes ben the world, and nowe the world shall be after vs, and as a world shall handell the worldlings.

The wyse men, and those which of thre estates are carefull, are not contented to se, noꝝ superspytallye to knowe the thynges: but rather waye them profoundlye.

I saye this, because if thou knewest thy dehylyte, and knewest fortune, and her chaunge, if thou knewest the men, and their malyses, if thou knewest the world, and hys flatteryes: thou shouldest wyne no lytel honoure, where as othertwys thou mayest chaunce to get infamy. We are nowe come to so greate folye, that we wyl not serue the Gods, whiche haue created vs: noꝝ abstayne from the world, which persecuteth vs.

And the beste is, that he not wyllyng vs (but rather reiectyng vs) we saye (that of oure owne wylles) we wyl loue, and serue hym: and yet knowyng that those whiche longest haue serued the world, do go oure of hys house moste bitterlye lamentinge. Oftentimes I saye to thynke, that (accordyng to the multitude of men whiche folowe the world, being alwayes euil handled of the world) if the world dyd pray them as he doeth annoy them, if he dyd comforte them, as he doeth tormentethem, if he kept them as he banysheeth them, if he cralted them, as he abuseth them, if he receyued them, as he expelleth them, if he dyd continewe them, as he consumeth them: I thinke that the Gods shoulde not be honoured in heauen, noꝝ the Temples worshipped in the earthe.

O Torquate my frende, that whiche nowe I wyl say of the, I saye thou mayest saye of me.

That is to wete, how much we put oure confidence in fortune, how lewdly we passe ourdaies, & how much we are blinded in the world.

worlde: yet for all that, we credite his word as muche, as though he had neuer mocked anye.

The.xlii.Chapter.

* The Emperour persvadeth all men by stronge reasons, not to truste the vworld nor any thing therein.



Ell me I praye the Torquatus, what wilt thou heare more: What wilt thou se more: and what wilt thou knowe, more, to knowe the worlde:

seing howe until this present, thou hast bene handled of the worlde: thou demaundest rest, and he hath geuen the trouble. Thou demaundest honour, and he hath geuen the infamy. Thou demaundest riches, & he hath geuen the pouerty. Thou demaundest ioye, and he hath geuen the sorow. Thou demaundest to be his, & he hath geuen the his hand. Thou demaundest life, & he hath geuen the death. Therefore if it be true, that the worlde hath handled & in this wise, why dost thou wepe to retourne againe to his wycked house? O filthy worlde, howe farre art thou from iust: and howe farre bughte they to be from the, which desire to be iust. For naturally thou art a frend of nouelties, & enemy of vertues. One of the lessons which the worlde readeth to his childre is this: that to be true worldlings, they should not be very true. The whiche experience plainly sheweth vs, for the man whiche medleth muche with the worlde: leaueth alwayes suspition of hym, that he is not true. The worlde is an ambassage of the euil, a scourge of the good, cheifest of vices, a tyrant of the vertuous, a breaker of peace, a frende of warre, a swete

water of byces, the gawle of the vertuous, a defender of lyes, an inuētour of nouelties, a traueller of the ignoraunce, a hammer for the malicious, a table of gluttons, and a furnace of concupiscence: finallye, it is the peril of Charibde, where the barres do peryshe, and the daunger of Scilla, where the thoughtes doe waste. Presuppōse that these be the condicions of the worlde. The trouthe is, that if there be anye worlde lyng whiche complayneth to be euill contented with the worlde, shall he therefore chaunge his stile? Trulye no, and the reason is, that if perchance one worldlynges should go oute of the house, of the worlde, there are ten thousand vanities at his gate. I knowe not what wise man wyl lyue in the worlde with such condicions, since the vices wherewith we do reioyce our selues are very setue, in respect of the tormentes which we suffer. I saye not that we doe heare it by heare saye, and rede them in booke: but we se with our owne eyes, the one to consume & waste the goods, others to fal and lose their credyte, others to fall with their eyes, and lose their honoure, others to lose the lyfe, and all this sene, yet neuerthelesse euery man thinketh to be free by pryueledge, where there is none pryueleged: O my frend Torquatus, of one thinge I assure the, whiche is, that the men whiche are borne of women are so euill a generation, and so cruell is the worlde wherein we lyue, and fortune so empoysoned with whome we frequente: that we cannot escape without beinge spurned with hys fete, bytten with hys teeth, torne with hys nayles, or impoysoned with hys venym.

Peradventure thou oughtest saye vnto me, that thou hast sene some in Rome, whiche haue lyued longe tyme, fortune neuer beinge agaynst hym: To this I aunswere.

That thou mightest rather to haue pryueledge vpon hym, then enuye: for it is not

THE DIAL

for his profyte, but for his greate hinder-
raunce. For the worlde is so malicious,
that when it seemeth to be moſte our friend,
then it worketh vs moſt displeaſure.

The healthfull men dye rather of a ſhorte
dyleaſe in fewe dayes: then the dype and ſe-
ble men doe, with a dyleaſe of manye ye-
res. By this compariſon I meane, that
ſince man can not eſcape, nor lyue without
trauaile: it is muche better, that by lytle,
and lytle, he caſteth them, then that they en-
ter all at one tyme into his houſe.

How muche oughte the man to be ha-
ted of the immortal gods, who knoweth not
what trauaile meaneth in this worlde: For
he ſhould oughte to feare fortune, who know-
eth not fortunes force. Since the Gods
would permit, and thy miſſhappe hath ben
ſuche, that thou haſte found moze daunger,
where thou thoughteſt moſt ſure (as a man
euil fortunèd) it is reaſon, that we apply vs
to the ſome new waie, to the end thou looſe
not thy good renowne, ſince thou haſt loſt
thy euyl goods.

Tel me I praye the (Torquatus) why
doeſt thou complayne, as a man ſicke: why
cryeſt thou, as a ſoule: why doeſt thou ſigh,
as a man in diſpatre: and why doeſt thou
weepe, as a chylde: Thou arte come oute of
the waie.

And thou complaineſt to haue loſt thy
waie. Thou ſayleſt by the byroling Seas:
and thou wondereſt, that the waues doe as-
ſaule the. Thou haſte aſcended the ſtepe,
and craggy mountaynes: and thou com-
playneſt that thou arte wearie. Thou walkeſt
by the thornes: and wylt not that thy gowne
be torne.

Dydeſt thou thinke in the toppe of the
high mountayne to lyue moſt ſure: By that
I haue ſpoken, I wyl aſke what diligent
ſerupce thou haſte done to the worlde, that
thou wouldeſt the Gods of heauen ſhoulde
recompence the: Wouldeſt thou of fortune
a ſafe conſolute, ſhe beinge (as ſhe is) ene-
mye of manye, nature beinge not able to

geus it, the whiche is mother of all: O my
frende Torquatus, that whiche the pyres
full nature cannot promiſe the, dydeſt
thou thinke that fortune (whiche is the iuſt
ſteppe mother) ſhoulde gyue: It is vapo-
ryſe that the Sea ſhoulde alwayes promiſe
vs ſuretye, and the heauen clearenes, the
ſommer delwes, and the wynter froſtes.

Marke well, marke my frende Torqua-
tus, that all naturall thinges are ſublecte to
chaunge euerye yeare: but all the worlde-
thinges oughte to endure the eſclypſe euerye
momente.

Since the natural goods cannot alwayes
be in one mans cuſtodye, beinge neceſſary:
it is iuſte that the goods of fortune periſhe,
ſince they are ſuperfluous. What ſhould
the Gods be, if that whiche is to the do-
mage of ſo manye, they had made perpe-
tull: and that whiche is to the profyte of
all, they had made mortall.

I wyl no moze reduce to thy memory,
the proſperitye whiche thou haſte had in
tymes paſte: befoze that we treat of howe
fortune handeleth the at this preſent.

The deceitfull fortune, when at thy gate
ſhe ſolde her merchaundye, knowing that
ſhe ſolde vnto the, and thou beinge igno-
raunte of that thou boughteſt: ſhe gaue the
fruitfull grounde, and afterwarde made it
vnto the paynefull. She haſte geuen the ſo-
wer for ſwete: and the ſwete ſhe haſte re-
turned to the ſower. She haſte geuen the
the euyl for the good: and where that thou
haſte ſolde her good, ſhe returned vnto the
euyl.

Finallye ſhe haſte begyled the in the iuſte
pyſe: thou not ſuppoſyng that thou had-
deſt receiued any damage.

We can doe no leſſe in this caſe but to
haue compaſſyon vppon the: yet thouge
they condemne malicious fortune for
ſellynge, they wyl note the ſymple in
byenge.

For in the ſhappe of fortune, all mers-
chaunde are ſuſpytious,

Unhappy that we are, I saye those which meddle with the worlde: for in his market they se nought but lies, & we do not truste but in the ouerthrowes of our renowne: which are not payde, but with the coste of our life. And the factours of that faire, glue vs nothing by weight, or measure: for they are a sort of varaboundes, and the worst of all is, knowing that they ought to lose with fortune, all seke to bye at her shoppe. Give thy selfe to the worlde, loue the worlde much, serue the worlde well, folowe the worlde: well, and feele the worlde well, for in the ende of the iourney, the worlde requirerth thee to be like vnto his inconstancye. I wold enter into count, not with the worlde, which in the end is the worlde: but with the worldeinges, whiche are in loue with the worlde. For in the ende, either it is good or euell.

If the worlde be good for them, whereof do they complayne? If he be euell, why do they folowe him? They can not (though they would) denye one of the .ii. errors wherith the worldeinges fall: that is to wete, that they serue an euell mayster, or that they murmure of a good lord.

Tel me my friend Torquatus what dost thou hope, sins thou madest so long tyme a countenance to the worlde. First, peres, thou hast serued the worlde, and hast bent in his favour: wherfore it were now his time that betwene the and him were some discorde. For betwene the grandfathers and the nephews, betwene the father and the children betwene the vncles and the nephews, dayly we se great strifes: and diddest thou thinke, that betwene the and fortune, perpetual peace should be.

He gaue nat to Belus king of the Assyrians but .lx. yeares, of prosperity.

To the quene Semiramis. .vi. onely.

To Label king of the Lacedemonians. .v.

To the king of Chaldearis. .lxxx.

To the great Alexander. .lxxx.

To great Amilcar king of Carthage. .ii.

To oure Iulius Cesar one, and to infinite others he gaue not one.

If the worlde were pacient he should be no worlde. If the worlde were constant, he should be no worlde. If the worlde were sober, he should be no worlde. If the worlde were true, he should be no worlde. If the worlde were corrigible, he should be no worlde: finally I say, that for nought els the worlde is worlde, but because there is nothing in him worthe to be beloued: and many thinges in it that deserueth to be reprobud.

If thou were wise, and knewest any thing of the worlde, in all the discourse of those, first peres, thou haddest not eaten without care, nor haddest gone without gyles, & haddest not spoken without suspicion, nor slept without assaulte, nor trusted any frende.

For the ware menne do thinke alwayes, wherin their enemies maye beguile them, wherin they them selues maye fayne, and wherin fortune may let them. I knowe not if it be, that the worlde of him selfe be happy or that the worldeinges are fooles. For if one stranger, one neighbour, or our proper brother dothe enuye vs, we will neuer (though he do require vs) pardon him, and we cease not to folowe the worlde, though we knowe he persecuterh vs. So that we drawe our swordes agaynst fyes: and will kill the elephantes with needles.

There is no greater ill in the worlde, then to thinke all thinges in the worlde are in extremitie.

For if we be abased we sighe alwayes to mount: if we be highe, we wepe alwayes for feare of falling.

Suche ouerthrowes bathe the worlde, and his snares are so secrete: that we are no sooner shipped, but we se both our handes and feete entangled in bices, by the whiche oure libertie is broughte into suche extreame, and cruell captiuitie, that we maye oure mishappes, with roarynge voyce as brute beastes: but as menne we dare not once bitter them.

I knowe not wherof this cometh, for some I see which willingly fall, and others I see which would recover them selues. I see dyuers that would be remedied, and I see all do complayne: but in the end I see no man that doth amend. These thinges I haue written vnto the, for no other thing, but because fro hence forth thou shouldest liue more circumspectly: for as thou knowest, I say nothing, wherof I haue not had long experience. The colt which thou hast sent me, is proued very good, especially for that he leappeth very well, and for the carriere, he is exceeding ready, and hath a comely grace. I send the ii. thousand sextercies, wherewith thou mayst releue thy necessities. Finding opportunitie, as touching thy banishment I will speake to the senate in thy behalfe.

I say no more to the, but that the consolation of the gods, and the loue of the gods be with the Torquatus. The malice of the euell, & the pre of the furies, be absent from me Marcus. My wife Faustine salueth the. And in her behalfe, and mine, recommend vs to thy faire daughter in law Sophonisba, & thy daughter Amilda. Marke of moche Celio, wrieth to the Torquate, with his owne hand.

The .xliii. Chapter.

Princes and noble men ought not to beare vvith iugglers, iesters, and parasites, minstrelles loyterers, nor vvith any suche kinde of raskals. And of the lawes whiche the Romaines made in this behalfe.



Icurgus, Promotheus, Solon and Numa, Pompeius, famous inueners, and ordeyners of lawes, thewde

the subtilty of their witted, and the zeale which they had to ther people in ordaining many lawes which they taught: not onely what they ought to do: but that whiche they ought to fly. For the good and expert phisitions do deserue moze prayse to preserue vs before we are sicke: then to heale vs after we are diseased. Plutarcke in his apothegmes neuer ceseth to exalte the Lacedemonians, sayeng: that when they dyd obserue their lawes, they were y most esteemed of al the grekes: & after that they brake them, they were the moste byleest subiectes, which euer the romaynes had. The felicity, or infelcitye of realmes, doeth not consist to haue good, or euyl lawes: but to haue good, or euyl Princes. For lytle prospertye vs the law to be iust, if the king be wycked. Sextus Cheroneus in his life of Nerva saith, when the Romaynes and the Grekes had warres together, & that the imbassadours of these two nations were at controuersye, whiche of them shuld haue the Rhodens to be their frendes: the Greke embassadoure safed to the romaine. He ought not to make your selues egal, O romaines, to the Grekes, since y trouthe is, y ye came fro Rome to Grece to seke lawes. The Romayne embassadour answered hym. I graunt the, that fro Rome we sent to seke lawes in Grece: but thou wilt not deny, y from Grece you haue brought y vices to Rome. I saue vnto the y troth, that wout comparison, greater damage haue the vices done vnto vs: then your lawes haue profited vs. Plutarcke in an epistle he wryteth to Traiane sayed, these wordes. Thou wryttest vnto me, moste noble Prynce, that thou arte occupied in ordeynynge newe lawes: but in my oppynion, it had bene muche better, that thou haddest kepte, and caused to be kepte the olde. For lytle prospertye it to haue the coffers full of good lawes, and that the common wealthe be full of euyl customes. I haue sene very few Princes, but to make lawes they had babylete sufficient: and

to kepe them, they haue felt in them selues great debility & weaknes. Hereof we haue example. For Nero was he, whiche made the best lawes in Rome: and that afterwar des of life was most corrupt. For the gods oftentimes permitts, that by the handes of some euell men, the others shoulde be con strayned to be good. Plutarche sayeth fur ther.

If thou wilt (noble prince) trust thine owne vnderstandinge, in my pooze coun sayle, in fewe wordes I would recte vnto the al l auncient lawes. I wil see the very hysse and swete lawes, not to thende thou shouldest publishe theym in Rome: but to the ende thou kepe them in thy house. For sins thou haste made lawes for all, I will make lawes for the.

The first lawe is, that thou behaue thy selfe in such sort, that thou be not noted of any notable vice: For if the prince be ver tuous in his pallace, none dare be dissolute in his house.

The second lawe is, that equally thou kepe iustice, as wel to him which liueth farte of, as to him which is nere about the: for it is much better that thou departe of thy good des to thy seruantes, then that thou shuldest geue them that iustice, whiche apper teyneth to others.

The third lawe is, that thou delight in word and dede to be true, & that they take l not in this default to speake to much. For princes which in their wordes are vncer rayne, and in their promises doubtful, shall be hated of their fryendes, and mocked of their enemies.

The fourth lawe is, that thou be ver ye gentle of condicion, and not forgetfull of seruices done. For vnthankfull princes are hated of god, and despised of men.

The fift lawe is, that as a pestilence thou chase from the flatterers. For such to their euell life, do disturbe a whole comō wealth and with their flatteries, do darken thy re

notorie.

If thou (most noble prince) wilt obserue these, v, lawes, thou shalt nede to make no mo lawes: For there is no nede of other lawe in the common wealth, but to se that the prince be of good life. This wrote Plu tarche to Traian, and euery vertuous mā ought to haue them witten in his hart.

I was willing to touche this histo ry onely to shewe the profite of this laste lawe, where it sayeth, that princes admitts into their conuersacion no flatterers, of whom it is reason we talke of now: For so muche as there are diuerse men, with whom they lose their time, and spend their goodes. When Rome was well ordered, if offices were greatly esteemed to the Romay nes.

The one was, the maysters of fence, which were as men that fought. And the cause to inuent this play, was to the end yong men (not expert in warre) shoulde se the swoz des drawen, sharpe speares, shootinge of crossebowes, to geue blowes with their sword, to shed bloude, to geue cruell wound es, and to slep men: For in this sorte they lost feare, and in going to the warre, they recovered courage. The man whiche hath past a watche, though he be in the nighte, dare passe it: But he whiche hath not pas sed it, though it be in the daye, dare not enter it. I meane, that the Romaynes were very sage, to shewe vnto their childe ren the dangers, before they did put them ther in. For this is the difference betwene the fear ful hart and the couragious stomacke, in that the one flyeth from a disaffe, and the other is not afrayd of a sword.

The second office whiche was esteemed in Rome, was that of the, jugglers, se tters, players of tragedies, and of suche o thers, whiche inuented playes, and pasti mes to reioyce the people: and in especial ly men of warre, who they feasted at theyr goinge forth, and muche moze at their comming

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coming howe for the Romaynes thinking that they should be with such gloze receyued, wente with determinacion eyther to winne the victorie, or to dye in battayle.

The auncient & true Romaynes had such care for the common wealth of their people, that they consented that testers should test, jugglers should juggle, and the players of enterludes should play: But this was not through aboundance of vanitie, nor for want of grauitie, but to take from the Plebeians, occasion of idleness, & to kepe them occupied in other perticuler playes: they would that all the pleasures shoulde be taken together. Not without cause I saye, that the pleasures were taken in common, that is to wete, that no romayne could play any playes perticulerly, make any bankets, represent comodities, nor make anye feastes beside those, whiche they made to reioyce the whole people, so that in Rome they trauielled seuerally, and reioyced together. Would to the immortal gods, that suche & so excellent a romayne custome were obserued in our christian common wealth.

But I am verie soze that vndifferentelye ritche, and poze, great and small, do play comedies, runne the bulles, do iust, and make bankets, weare deuises, feaste the ladies, spend in bankett, and inuent feastes, The whiche thinges altogether do redounde to the damage of the common wealth, to the wast of the goodes, & to the corruption of the maners: for the particuler pastimes do encrease new vices to breede in men. These players did serue in rome to make pastime at the greates feastes of their Goddes: For sins Romaynes were greates worshippers of their goddes, and so carefull of their temples, they sought to feast them al the wayes they could inuent. Truly this was done by the deuine sufferance, for their goddes being laughinge stocks (as in dede they were) the liuing god would they should be serued, honoured, and feasted by gestures, and moockes, Blondus in the thirde booke de

Roma triumphante mentioneth & whiche I haue spoken, and sayeth. That the Romaynes were no lesse curious to giue lawes to the jugglers, and testers, which went mocking by and dooing Rome: then to the captaynes whiche were fightinge in the warre. For though they did permit testers, players and jugglers, to exercise their offices: yet they did commaunde them that their liues might be vpright and iust.

Amongest others, suche were the lawes, whiche the romaynes ordeyned for these testers, jugglers, players, and tumbleres.

The first lawe was, they commaunded that they should all be knowen, and examined, to se if they were honest men, wise and sage. For & more their offices were vaine, so much the more they prouided, that they were geuen to wise men.

The second lawe, commaunded to examine them, to se if they were able, and comely to exercise their offices: and in dede in this case, as wel as in the other, they hadde reason, For as very a foole is he, whicharkeneth to a foole not pleasaunt, as the foole him selfe.

The third lawe was, that they did not permit anye Romayne juggler to exercise such feates, oneles he had some other craft. So that if they occupied the halfe dayes to playe and shewe pastime in the streets, the other dayes they should worke at home at their houses.

The fourth lawe was, that no juggler nor tester, should be so hardye in his ostentations to speake any malices: and in dede it was a lawe very necessary. For oftentimes selue they are, whiche do reioyce at their mockeries: and manye whiche complaine of their malices.

The fift lawe was, that no juggler or tester, shoulde be so bolde to make anye pastimes in anye partyculer houses, but in open places. For otherwile, those whiche spake them became hardy: and those whiche heard them were vicious.

The

The Romaynes not contented to haue made these lawes, ordeyned that the iugglers for no pastimes shewed, or any other thing spoken, should be so bolde as to receyue any money. And to auoyde their complayntes and to satisfy their paynes they allowed euery one of them a thousand scerces yere ly out of the common treasure. We ought greatly to prayse the prouidence of the Romaynes, which haue prescribed a kinde of life for the iesters to liue: even as they did to other men of rome, and to the captaynes of warre. And in this place no lesse than in an other graue thing, they shewed their wisdome. For a gouernour of a common welth traunpleth moze to correct fooles thē to gouerne the sage.

The.xliiii.Chapter.

* Hovve some iesters vvere punished by the auncientes, and of the iesters and loyterers of our time.



Vlius Capitolinus in the booke of the maners of the auncientes sayeth, that in times past, the iesters, and iugglers were greatly esteemed. And we will not deny but that they had reason, sinz with them they honoured the gods, they toke their pleasures, they reioyced their feastes, they were verpe quicke men, not importunate nor couetous. The iester hath no grace onlesse immediatly a man putteth his hand to the purse. We find some fragmētes of an oratio which Cicero made in y^e senate, greatly reproving the Senatours, and all the people because they so willingly gaue eare to this iester, who stirred vp sedition among the commons, his

name was Roscio, who was so greatly esteemed in rome y^e the Romaynes did moze willingly heare that which he sayde in his iestes, thā that which Cicero spake in good earnest: This iester Roscio and Cicero stryued whiche of them bothe were of greater witte. Roscio for presentynge a thyng wyth dyuers geestes or Cicero pronouncynge waytye maters in earnest. When I rede in Iulius Capitolinus that whiche I haue spoken, I wyll not cease to cōfesse mine innocēce, for that I could not then kepe my selfe from laughing, to se that Roscio, being Prince of folys, did presume to dyspute with Cicero, whiche was father of eloquence. With all these thynges are vnsfable in one, so from one day to another we see them chaunge. The romaynes dyd greatly esteeme the pollicy of the common wealthe, the dyscipline of warre, the nurture of chyldren, the exercise of the yonge, and the honestye of the players, and iugglers: the which in tyme came to be so dissolute, that very ofte they were occasyon of greate slaunders amoge the people. The whiche by the Romaynes sene, and considered, and that the iesters which were wont to shewe them pleasures, were cause of dissension (and where all they commaunded them to be resydente in their offices, they were vacabondes, and that vsinge them as sages, they liued as loyterers & fooles, not contented with that, that they gaue them of the common treasure, but they wente begginge of euery man) the Senate of rome determined amonge them selues to banyshe al the Iugglers, and iesters, out of the common wealthe. On this execution of these loyterers, sprange dyuers dysentions amonge the people. For the Princes which were good, cast them oute: and those which were euyl, called them in. So that one of the tokens whiche were in Rome, to know a vertuous, or vicious prince, was to se if he mainteyned iesters, iugglers, or vacabondes, amonge the people.

Plutarch

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Plutarcke in his Apothegmes sayeth, that the Lacedemonians did neuer permit any juggler or iester to be in the comon welth. And when one did demaund a Lacedemonian, by an imbassadoz of Rhodes, what was the occasion to make such a lawe, sins the gessers, and players, shewed pleasure to the people, and the people losse nought but laughed at their folly: the Lacedemonian answered, Lycurgus saw harde, felt, or red, some great damage, that the iesses, jugglers or players, might doe in the comon welth, sins against theym, he made thys so straight a lawe. But that which I know is that we Grekes are better, wepinge wyth our sages: then are the Romaynes laughing at their fooles. Dio in the life of Traian declareth, that there came a juggler to Rome from Affricke whose conueyaunce was so cleue, that it was a wonderfull thing to se what fates he did and to heare what wordes he spake. And when they prayed the good emperor Traian, that it would please him, to heare him, he answered. It is not for the authoritie of a graue and vertuous prince, that in his presence any such wayne thing should be shewed. For in such a case, he should be no lesse noted of lightnes, then the other accused of follye. And further he sayd. Before princes, a man shuld not be so hardy to speake dishonest wordes, nor shewe light representacions. And in such case, as much payne deserue they whiche moue him therto: as those, which do represent them. For a man ought not to put before princes thinges which should allure them to vices: but thinges whiche shoulde moue the to vertues. Certainly these wordes were worthy of such a personage.

Suetonius Tranquillus in the life of Augustus declareth, that in Rome there was a iester verie mery, and pleasaunt called Esteophane, who one daye offered his seruice to the emperoure, to the ende that of that seruice some, profite mighte vnto him ensue. He went to the pallace sometime in

the attyre of a page, and an other tyme in the habite of a Romayne matrone: and so truly counterfayted euery thinge, that it seemed not to be him, but the selfe same parson he represented. The emperor Augustus was greatly displeased wth that iester had done, and commaunded forthwith that he should be whipt in.iii.theaters. And when he complayned, that the emperoure commaunded vacaboundes to be whipped on, & he thys, the emperor Augustus answered. Ons they shal whippe the, for the insurpe thou diddest to the Romayne matrone, whom thou diddest represent.

The seconde time they shal whip the, for the p^{re}sumpcion that thou hast to represent it befoze my parson. The third for the time thou hast made diuers loose, for beholding and hearinge the. For iesters do not deserue so muche punishment, in the iesses & mockeries they do say: as for y^e time whiche they lose, and cause others to lose. Certaynly, the punishment which was geuen to the iester, was very iust: and excedinge good were the wordes, which Augustus sayd.

There was an other iester in the time of Augustus whose name was Pilas. And when the Emperour had banished all the iesters, & jugglers from Rome, this Pilas was so pleasaunte, and mery wyth all persons, that wyth great instance they besoughte the Emperour to reuoke that sentence. And the request in deed was so great as if it had ben for a Philosopher, they coulde haue done no more. For wayne, and light men, employe rather that they haue, on him who bringeth vnto theim some solye: then to one, which teacheth and correcteth their lyfe. The Emperour condescended to the requeste of the people, on suche condicion that they should geue a mayster and tutor to Pilas, that shold chastice and correct him as a foole. Sayeng, that sins sages tooke fooles to be their maysters, that the fooles also should haue sages for masters. The cause was: that as one daye he that had the charges

charge of Pilas do rebuke him for certaine lightnes that he had done, or for some dishonour that he had sayed: Pilas was exceeding wrothe with him. The whiche the emperoure vnderstandynge, commaunded he shuld be whip, and banished for euer, and euer. When Augustus gaue this sentence, they saye he sayed this worlde. Rome hath ben mighty, and puissant enough, to make her enemies stoupe: now she is not able, to banish the tilters, & fooles. And that that is worste of al, they haue presumption to berease: we haue not courage to reprove them. The Lacedemonians had greates reason, and also the Romaynes, to reue their common wealth of tilters. For they are idel, vicious, dishonest, malicious, and prejudiciall to the common wealth. These tilters, and iugglers are idell, seeing that more then others, they eate the swette of others. They are vicious, for they can not exercise their offices but in vices, and in creakynge with vicious men. They are dishonest, for they get not to eate by doynge good workes: but by speakynge dishonest wordes. They are malicious, for they haue accustomed, when they loue not a man, immediately to speake euyl of hym. They are vnproffitable for the common wealth, for they mocke vs, and sel vs vaine wordes: & we pay them good money. The worlde is come to so greates follye, and corruption, that euen as greates & wysse men thinke it greates inconueniente, to be conuersaunte with vaine, and fonde men: so the Lordes of estate thinke it an honour, to haue in their house, some folysse tilters, whiche doe expresse dyuers folyes. If there were not but this euyl: yet here it myghte be dyssembled. But what shall we say, that for the moste parte the lordes are so vaine, and the tilters so presumptuous: that the Lordes haue more care to contente them, then they haue to please the lordes.

In the house of a lord, a foole at the end of the yeare wyl aske more, then anye other of those whiche are moste auicente

so that the follyes of one are more acceptable, then the seruyces of all. It is shame to speake it, and no lesse to wyte it, that the Chylidren of banpity are so vaine, that they byrbe a foole or a tilter no lesse in these dayes, to thintente he maye be a meane for them vnto the Prince: then they dyd in tymes paste desire Cicero, to make an oration for them befoze the Senate.

It is for wante of vnderstandynge, and throughte the vilette of personne, oppression of the harte, & dyspryse of renowne, to be desirous by the meane of fooles, to attayne to anye thinge. For he can haue no greates wysedome, whiche putteth his hope in the fauoure of a foole. What remaineth for me to say, when I haue sayd that whiche I wyl saye: And it is, that if a gesser or foole saye openly to some lord, God saue your lyfe, Oh he is a noble man in dede, he wyl geue hym a gowne of silke: and entring into a churche, he woulde not geue a poore man a halpenye.

What neglygence, is there of Princes: What banpitye of Lordes: Since they forsake the poore and wysse, to enryche the tilters and fooles. They haue enoughe for the worlde, and not for Ihesus Christ: they geue to those that aske for his louers sake, and not to those whiche aske for the health of the soule. We oughte not to doe so: for the knyghte whiche is a Christyan, and not a worldelynge, oughte rather to wyl, that the poore doe praye for hym at the howre, of deathe: then that the fooles, and gessers shoulde prayse him in his lyfe.

What doeth it profyte the soule, or the bodye, that the tilters doe prayse the for a coate thou haste geuen them: and that the poore accuse the, for the bread thou hast denyed them: Peraduenture it wyl profyte the asmuche, that a foole, or a flaterer, goe befoze a Prince appaprayled with a newe lyuerie of thine: as the poore men shall doe the damage befoze God, to whome thou haste denyed a poore ragged shirte.

THE DIAL

All gentlemen, and knightes, in the name of our sauiour Iesus Christ I admonyshe, exhorte, and humbly require, that they consider wel what they spende, and to whom they geue, for the good Princes, oughte to haue more respecte of the necessityes of the poore: then of the follyes of counterfaytes. Geue as yee wyl, denye as ye list, for at the houre of death, as muche as yee haue laughed with the fooles, for that ye haue geuen them: so muche shall ye wepe with the poore, for that ye haue denayed them. At the houre of death it shalbe greuous paynes to him that dyeth, to see the fleashe of the Druphanes all naked, and to beholde counterfayte fooles loden with their garmentes. Of one thing I am amased, that indifferently every man may become a foole, and no mā let hym: and the worst of all is, if once a foole become couetous, all the world afterwards can not make him to be in his right senses. Truly, suche one which hath no reason to be a foole, at the leaste he hath good occasion: since he getteth more to eate playeng, then the others doe working: What negligēce of the princes, and what smal respecte of the governours of the commō wealth is this: that a yong mā, whole, stout, strōg, and valyaunte, shuld be suffered to go from house to house, from table to table, and only for babblinge bayne wordes, and tellynge shameful lyes, he shoulde be counted a man of an excellent tonge. Another folp there is in this case, that their wordes are not so follysh, as their dedes are wicked. And though they haue a good, or euyl graue: yet in the end, they be counted in the commō wealth, as loyterers and fooles. I knowe not whether in this case is greater, either their folly, or our lyghtnes, for they vse vs as fooles in tellinge vs lyes, and we paye them good money. The Romaynes dyd not permit in their common wealthes, colde iesters: nor we Christyans oughte to retayne into oure houses, idle loyterers. We oughte to knowe, that more offendeth he whiche sinneth with

a defourmed woman: then he whiche sinneth, with a beautifull ladye. And he whiche is drunke with sowre ale offendeth more: then he whiche is drunke with swete wyne. And so in like maner, greater offence commit they, whiche lose their times with the fooles, that haue no grace: then with iesters, whiche haue good wittes. For it may be permitted sometyme, that the sage man for the recreation of his spyrites, doe fremente the compaignye of some pleasaunte man.

The .xlv. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich the Emperour vvrote to a frende of his, certifying hym, that he had banyshe from Rome, the iesters, iuglers, conterfet fooles, parasites, ruffians, minstrels, vacabondes, and al other loyterers.



Arcus Aurelius onelyc Emperoure of Rome, lord of Asia, confederate with Europe, frende of Affricke, and enemy of the warres, witheth health to the Lambarte, gouernour of the Ile of Helespont. With the furies which thou didest sed me, I haue caused my gowne to be furred, and am girded with the girdel which thou didest present me, & am greatly comforted with thy wordes. For all is so good, that the body doeth reioyce to possesse it, and the eyes to beholde it, and also the harte to render thanks for it. Where I dyd aske a fewe thinges of the in test, thou hast sent me many in earnest, wherein not as a seruaunt, but as a frende, thou hast shewed thy selfe. For the office of noble and worthy hartes, is to offer to their frendes, not only that which they demaunde: but that also whiche they thinke they wyl demaund. Truly I haue better measured thy seruices,

by thy noblenes: then I the demaund by my
couetousnes. For if thou doest remember,
I did demaund of the only, rix, skinnes: and
thou hast sent me: 12. dosen. I tolde the, that
I desired .6. houndes for to hunte: and thou
hast sent me: 12. of the best that can be found
in the Ile. In such sorte, that I haue had ho-
nour: and thou hast wonne renowne. For
in the lrele I haue demaunded, they shal see
my lrele couetousnes: and in the much thou
hast sente me, they shal perceiue thy greate
lyberaltee. I esteeme highlye that whiche
thou haste sente me: and I beseeche the gods
sende the good lucke. For thou knowest, we
may render thankes for the benefites recei-
ued: but we haue not the power, to requite
the gentlenes shewed. For the man whiche
dare receiue of another any gifte, doth bynd
hym selfe to be hys slaue. I can not be thy
slaue, for I am thy frend: & hereof I oughte
not to reioyse, more then another. For be-
ing a seruant, I shuld serue the with feare,
but being thy frend, I wyl profite the with
frendshipp. Therfore to declare the chese oc-
casiõ wherfore I write vnto the at this pre-
sent, I say, I send the .3. Shippes laden with
letters and sugglers, loyterers, bacabõdes,
and fooles: & yet I doe not send vnto the all
the bacabõdes which are in Rome, for then
it shuld be peopled with straungers. The
office that they had, was that some of them
sange sondry malicious tonges in the strea-
tes, others told lies and newes, for their di-
ners, other flattered for aduantage, other
plaid on instrumetes to get drinke, others
counterfayted the fooles for a new gowne,
some plaid the phisician for a profite, other
sugglers conueyed craftely, other figboies
picked finely, others made rimes ignoraut-
ly, and other disers, foysted, and ragged co-
mingly: I swere vnto the by the god Hercu-
les, these loyterers wanted no fooles to here
thym. I let the wote, my frende Lamberte,
that these loyterers are in the, and their sco-
lers in number so manye: that though the
maysters maye be in .iii. shippes carped yet

the schollers coulde not be in an hundreth
transported. Of one thing I mervel much,
and also I affirme, that the Gods be offen-
ded, since earthequakes ouerthrow the hou-
ses, the great waters cary awaye the bryd-
ges, the froste frese the vines, the corrupte
ayer infecteth the wise men: & yet is ther no
plague that consumeth the foolen: O howe
vnhappy art thou Rome, vnto hym that shal
wel beholde the, and dilygentlye serche the.
For in the wanteth valyaunte captaynes,
honest Senatours, iuste Censours, faithfull
officers, and vertuous Princes: and onelye
there aboundeth fooles, iesters, plaiers, dy-
sers, loyterers, and bacabõdes. O what
seruice thou shuldest do to the gods, and pro-
fite to our mother Rome, if for .3. shippes of
fooles, thou diddest send vs one barke only of
wise men: I would not saye (but I wyl not
cease to saye) that I haue sene fooles, that
I haue heard many folies: but I neuer saw
so great fooles, nor harde suche extreme fol-
ly, as that of some noble romaines, & Italy-
ens, who thinke it a greate acte to keape a
foole in their house. I iudge hym to be a grea-
ter foole, that so desirerh to kepe a foole: then
the foole hym selfe. For a foole hathe a sem-
blance of the sage, after that he accompa-
nieth with a sage: but the sage theweth hym
selfe a foole, after he accompanieth with a
foole. Why doe men seke thinges of mocke-
ry: since al that is in the world is mockery?
Why seke we fooles? Since all that we
saye, is nothyng but folye. Why doe we
reioyce, with those whiche flatter vs: since
there are none, that saye one onely trueth?
Why doe we seke fained fooles? Since that
all, or the mooste parte of vs all, are verye
fooles: I see dyuers in Rome, the whiche
though they companie with honest men,
are dissolute, companieng with sages they
are simple, treatynge with wyse men, they
are withoute consideracion, and being con-
uersaunte with fooles, they thinke to be
sage. If we kepe company with pitifull, we
shal be pitifull,

THE DIALL

If we be conuersaunte with the cruel, we shall be cruel. If we communicate with lyers, we shall be lyers. If we haunte the true, we shall be true: and if we desire the foliſhe, we shall be fooles. For according to the maſters we haue, and doctrines we haue: such shall be the ſciences whiche we shall learne, and the workes whiche we shall folow. The famous tiraunte Penis the Siracufaine, whiche was in Scicil, ſaid vnto the philoſopher Diogenes. Tel me Diogenes, what condition ought men to haue in their houſes, and with what perſons ought they to deuide their goods: Diogenes aunſwered him. The wiſe man which wyl liue in peace with the common wealth, and that wyl not ſee hys goods euyl imployed, oughte not to geue to eate, nor to accompany with anye, but with the aged perſons which ſhuld counſaile them, and with the yong which ſhuld ſerue them, with frendes whiche ſhould fauour them, & with the poore, to the end they ſhuld prayſe them. Penis the tiraunt greatlye commended that, which Diogenes the philoſopher tolde hym: but he coulde neuer proſſite with that counſaile. For as he ſhewed him ſelfe a tiraunte in robbing: ſo he ſhewed him ſelfe alſo vndiſcrete in ſpending. We ſuppoſe that that which Diogenes the philoſopher ſpake were true, that is to wete, that we ought to fede the aged, ſeruautes, frendes, & poore: we ſe by this aunſwere, it is not iuſte to geue to eate, eyther to teſters, miſtrells, paraſites, flaterers, loyterers, or fooles.

Fiſt me ſemeth, that a man ought not to thinke that fooles are capable to geue counſaile, ſince they haue it not for them ſelues: for it ſhould be great folly to vſe men as ſages, whiche of their owne wyl haue made them ſelues fooles.

The ſeconde, me ſemeth that it is a vaine thinge to thinke, that the teſters ſhuld ſerue as ſeruautes: for theſe unhappy people, to ſpye trauaile onelye, haue taken vpon them this office ſo ſclaunderous.

Thirdey it ſemeth to be a ſhamefull thinge, and of great inconueniencye, that anye noble and ſage man ſhuld determyne, to haue anye flaterer, or teſter, for hys ſamplyare frende: for ſuche oughte not, nor cannot be counted among the true frendes, ſince they loue vs not for the vertue we poſſeſſe, but for the goods which we haue.

Forthly me thinketh it a vayne thinge to thinke, that vnder the couler of pouertye it ſhould be iuſte, to geue meate to teſters, or loyterers: for we cannot ſaye that ſuche are poore for that they wante ryches, but that follye aboundeth in them. ſince therefore a man is defamed to haue ſuch teſters, flatterers, and loyterers for frendes, and that for being ſeruautes they are vnhable, and with oute witte to aſke them counſaile: me thinketh it is a greate follye, to ſpende hys goods on ſuche loyterers. For as their intencions to the gods onelye are manifeſt, and to men ſecrete: ſo there is nothinge wherewith the good doe approue and manifeſt their intencions to be good, or euyl, more then in the wordes whiche they ſpeake, and in the companies whiche they keape.

The .xlii. Chapter.

Howe the Emperour found the ſepulchres of many learned Philoſophers in Heleſpont vwhere vnto he ſente all theſe loyterers.



VVyl thou knowe Lamberte, that thy Ile is conſecrated with the bones of many excellent men, the whiche were banished by ſundrye tyrannous Princes of Rome. The auncyentes greatlye commende that Ile, becauſe there are therein ſtones called Amatiſtes, came dere, faire women, familiare wolſes, ſwiſte dogges of ſoote, & pleaſant ſountaines

Yet notwithstanding I wyl not cease to commend these thinges which reioyce those that be present, & also comforte those that be to come. For I esteeme moze þ bones, which the earth doe couer: then the riches, whiche groweth thereon. If thou hast not losse the sence of smelling, as that Ile doeth sauoure vnto me of sages: so doeth Rome stinke of fooles. For, for the time it is lesse payne, to endure the stinke of the beast: then to heare the wordes of a foole. When the warres of Asia were ended, I returned home by that Ile, wherein I visited al the liuing people, and al the graues of the dead philosophers. And for a trueth, I tell the Lambert, þ that tourney was verie troublesome vnto me: for herein my person endured much payne, on the land I suffered diuers dangers, and on the sea, I saw my selfe in sondry perils. In the city of Corinthe (where thou art resident at this present) in the middelt of the market place, thou shalt finde the graue of the philosopher Panimio, to whom the streight friendship anayled litel, whiche he had with Ouide: but the enmity greatly endamaged him, which he had w Augustus the emperour. Two leagues fro the foote of the mountaynes Arpines, thou shalt finde the graue of the famous oratour Armeno, who was by þ consail vniustly banished. And of troth, as here was much bloud lost, because Silla should not enter into Rome: so there were not few teares shed in Italye, for the banishment of this philosopher. In the gate of Argonata, harde by the water, in the toppe of a hyghe rocke, thou shalt finde the bones of Callidorus the Philosopher, who obserued all the aunciente lawes: and was a greate enemy of those, whiche broughte in newe customes, and statutes.

This good Philosopher was banished, in the prosperitie and surfe of the Marcians: not for the euils they founde in hym, but for the byces he reponed in them. In the felde called Helimes, there was a greate tombe, within the which were the

bones of Selleno the philosopher, who was aswel learned in the, bii. lyberall artes: as if he hym selfe had firste inuented them.

And he was banished by the Emperoure Nero, for because he perswaded this cruel Emperoure, to be mercifull, and pytfull. In the same felde, oute of the woodes towards the weste parte, thou shalt finde the graue of the Philosopher Vulturius, a man in Astrologie profoundly learned, which litle anayled him in his banishment. For he was banished by Marcus Antonius, not for that Marcus Antonius would haue banished hym: for he was not offended by him: but because his lone Cleopatra hated him, as her mortall enemye.

For women of an euill lyfe, reuenge commonly their angry hartes, with the death of their especial frendes. Diuers other tombes in that Ile I sawe, the names whereof though in wytyng I haue them: yet at this present I cannot cal them to memory. Wel, by the faith of an honest man I sweare vnto the, that thou shalt fynde al true whiche I haue tolde the. Nowe I tel the Lambert, that I visiting those graues, their disciples did not beare them greater obedience, whē they were aloue: then I dyd reuerence now they are dead. And it is true also, that in all that time my eyes were as muche wet with water, as their bones were couered with earth.

These philosophers were not banished, for myscheues by their personnes committed, nor for sclanders they had done in the common wealthes: but because the deades of oure fathers deserued, that they shoulde be taken from their company, and we their chyldren were not worthy, to haue the bones of so famous, and renowned sages in oure custodie. I cannot tell, if the enue I haue to that Ile be greater, or the pyttee I haue of this myserable Rome: for the one is immortal by the graues of the deade, and the other is defamed with the lyfe of the lyunge.

THE DIAL

I desire the hartelye as a frende, and doe commaunde the as a seruante, that thou keape the pryuyleges, whiche I geue to
 * that Ale, withoute breakyng anye one.

For it is verye iuste, that suche cyties peopled with suche deade, should be pryuyleged of the lpyng. By this Centurion, thou shalt knowe al thynges whiche are chaunged amongst the prysoners.

For if I should wyte al the whole matter vnto the as it was done. I ensure the, vnto me it woulde be muche paine to wyte it, and to the great trouble to rede it. It suffyceth presentlye to saye, that the daye of the greate solemnytye of the mother Be-
 recinthe, a sclaunder arose in Rome by thoccasion of these iesters, scoffers, and loyterers: and by the saythe of a good man, I swaie vnto the, that the bloude whiche was shed thynge the places, surmounted the wyne whiche was drunke at the feaste.

And thinke not that whiche I saye to be lytel, that the bloude whiche was shed, sur-
 * mounted the wyne that was drunke.

For as thou nowe knowest, the Citizynes are come to so greate follye: that he whiche was on that daye moste drunke, they sayed that he had offred vnto the Gods greates-
 * sacrifyces. I am yet a frayed, to remember the cruelties whiche that daye I saw with my owne eyes: but I am muche moze ashamed of that, whiche they talke of vs in straunge realmes. For the noble and wor-
 * thy hartes, doe not counte it so muche to receyue a greate wounde: as to take it of a cowardely man.

There is greate dyfference betwene the nettles, wherewith they take byrdes: and no lesse is there betwene the hokes, wherewith they take fysh. I meane, that the knyfe whiche cutteth the fleashe, dyffereth muche from the knyfe, whiche hurteth the harte.

* For the hurtes of the bodye, with surgis-
 ons maye be healed: but the gods only are the physycions of the perylls of the harte.

I sawe Rome whiche was neuer vainer

quyshed by balsaunt men) at that day ouer-
 come by loyterers. Rome whiche could ne-
 uer be wonne by those of Carthage, is now
 wonne by iesters, players, and vacabon-
 des. Rome whiche triumphed of all the
 Realmes, is nowe vanquished of the loy-
 terers, iesters, and idel persons.

Finallye, we saue that Rome whiche
 in tymes passe gaue lawes to the Barba-
 rous, is nowe become the slaue of fooles:
 in this case I haue bene so troubled that I
 cannot tell what to saye, and lesse what I
 wyte vnto the. One thing comforteth me,
 that since Rome and her Romaynes do not
 reioyce them selues, but with fooles: that
 she, and her chyldren be not punyshed, but
 by the handes of fooles. I thinke not that in
 this case the Gods doe anye wronge, if
 Rome which laughed through mockery at
 the players: doe wepe one day with the loy-
 terers in good earnest.

Thou myghtest demaund me Lambert,
 since we other Princes are bound to main-
 tayne equal iustyce with all: wherefoze we
 doe dyssemble manye offences whiche o-
 thers haue done in earnest: and yet we
 wyll not pardon those gessers, since al that
 they haue inuented, was for mirth and
 pastyme: I promyse the, though the of-
 fences were greate in dede: yet I doe not
 banysh them so muche for the bloude they
 haue shed, as for the good orders whiche
 they haue peruered.

Once agayne I retourne to say vnto the,
 that I haue not banyshed them so muche
 for because they were occasion of murders:
 as to be teachers of al lyes. Without com-
 paryson, greater is the offence to the gods,
 and greater is the domage to the common
 wealthe to take awaye (as these loyterers
 haue done) the senses of wyse men: then
 that whiche the murderers doe, to take life
 fro their enemyes. The end of these iesters,
 scoffers, iugglers, idell men, and those
 kynde of rascalles, is alwayes to perswade
 men, that they speake continually in moc-
 keries,

herkes, treat continually in mockeries, and to ridde them of their sorowes, and all this is to deceyue them of their goodes. In the which case I saye, and so pleased it the goddes, that they shoulde content them selues with the goodes, without robbing vs of our wisedome. When Scipio the Affricane had ended the warres of Affricke, he went through Rome accompanied not with valiant captaynes, but with the players, jesters, and iugglers. The whiche a philosopher seing sayd vnto hym these wordes. O Scipio, according to the muche they haue talked of the, and the litle I see in the, it had bene better thou haddest dyed in Affricke, then to come to Rome. For thy high actes, in thy absence did astonie vs: & thy lightnesse in thy presence doth offend vs. To the it is great infamy, & to the sacred senate litle honesty, & thou hauinge conquered so mighty princes in Affricke, shouldest go accompanie with fooles, and madde men in Rome. I let the were Scipio, that thy life had not then so much perill amonge thy enemies: as thy honour hath at this present amonge fooles. These wordes were verie good, though they were euell receyued, of humayne malice. For by reasyn of these wordes the poore aged philosopher was banished (by the frenches of Scipio) out of Italy: and sent to that he of Helesponte.

The.xlvii.Chapter.

* The Emperoure declareth the cause vwhy these iesters, and iugglers vvere admitted into Rome.



After that these loyterers and vacabondes shal land in thy ile, thou shalt let them go at liberty, and shalt take none of their goodes: but thou shalt aduertise them that they be not so hardy, to exercise their craftes nor feates. For if they do the contrarye, thou mayst make them lose their life, and banish them that ile, which I haue conditionallye pardoned, them here in Rome. One thinge I commaund the, and I beseeche the forget it not, that is to wete that thou compell the to labour, and that in no meanes thou suffe for them to be idle.

For idleness is the mother of all vices in the parson, and the causer of all sleanders which arise in the common wealth.

Sins we knowe not but to labour, and the loyterers know not but to loyter, I would say, that with more reason they myght say, that we were not sages: then we might say, that they are fooles. For wrongfullye are they called fooles, which by craft eate the swette of others: Seing the litle regard we haue to these loyterers, and consideringe howe muche we presume: by the sayth of a good man I sweare vnto the Lamberte, that with greater reason they should mocke our wordes: then we others should laughe at their wordes. For they profite more with our goodes, then we do of their folly.

In the, CCxli. of the foundation of Rome a sore plague came into Italy. The which being ended, they determined to set not the thousandes, of menne that were deade: but the small number of those whiche remained alieue.

Rome afterwarde being so solitarie, and Italy so desolate, onely to reioyce the people, and to the ende the cities shoulde not remaine inhabited, the fyrst theaters were inuented, and then first were these players receyued.

For

THE DIALL

For breifl that time the Romaynes knewe no other thinge, but to offer sacrifices to their goddes in the temples: and to fight against their enemies in the feldes. A lamētable thinge to heare, y this plague lasted only. xxiij. monethes, and the rage & folly of these players, and idell men, hath endured more then. iiii. yeres. Would to the immortal goddes, that that plague had ended those fewe which remaine: before this cursed generacion had brought so abhominable customes into Rome. For much better had it bene for our mother Rome, that she had wanted inhabiteurs, than such raskals should haue come and dwelled therein. I knowe wel (Lambert) that these parsons do greatly complayne of me, and that the complayntes whiche they do in the beginning, shal not haue an end there: but I care not much: for the complayntes of the euell do serue for no other thing, but to reprove the iustices which are ministred vnto them by the good. The princes in that they commaund, and the iudges in that they execute ought not much to esteeme the complayntes of al those which say they haue wrong.

Provided that the cause be iustified, and that vnder the colour of iustice they do no wrong in dede. In the flatteries which they tel vs concerninge our glozve, and in the sclaunderes which they spake of vs concerninge our reproche, wise men ought wel to note the nature of the parson whiche speaketh it, whether that be true which he speaketh, and what moueth him to tell it, For as it is a shame for to be rebuked of a man which is honest: so it is no small infamy to be praysed of those which are euell.

Sins the time I was borne, I neuer sawe anye thinge lesse profitable in the common welch, nor more vayne, neyther worse inuencions, nor colder recreations the these are, which these iesters, players, and iugglers, do inuent.

What thinge can be more monstrous, then to se the folly of a foole byngs diuers

wise men out of their wittes: What greater mockery can there be, then that al do thinke that the iesters of a foole ought to be reioyced at, with the laughter of y sage: What greater sclaunder can there be, then that in the offices of the noble and worthy Romaynes, the gates should alwayes be open for fooles: and the wise men should finde them alwayes shutte: What greater cruelty can there be in Rome, the that the senators and riche men geue more to a player, for a song which he singeth in one houre, then they do to the seruantes for seruing them a whole yeare: What greater theft can there be than this, that the garisons which are in Illiria, want: and players, iesters, iugglers, flatterers, and loyterers, in Rome haue to much: What greater shame can Rome receiue the this, when it shall be sayde in time to come, that iugglers, players, parasites, iesters, and flatterers, haue wonne more with their iuggling, playing, iesting and flattering: then diuers captaynes with their weapons, and triumphes: Beholde therfore Lamberte, what difference there is betwene captaynes, and loyterers.

For when the one went throughe Rome, soluing their follies from gate to gate: the others went from realme to realme consuming their goodes, aduenturinge their liues, fighting against the barbarous people and shedding their owne proper bloud. And in the hindermoste parte of Spayne, when those of Seuil had warre with the Gaditares, it chaunced that even in the middest of the time, those of Seuil wanted money, and. ii. parasites offered them selues for. ii. yeares to susteyne the warres, with their owne proper goodes: so that with the riches of two fooles: many wise men were overcome. When the Amazones were ladies of Asia, then they buylte the great temple of the goddesse Diana. And as the histories account, onely with that they toke away from a player, was buylte this noble

ble temple. If the histories of the Egyptians do not deceyue me, king Cadm⁹, who with a. 100. gates buylte the great cite of Thebes, for such a buylding, so highe and moustruous a cite, all his subiectes together gaue him not so much, as .ii. parasites did alone. When the good emperor August⁹ renewed the walles of Rome, & made them of hard stone, which before that time were onely of earthe: and bricke, towards such a costly worke, he had more of .ii. parasites which were drowned, then of al the cite beside. I being in the city of Corinthe, sawe an auncient tombe, wherein the Corinthians say their first king was buried.

And the historiographers saye, that this king was a great wastler, others saye he was a parasite, others say he was a juggler, but how so ever it was, he was first a iester, and obtayned a realme in earnest. Behold therfore Lambert, how they are neglected of gods & fauoured of fortune, & in how little estimation the goodes of this life ought to be esteemed: thus some by counterfeit- ing fools leue of the as great a memory of their follie, as the others do by theyr wisdom. There is one thing only of these loyterers that pleaseth me, that is to wete, that in presce they make euery man laugh with the follies they speake: and after that they are gone, al remayne sad for the money they carry away. Truly it is a iust sentence of the goddess, that those which haue taken vayne pleasours together, do wepe afterwards for their losses seuerallye. At this present I will write no more vnto the, but that I send the this lette written in Greke, to the ende thou mayst reade it to all those of that ple. And thou shalt immediatlye dispatche the shippes, to the ende they carrie the provisions to the men of warre in Illiria. Peace be with the Lambert, helth and good fortune to me Marke.

The senate saluteth the, and do send the the prorogatio of the gouernment for the next yere. In the calēdes of January, thou shalt

saye Gaude foelix. My wisse Faustine commendeth her to the, and sendeth the for thy daughter a riche girdele. In payment of thy seruices, I send the .ii. rich towelles, .ii. lighte horses, and one loden with .4000. sesterces. Marcus of mount Cellio, with his owne hand writeth vnto the.

The .xlviii. Chapter]

That princes and noble men ought to remember that they are mortal, and must dye, vther are sundrye notable consolations agaynst the feare of death.



Cleobole and Biton were the sonnes of a renowned woman, the whiche was nunne to the goddess Iuno: and when the daye of that solemne feast was celebrated, her chyldren prepared a chariote, wherein their mother should go to the temple.

For the Grekes had this custome, the daye that the priestes went to offer anye sacrifices, eyther they were carryed on mennes armes, or in chariottes.

They adourned their temples so well, they esteemed theyr sacrifices so much, and didde so much honour theyr priestes: that if anye ppeest did set his foote on the ground, that daye they didde not permitte him to offer anye sacryfices to the goddess.

It chauned as this nunne went in her chariote, and her chyldren Cleobole and Biton with her, the beastes whiche drew the chariote, sodaynly fell downe deade. .x. myles fro the temple of the goddess Iuno. The chyldre seeing the beastes dead, & that the mother could not go on fore, & the chariote

was

was already, and that there were no beastes
to drawe it: they (as louing children) deter-
mined to poke theym selves, and drawe the
chariote, as if they had bene some beastes.
And as the mother caried the .ix. monethes
in her wombe, so did they drawe her in the
chariote .x. miles. Nowe for that they pas-
sed throughe infinite nombre of menne, to
the great feast of the goddess Iuno: euery
man seeing Cleobole and Biton poked in
the chariote like beastes, were greatly ama-
sed, sayeng that these .ii. children deserued
with great rewardes to be recompensed.
And truly they sayd iustely, and so they de-
serued it. For they deserued as much to be
prayed for the example which they shewed
to all children to reuerence their parentes:
as for carryng their mother in the chariote
to the temple. So after that the feast
was ended, the mother not knowing howe
to requite the benefite of her children, with
many teares besought the goddesse Iuno,
that she with the other goddess would be
contented, to giue her .ii. children the best
thing that the goddess could geue to their
frendes. The goddesse Iuno answered her
that she was contented to require the other
goddess, and that they would do it. And the
reward was, that for this noble facte the
goddess ordeyned, that Cleobole and Biton
should slepe one daye well and in the mor-
ning when they should wake, they shoulde
dye.

The mother pitifully bewayling the
death of her children: and complayning of
the goddess, the goddesse Iuno sayd vnto her
Thou hast no cause why to complayne,
for we haue geuen the y^e thou hast deman-
ded: y^e hast demanded y^e which we haue ge-
ue the. I am a goddesse, y^e art my seruaut
and therefore the goddess haue geuen to thy
children the thing, which they count most
deare, which is death. For the greatest re-
uenge which amongst vs goddess we can
take of our enemies, is to let theym lyue
longe, and the best thing that we kepe for

our frendes, is to make them die quickely.
The authour of this history, is called Hier-
zearcho in his polittikes, & Cicero in his
first booke of his Tusculanes. In the ple of
Delphos, where the oracle of the goddess
Apollo was, there was a sumptuous tem-
ple, the which for want of reparacion fell
downe to the ground (as oftentimes it cha-
neth to highe and sumptuous buyldinges)
which from time to time are not repayed
for if the walles, dungeons, castelles, and
strong houses could speake, as wel woulde
they complayne for that they do not reue-
rence them, as the old men do for that we do not
cherishe them. Triphon, and Agamendo
were .ii. noble personages of Grece, & coun-
ted for sage, and riche men: the which went
vnto the temple of Apollo, & built it newe
again, as wel with the labour of their per-
sones, as with the greates expences of their
goods. When the building was atchined, y^e
god Apollo sated vnto them, that he reme-
mbered well their good seruice, wherefore he
would they shuld demaund him any thinge
in reward of their trauaile, and with a
good will it shoulde be graunted. For the
gods vse, for a litel seruice, to geue a great
reward. Triphon, and Agamendo, aun-
swered vnto the god Apollo, that for their
good will, for their trauaile, and for their
expences, they demaunded no other reward
but that it would please him to geue them
the best thing that might be geuen vnto
man, and that vnto them were most profit-
ful: sayenge, that the miserable men haue not
the power to eschewe the euill, nor wise-
dome to chosse the good. The god Apollo
answered, that he was contented to paye
the their seruice, which they had done, to
graunt them that, which they had deman-
ded. By reason wherof, Triphon & Aga-
mendo hauing dined, sodaynly at the gates
of the temple fel downe dead. So that the
reward of theyr trauaile, was to plucke
them out of their misery. The ende to de-
clare these .ii. examples is to shew that all
mortall

mortall men maye knowe, that there is no thing so good in this world, as to haue an end of this life: and though to lose it there be no sauour, yet at the leaske there is profite. For we would reprove a traualer of great folishnes, if sweating by the waye he would singe: and after at his iourneys end he should begin to wepe. Is not he simple, which is sorry for that he is comen into the haue: is not he simple, that geneth the battaile, and sigheth for that he hath gotte the victorie. Is not he stubburne, which is in great distresse, and is angry to be succoured. Therefore, more folishe, simple, & stubborne is he, which traualleth to dye, and is loth to mete with death.

For death is the true refuge, the perfecte health, the sure haven, the whole victorie, the fleshe without bones, fishe without scales, and corne without strawe: Finally, after death we haue nothing to bewaile, and much lesse to desire.

In the time of Adrian the emperour, a philosopher called Secundus (being marueylously learned) made an oracion at his buriall, who spake exceeding much euill of life, and marueylous much good of deathe. And when the emperour demaunded him what death was, the philosopher answered, death is an eternal slepe, a dissolucion of the body, a terrour of the riche, a desyre of the poore, a thing inheritable, a pilgrymage vncertayne, a thiefe of men, a kinde of sleeping, a shadowe of lyfe, a seperacion of the liuing, a company of the dead, a resolution of all, a reste of traualles, and the ende of all idel desires. Finally, deathe is the scourge of the euell, and the chiefe reward of the good.

Truly this philosopher spake very wel, and he should not do euell, which profoundly would consider that he had spoken. Seneca in an epistle declareth, of a philosopher whose name was Bassus, to whom when they demaunded what euell a man can haue in death, since men feare it so much, he an-

swered. If anye damage or feare is in him who dieth, it is not for the feare of deathe: but for the vice of him which dieth. We maye agre to that the philosopher sayde, that euell as the deafe can not iudge harmony, nor the blinde colours: so likewise they can not say euell of death, in especiall he, which neuer tasted it. For of all those which are dead, none returned agayne to complayne of death: and of these fewe that liue, al complayne of life. If any of the dead returned hither to speake with the liuing and as they haue proued it, so they would tell vs. If there were any harme in secrete death, it were reason to haue some feare of death. But though a man that neuer sawe, hard, felte, nor tasted deathe, dothe speake euell of deathe, shoulde we therefore feare death? Those ought to haue done some euell in their life, which do feare and speake euell of deathe. For in that laste houre, in the streight iudgement, the good shal be knowen and the euell discouered. There is no prince nor knight, rich nor poore, whole nor sicke, luckye nor vnlucky, which I se with their vocacions to be contented, saue onely the dead, which in their graues are in peace & rest, and are neither couetous, proude, negligent, bayne, ambitious, nor dissolute. So the state of the dead ought to be best, since we se none therein to be euell contented. And since therefore those which are poore do seke wherewith to enrich themselves, those which are sad, do seke wherby to reioyce, & those which are sicke do seke to be healed, why is it, that those which haue such feare of death, do seke some remedy agaynst that feare? In this case I would say, y he which wil not feare to die, let him vse him selfe wel to liue. For y giltles taketh away feare fro death. The deuine Plato demaunded Socrates howe he behaued him selfe in life, & how he would behaue him selfe in death, he answered. I let the wote y in yowch I haue traualled to liue wel, & in age I haue studied to die well, and syth my lyfe hath bene

THE DIALL

ben honest, I hope my death shall be ioyful
and though I haue had sorow to liue, I am
sure I shall haue no payne to dye. Trulpe
these wordes were worthy of suche a man.
Men of stoute hartes suffer marueylously,
when the sweette of their trauaile is not re-
warded when they are saythfull: and their
reward aunswereth nothinge to their ser-
uice, when for their good seruices they be-
come vnfaithfull frendes. When they are
honourable men, and they giue them no
place mete for their estate. For the noble
and valiant hartes, do not esteeme to lose
the rewarde of their labour: but thinke
much vnkindnes, when a man doth not ac-
knowledge their trauaile. Whyppe are
they that dye: For without inconuenience,
& without paine every man is in his graue.
For in this tribunall, iustice to all is so e-
qually obserued: that in the same place where
we haue deserued life, in the same place we
merited death. There was neuer nor neuer
shall be iudge so iuste, nor in iustice so by-
right, that geueth reward by weight, and
payne by measure: but sometimes they cha-
stise the innocent and absolue the guilty, they
here the faultlesse, and dissemble with the
culpable. For little awayeth it the pleyntife
to haue good iustice: if conscience want to
the iudge that should minister. Trulpe it is
not so in the death, but all ought to counte
them selves happy. For he which shall haue
good iustice shall be sure on his parte to
haue the sentence. When great Cato was
censured in Rome a famous Romaine di-
ed, who shewed at his death a merueylous
courage: and when the Romaines praised
him for that he had so great vertue, and for
the wordes he had spoken, Cato the Cen-
sourer laughed at that they sayde, for that
they praised him.
And he beinge demaunded the cause of his
laughter, aunswered. We maruaile at y^e I
laughe, and I laugh at that you maruaile.
For the perilles and trauailes considered
wherin we liue, and the safety wherein we

dye. I saye, that it is no more nedefull to
haue vertue and strength to liue, then cou-
rage to die. The author herof is Plutarke
in his apothegmes. We can not saye, but
that Cato the Censourer spake as a wise mā
sins dayly we see, shamefast and veridicus
persons suffer hunger, cold, thirst, trauaile,
pouerty, inconuenience, sorowes, enmities
and mishappes: of the whiche thinges, we
were better to se y^e end in one daye, then to
suffer the every houre. For it is lesse euill
to suffer an honest death: then to endure a
miserable life. Whow small consideration
haue men to thinke, that they ought to dye
but ons. Sins the trouthe is, that the daye
when we are borne, and come into y^e world
is the beginning of our death: and the laste
day is when we do ceasse to liue. If death
be no other, but an ending of life, then rea-
son perswadeth vs to thinke, that our infan-
cy dieth, our childehode dieth, our manhode
dyeth, and our age shall dye: whereof we
maye consequently conclude, that we dye
every yere, euery daye, euery houre, and
every moment. So that thinkinge to leade
a sure life, we tast a new death. I knowe
not why menne feare so muche to dye,
sins that from the time of their birth, they
seke none other thing but death. For time
neuer wanted to any man to die, neyther I
knowe anye man that euer sayled of this
waye. Seneca in an epistle declareth that
as a Romaine woman lamented the death
of a childe of hers, a philosopher sayd vnto
her. Woman why be wretched thou thy childe
she aunswered I wepe because he hath ly-
ued, reb. yeres, and I would he should haue
liued, liued. I. For amongst vs mothers,
we loue our children so hartely, that we ne-
uer cease to behold them, nor yet end to be-
wail them. Then the philosopher sayd.
Tell me I pray the woman, why doste thou
not complayne of the goddes, because they
created not thy sonne manye yeres before
he was borne: as wel as thou complaynest
that they haue not let him lyue other. I. yeres
res

res: Thou wepest, that he is dead so sone:
and thou doest not lament, that he is bozne
so late. I tel the true woman, that as thou
doest not lamente for the one, no moze thou
oughtest to be sozy for the other. For with-
out the determinatyon of the gods, we can
not shorten death: and muche lesse lengthen
lyfe. So Plinie saied in an Epistle, that the
chefeest lawe which the gods haue geuen to
humaine nature, was that none shuld haue
perpetuall life. For with disordynate desire
to liue longe, we should neuer resopce to go
oute of this payne. Two philosophers dys-
puttinge befoze the greate emperour The-
odose, the one saied that it was good to pro-
cure death: and the other likewise sayed, it
was a necessarie thinge to hate lyfe. The
good Theodose takinge hym by the hande
saied. Al we mortalles are so extreme in ha-
stinge, and lousuge: that vnder the coloure
to loue, and hate lyfe, we leade an euil lyfe.
For we suffer so many trauayles for to pre-
serue it, that sometymes it were much bet-
ter to lose it. And further he saied, dyuers
bayne men are come into so greate follies,
that for feare of death, they procure to ha-
sten death. And hauinge consyderation to
this, me semeth that we ought not greatlye
to loue lyfe, nor with dysperacion to seke
death. For the stronge, and valiaunte men,
ought not to hate lyfe so longe as it lasteth:
nor to be displeased with death, whē he com-
meth. All commēded that which Theodose
spake, as Paulus Diaconus sayeth in hys
life. Let euery man speake what he wil, and
let the philosophers cōsalle what they list,
in my poze iudgement, he alone shal receiue
death with out payne: who longe befoze is
prepared to receiue the same. For sodayne
death is not onely bytter to him which ta-
steth it: but also it feareth hym that hateth
it. Lactancius sayed that in such sorte man
ought to lyue, as if from hence an houre af-
ter he should dye. For those men which wil
haue death befoze their eyes, it is vnpossible
that they geue place to vaine thoughtes. In

my opynion, and also by the aduise of A pu-
leius, it is as muche follye to thowe that he
cannot flye: as to desire that he can not at-
tayne. And this is spoken for those, that
woulde flye the byage of death which is
necessary: and desire to come agayne, which
is vnpossible. Those that trauayle by long
wayes, if they wante anye thinge, they bo-
rowe it of their company. If they haue for-
gotten oughte, they retourne to seke it at
their lodginge, or els they wyte vnto their
frendes a letter. But I am sozy yf we ons-
dye, they wyl not let vs retourne agayne,
we can not speake, and they wyl not agre
we shall wyte: but suche as they shal synde
vs, so shal we be iudged. And that which
is moste fearefull of all, the excecucion and
sentence is geuen in one daye. Let Princes
and greate Lordes beleue me in this. Let
them not leaue that vndone tyll after their
death: which they maye doe duringe their
lyfe. And let them not truste in that they
commaunde: but in that whyles they lyue
they doe. Let them not truste in the workes
of another: but in their owne good deades.

For in the ende, one sighe shall be moze
worthe, then all the frendes of the worlde.
I counsaile, pray, and exhorte all wyse and
bertuous men, and also my selfe with them,
that in suche sorte we liue, that at the honre
of death, we maye say we lyue. For we can-
not say that we liue, when we liue not wel.
For al that tyme which without profite we
shall lyue, shall be counted vnto vs for
nothyng.

The .xlix. Chapter.

Of the death of Marcus Aurelius
the Emperoure and howe that
there are fewe frendes vvhiche
dare saye the troth to sickemen.

¶ The

THE DIAL



He good Emperoure Marcus Aurelius nowe being aged, not only for great yeares he had: but also for the great traualles he had in the warres endured. It chaunced, that in the xlii. yeare of his Empire, and. lxxii. yeares from the day of his birthe, and of the foundation of Rome. v. hundredeth. xlii. beinge in the warre of Pannonye (whiche at this tyme is called Hungary) besetginge a famous Citie called Vendeborne, sodainly a disease of the palsey toke him, which was suche, that he losse his lyfe, and Rome her Prince, the best of life that euer was borne therein. Amonge the heathen princes some had more force then he, other possessed more riches then he, other were as aduenturous as he, and some haue knowe asmuch as he: but none hath ben of so excellent and vertuous a life, nor so modest as he. For his life beinge examyned to the bittermost, there are many princely vertues to followe, and few vices to reprove. The occasion of his death was, y going one night aboute his campe, sodainly the disease of the palsey toke hym in his arme: so that from thenseforwarde he could not put on his gowne, nor drawe his sword, & muche lesse cary a staffe. The good emperour beinge so laden w yeres, & no lesse with cares, the sharpe wynter approachinge more & more, greate aboundaunce of water and snow fel aboute the tentes: so that another disease fel byon him, called Litargie, the which thing much abated his courage, and in his hoaste caused great sorowe. For he was so beloued of al, as if he had ben his owne children. After that he had proued al medicynes and remedies that coulde be founde, and al other thinges, which vnto so gret and mighty princes were accustomed to be done, he perceiued in the end, y all remedy was past. And the reaso hereof was, because his sickness was exceding behemēt, and he him selfe very aged. y ayer ynholso, and aboue all, because sorowes & cares op-

pressed his hart. Without doubte, greater is the dysease that procedeth of sorow, then that, which procedeth of feuer quartaine. And therof ensueth, y more easely is he cured, which of corrupte humours is ful: then he, which w profoūd thoughtes is oppressed. The emperour the beinge sicke in his chamber, & in such sorte that he could not exercise the seates of armes (as his mē ranne out of their campe to scrimedge, & the Hungariōs in like maner to defend, the fight on both partes was so cruel, through the great effusion of blood, y neither the Hungariō had cause to reioyce, nor yet y romaine to be mery vnderstanding the euil order, of his & especialy that, v. of his Captaynes were slayne in that conflicte, and that he for his dysease could not be there in person: suche sorowes persed his harte, that althoughe he desired for the wltch to haue dyed, yet he remayned two dayes, and. lii. nightes, withoute that he would se lighte, or speake vnto any man of his. So that the heate was much, the rest was small, the sighes were continual, and the thirste very greate: the meate lytle, and the slepe lesse, and aboue all, his face was wrynckeled, and his lippes very blacke.

Sometimes he cast by his eyes, and another tyme he wronge his handes: alwayes he was sylente, and continually he sighed. His tonge was swollen, that he could not spytte: and his eyes berpe hallowe with wepyng. So that it was a greate pyrpe, to se his death: and no lesse compassyon, to se the confusion of his pallace, and the hindraunce of the warre. Many valyaunte capitaines, many noble Romaines, many faithful seruantes, and many olde frendes, at all these heauines were presente. But none of them durste speake to the Emperoure Marke, partelye for that they toke him to be so sage, that they knewe not what counsaile to geue hym: and partelye, for that they were so sorowfull, that they coulde not restryne their heauye teares. For the lounge, and true frendes, in their lyfe ought

ought to be beloued; and at their death, to be bewayled. Greate compassion oughte men to haue of those which die, not for that we se them dye: but because there are none that telleth them what they oughte to doe. Princes, and greate lordes, are in greater peryll when they dye: then the Plebeians.

For the counsayloure dare not tell vnto hys Lorde at the houre of death, that which he knoweth: and muche lesse he wyl tel hym howe he ought to dye, and what thinges he oughte to dyscharge whyles he is alpye. Manye goe to visyte the sicke, that I woulde to God they wente some other where. And the cause hereof is, that they se the sicke mans eyes hollowe, the fleashe dyed, the armes with oute fleashe, the colour enflamed, the ague contynual, the payne greate, the tonge swollen, nature consumed, and besydes all this, the house destroyed: and yet they saye vnto the sicke man, be of good chere, I warraunte you, you shall lyue. As yonge men naturalye desire to lyue, and as death to all olde men is dreadfull: so though they see them selues in that dystresse, yet they refuse no medycine, as though there were greate hope of lyfe.

And thereof ensueth oftentimes, that the myserable creatures departe the worlde, withoute confessing vnto god, and making restitution vnto men. And if those which doe this, knewe what euill they doe, for to take awaye my goods, to trouble my person, to blemyshe my good name, to slea under my parentage, and to reprove my lyfe, these woorkes are of cruell enemyes: but to be occasion to loose my soule, it is the worke of the deuyl, of hel. Certainely he is a deuyl, whiche deceyueth the sicke with flaterers: and that in steede to healpe hym to dye well, putteth hym in vayne hope of long lyfe. Herethin be that sayeth it, winneth litle: and he that beleueth it, aduentureth muche. To mortall men it is moze mete, to geue coun-

sayls to refoyme their consciences with the trueth: then to hasarde their houses with lies. With our frendes we are shamelesse in their lyfe, and also bashfull at their death. The whiche oughte not to be so.

For if oure fathers were not dead, and that we dyd not daylye see these that are presente dye: me thinketh it were a shame, and also a feare, to saye that he alone shuld dye. But since thou knowest as wel as he, and he knoweth as well as thou, that al do trauaile in this peryllous iourney: what shame haste thou to saye vnto thy frende, who is now at the laste poynte, if the dead shoulde now reuue, howe woulde they complaine of their frendes? And this for no other cause, but for that they wold not gyue them good counsaile at their deathe.

For if the sicke man be my frende, and that I see peraduenture he wyl dye: why shall not I counsaile hym to prepare hym selfe to dye? Certainly oftentimes we see by experyence, that those whiche are prepared, and are readye for to dye doe escape: and those whiche thinke to lyue, doe perishe. What shuld they do which go to visyte the sicke: perswade them that they make their testaments, that they confesse their synnes, that they discharge their conscience, that they receyue the sacramentes, and that they doe reconcile them selues to their enemyes. Certainly, all these thinges charge not the launce of death, nor cut not the thred of lyfe. I neuer sawe blindnes so blynde, nor ignoraunce so ignoraunt, as to be ashamed to counsaile the sicke, that they are bound to doe when they are hole. As we haue said here aboue, Princes, and great Lordes, are those aboue al other that lyue and dye moste abusedly.

And the cause is, that as their seruantes haue no hartes to perswade them when they are merue: so haue they no audacity to tel them trueth, when they are in peril.

For such seruantes care lytle, so that their
I. ii. masters

THE DIAL

maysters be queath them anye thinge in their wylls, whether they dye wel, or lyue euyll. What myserye, and pynne is it to see a Prince, a Lorde, a gentleman, and a ryche person dye, if they haue no faithfull frende aboute them, to helpe them to passe that payne: And not without a cause I say, that he oughte to be a saythfull frende. For manye in oure lyfe doe gape after oure goods: and selue at oure death are sorre for oure offences. The wyse and sage men, before nature compelleth them to dye, of their owne wyll oughte to dye. That is to wete, that before they see them selues in the panges of death, they haue their consciences readye prepared. For if we counte hym a foole, whiche wyll passe the sea withoute a shyppe: trulpe we wyll not counce hym wyse, which taketh hys death without any preparaciō before. What loseth a wise man to haue hys wyll well ordeyned: in what aduenture of honour is any mā, before death, to reconcile him selfe to his enemies: and to those whom he hath bozne hate and malice: What loseth he of hys credite, who in hys lyfe tyme restoreth that, which at his death they wil commaund him to render: wherein may a man shew him selfe to be more wise, then when willingly he hath discharged that, which afterwarde by proces they wil take from him: What many Princes, and great lordes are there, whiche onely not for spending one day about their testamēt, haue caused their chyldre, and heires, all hys dayes of their lyfe to be in trauerse in the lawe: So that they supposynge to haue leste their chyldren wealthy: haue not leste them, but for atturnyes, and counsaylours of the law. The true, and vnfayned Christian, ought euerye moornyng so to dyspose hys goods, and correde hys lyfe: as if he shoulde dye the same nyght. And at nyght in lyke maner he oughte so to commyt him selfe to God, as if he hoped for no lyfe untill moornyng. For to save the trowthe, to susteine life, there are infinite trauailes; but to mete

death, there is but one way. If they wil creditte my wordes, I would counsaile no man in suche estate to lyue: that for anye thinge in the world, he shoulde vndoe him selfe. The riche and the poore, the greate and the smal, the gentlemen and the Plebetans, all saye and sweare, that of death they are exceeding fearefull. To whom I say, & affirme, that he alone fereth death, in whō we se amēdment of life. Princes, and greate lordes, ought also to be perfect, before they be perfect, to end before they ende, to dye before they dye, and to be mortified before they be mortified. If they doe this with them selues, they shal as easely leaue their life: as if they changede frō one house to another. For y^e moste parte of men, delight to talke wth laisour, to drinke with leisour, to eate with leisour, & to slepe with leisour: but they die in haste. For with out cause I saye they dye in haste, since we see them receiue the sacramente in haste, make their wylls by force, and with speede to confesse and receiue. So that they take it, and demaunde it so late, and so withoute reason: that oftentymes they haue lost their senses, and are readye to geue vp the spirite, when they bringe it vnto them.

What auailleth it the shippe maister, after the shippe is sonke: what do weapōs auaille, after the battaile is losse: What auayleth pleasours, after men are deade: By that I haue spoken, I will demaund, what it auailleth the sicke, beinge heauye with slepe, and berefte of their senses, to call confessours, to whom they cōfesse their synnes: What shal he be confessed, whiche hath no vnderstandinge to repente him selfe. What auailleth it to call the confessor, to vnderstande the secrete of his conscience: when the sicke man hath losse his speache: Let vs not deceiue oure selues, sateng in our age, we wil amende here after: and make restitution at oure death. For in mine opinion, it is not the pointe of wyse men, nor of good christians, to desire so muche tyme to offend: and they wyll neuer espye anye to amende.

¶ Woulde

I woulde to God, that the thirde parte of
 tyme which men occupy in sinne, were em-
 ployed about the medytations of death: and
 the cares whiche they haue to accomplysh
 their fleshly lustes, were spent in beway-
 lyng their filthy sinnes. I am very sorre
 at my harte, that they so wickedlye passe
 their life, in vices and pleasures: as if there
 were no God, to whom they should render
 accounte for their offences. All worlde-
 linges willingly doe sinne, vppon hope onely
 in age to amende, and at death to repent:
 but I woulde demaunde him, that in this
 hope sinned, what certaintye he hath in age
 of amendmente, and what assuraunce he
 hath to haue longe warning before he dye.
 Since we se by experyence, there are mo in
 number whiche dye yong, then old: it is no
 reason we should commit so manye sinnes
 in one day, that we should haue cause to la-
 ment afterwarde all the rest of oure lyfe.
 And afterwarde to bewaile the sinnes of
 oure longe lyfe, we desire no more but one
 space of an houre. Considerynge the omni-
 potencie of the deuine merewe, it suffyseth,
 ye and I say, that the space of an houre is to
 much, to repent vs of oure wicked life: but
 yet I would counsaile all, since the sinner for
 to repēt taketh but one houre, that y^e be not
 the last houre. For the sighes, & repentaunce,
 which procede frō the botom of the hartes,
 penetrate the high heuens: but those which
 come of necessity, doth not perse the sealing
 of the house. I alow, & commend, that those
 that visite the sicke, do counsaile them to co-
 fesse them selues, to receiue the sacrament,
 to praye vnto god, and to forgiue men, to
 commende them selues to the prayers of
 saintes, and to repent their sinnes, finally
 I say, that it is very good to doe all this: but
 yet I say it is better, to haue done it before,
 For the diligent, and careful Pirate, pre-
 pareth for y^e tempest, whē the sea is calme.
 He that depely would consider, howe lytell
 the Gods of this lyfe are to be esteemed: let
 hym goe to se a riche man when he dyeth,

and what he doeth in his bed. And he shall
 finde, that the wise demaundeth her dowre,
 the doughter the thirde parte, the other the
 fifte, the childe the preheminence of age, the
 sonne in lawe his maryage, the phisicō his
 dutye, the slaue his libertye, the seruautes
 their wages, the credytours their debtes,
 and the worlde of all is, that none of those
 that oughte to inherite his goods, wyl gene
 hym one glasse of water. Those that shall
 here or rede this, oughte to consyder, that
 that which they haue sene done at the death
 of their neighbours: the same shall come to
 them, when they shall be sicke at the pointe
 of death. For so sone as the ryche shetteth
 his eyes, forthwith there is greate strife be-
 twene his chldren for his goods. And this
 strife is not to vnburthen hys soule: but
 whiche of them shall inheryte mooste of hys
 possessions. In this case, I wil not my penne
 trauaile any further, since bothe riche and
 poore, daylye se the experyence hereof. And in
 thinges very manifest, it suffyseth only for
 wyse men to be put in memoire, withoute
 wastynge any moze tyme to perswade them.
 Now the emperour Marcus Aurelius had
 a secretaire very wyse, & vertuous, throughe
 whose hādes the affaires of the empire pas-
 sed. And when this secretaire saw his lord,
 and master, so sicke, & almost at the houre of
 death, & that none of his parētes nor frēdes
 durst speake vnto him: he plainly determi-
 ned to do his duty, where, in he shewed very
 wel the profound knowledge he had in wise-
 dom, and the great good wil he bare to hys
 lord. This secretaire was called Panucius,
 the vertues and life of whom, Sextus Che-
 ronences in the life of Marcus Aurelius
 declareth.

The .i. Chapter.

Of the faithfull vvordes, vv which Pa-
 nutius spake to the Emperoure
 Marcus Aurelius at the houre
 of his death.

THE DIALL



My lorde, and mayster,
 my tonge cannot kepe silence,
 myne eyes cannot refrayne
 from bitter teares, nor my
 harte leaue from setchyng
 sighes, ne yet reason can vse his dutye. For
 my bloud boyleth, my sinnewes are dyled,
 my pores be open, my hart doth faynte, and
 my spirite is troubled. And the occasion of
 al this is, so se that the wholesome counsailes
 which thou geuest to others: either thou
 canst not, or wyl not take for thy selfe. I see
 the dye my lorde, and I dye for that I cans
 not remedye the. For if the Gods woulde
 haue graunted me my request, for the leng-
 theninge of thy lyfe one daye: I woulde geue
 willingly my whole lyfe. Whether the sor-
 rowe be true, or fayned, it nedeth not. I de-
 clare vnto þ with wordes, since thou maifest
 manifestlye decerne it by my countenance.
 For my eyes with teares are wet, & my hart
 with sighes is very heauy. I fele muche the
 wante of thy company, I fele muche the do-
 mage which (of thy death) to the whole com-
 mon wealth shal ensue, I fele muche thy so-
 rowe which in thy pallace shal remaine, I
 feele muche for that Rome this daye is vn-
 done: but that which aboue all thinges doth
 moste tormente my harte, is to haue seene
 the lyue as wyse, and nowe to see the dye
 as symple. Tell me I praye the, my lorde,
 why doo men learne the greeke tonge, tra-
 uaille to vnderstande the hebrewe, sweate in
 the latin, chaunge so many maisters, turne
 so many bookes, and in studye consume so
 muche money and so many yeres: if it were
 not to know howe to passe lyfe with honoz,
 and take deathe with payence? The ende
 why men ought to study, is to learne to liue
 wel, For there is no truer scyence in man,
 than to knowe howe to order his lyfe well.
 What profyteth it me to knowe muche, if
 therby I take no profite: what profiteth me
 to know straunge languages, if I refraine
 not my tonge fro other mens matters: what
 profiteth it to study many bookes, if I study

not but to begyle my frendes: what profiteth
 it to know the influence of the starres, and
 the course of the elementes: if I cannot kepe
 my selfe from vices: finally I say, that it ly-
 tle auayleth to be a maister of the sage: if se-
 cretely he be reported, to be a folower of
 fooles: the chiefe of al philosophy consisteth,
 to serue God, & not to offend me. I aske the,
 moste noble Prince, what auayleth it the
 Pilot, to knowe the arte of saylpyng: and
 after in a tempest, by neglygence to perishe?
 What auayleth it the balyaunte captayne,
 to talke muche of warre: and afterwarde
 he knoweth not howe to geue the battayle?
 What auayleth it the guide, to tel the nerrest
 way: and afterwarde in the myddest to lose
 hym selfe. All this whiche I haue spoken, is
 sayed for the my lord. For what auayleth it
 that thou being in healt, shouldest sigh for
 death: since nowe when he doeth approche,
 thou wepest because thou wouldest not leaue
 life: One of the thinges wherin þ wise man
 sheweth his wysedome, is to know howe to
 loue, and how to hate. For it is great light-
 nes (I should rather saye follye) to dape to
 loue hym, whom yesterdape we hated: and
 to morowe to sclander hym, whom this
 dape we honoured. What Prince so high,
 or what Plebeian so base hath there bene,
 or in the worlde shal ever be, the whiche
 hath so lytell (as thou) regarded lyfe: and
 so hyghlye commendyd death: What thin-
 ges haue I wyrtten (beinge thy secretarpe)
 with my owne hande, to dyuers prynces
 of the worlde: where thou speakest so much
 good of death, that sometymes thou maifest
 me to hate lyfe: What was it to see that
 letter whiche thou wrotest to the noble Ro-
 mayne Claudine, wydowe, comfortyng
 her of the death of her husband, whiche dyed
 in the warres: Wherein she answered,
 That she thought her trouble comeforte, to
 deserue that thou shouldest wyte nowe her
 such a letter.

What a ppyfull and sauoye letter hath
 thou wyrtten to Antigonus, on the death

of thy child Verissimus thy sonne so much desired: Whose deathe thou tokest so, that thou exceedest the limites of philosophy: but in the ende, with thy princely vertues thou diddest qualifie thy woful sorowes. What sentences so profound, what wordes so wel couched diddest thou write in that booke entituled *The remedy of the sorowfull* the whiche thou diddest send from the warre of Asia, to the senatours of Rome: and that was to comforte them, after a sore plague. And howe much profite hath thy doctrine done sins: with what newe kinde of consolation hast thou comforted Helius Fabatus centour, when his sonne was drowned in the river: where I do remember, that when we entred into his house, we founde him weeping: and when we went from thence, we left him laughinge. I do remember, that when thou wentest to visite Gneus Rusticus in his last disease, thou spakest unto him so effectuously, that with the vehemency of thy wordes, thou madest h teares to runne downe his chokes. And I demanding him the occasions of his lamentacions, he sayd.

The emperour my lord, hath told me so much euilles that I haue wonne, and of so much good that I haue lost, that if I wepe I wepe not for life, which is short, but for death which is long. The manne whom aboue all thou hast loued, was Torquatus, whom thou diddest obeye as thy father, and seruedst as thy mayster. This thy saythful friend being ready to dye, and desiringe yet to liue, thou sendest to offer sacrifices to the goddess, not for that they shoulde graunt him life but that they shauld hasten his death. Herewith I being affronted, thy noblenesse to satisfy my ignorance, sayd vnto me in secrete these wordes. Maruel not Panutius, to se me offer sacrifices to haste my frendes death: and not to prolonge his life. For there is nothing that the saythfull friend ought so much to desire to his true friend: as to se him ridde from the trauayles of this earth, and to enioye the pleasures of

heauen. Whye thinkest thou, mosse noble prince, that I reduce al these thinges to thy memory, but for to demaund the howe it is possible, that I whiche haue hearde the speake so wel of death, do presentlye see the so vntwilling to leaue life: sins the goddess commaund it, thy age willet it, thy disease doth cause it, thy seble nature doth permit it, the sinful Rome doth deserue it, and the fickle fortune agreeth, that for our great miserye, thou shouldest die. Why therfore sighest thou so much, for to dye? The trauayles which of necessity must nedes come with stout harte ought to be receyued.

The cowardly hart falleth before he is beaten downe: but the stout and taliaunt stomacke in greatest perill, reconereth mosse strength. Thou art one man and not two, thou oughtest one death to the goddess and not two: why wilt thou therfore, being but one paye for two, and for one only lyfe take two deathes, I meane that before thou endest life, thou diest for pure sorowe. After that thou hast sayled, in the sayling thou hast passed such perill, when the goddess do render the in the safe haven, ones agayne thou wilt ranne into the raging sea, where thou scapest the victory of life, and thou diest with the ambushmentes of death. Aris, peres hast thou fought in the felde, & neuer turned thy backe: and fearest thou now beinge enclosed in the graue: haste thou not passed the pyres and briers wherein thou hast ben enclosed: and now thou tremblest beinge in the sure waye? Thou knowest what damage it is longe to liue, and now thou doutest of the profite of death whiche ensueth. It is now many peres, sins death and thou haue bene at defiance as mortal enemies: and now to laye thy handes on thy weapons, thou sleepest and turnest thy backe. Aris peres are past, sins thou wert bent agaynst fortune: and now thou closest thy eyes, when thou oughtest ouer her to triumphe. By that I haue tolde the, I meane that sins we do not se the take death willingly

THE DIAL

willingly at this present: we do suspect y^e thy
life hath not in times past bene very good.
For the man whiche hath no desire to ap-
peare before the goddes: it is a token he is
loaden with vices. What meanest thou,
molte noble prince, whye wepest thou as
an infant, and complaynest as a man in
dispatre? If thou wepest because thou diest,
I aunswere the, y^e thou laughest as muche
when thou liuest. For of to muche laugh-
ing in the life, procedeth much wayling at
the death. Who hath alwayes for his heri-
tage, appropriated the places beinge in the
common wealth? The vncostancy of the
minde, who shal be so hardy to make sted-
dye? I meane, that all are dead, all dye, and
all shal dye: and amonge al wilt thou alone
liue? Wilt thou obtayne of the goddes, that
whych maketh them goddes? That is to
saye, that they make the immortall, as the
reines? Wilt thou alone haue by prynci-
pledge, that whych the goddes haue by na-
ture? My youth demaundeth thy age what
thing is best, or to saye better, which is lesse
euill: to dye well, or to lyue euill. I doubte
that any manne maye attayne to the mea-
nes to lyue well, according to the contynui-
all and variable troubles whych dayly we
haue accustomed to cary betwene our han-
des, alwayes suffering hunger, cold, thirst,
care, dyspleasures, temptacions, persecutiōs,
euill fortunes, ouerthrowes, and diseases.
This can not be called life, but a longe
deathe: and with reason we will call this
life deathe, sins a thousande times we hate
life. If an auncient man did make a shewe
of this life, from time he is come out of the
entrails of his mother, untill the time he
entreteth into the bowels of the earth, and
that the body would declare all the sorowes
that he hath passed, and the hart discouer al
the ouerthrowes of fortune, which he hath
suffered. I imagine the goddes would mar-
uaile, and men would wonder at the bodye
which hath endured so much, and the hart
which hath so greatly dissimuled.

I take the Grekes to be moze wisse, whyche
weepe when they children be bozne, and
laugh when the aged dyethen the Romay-
nes whiche singe when the children are
bozne, and wepe when the old men dye.
We haue much reason to laugh, when the
old men dye, sins they die to laughe: and
with greater reason we ought to wepe when
the children are bozne, sins they are bozne
to wepe.

The .li. Chapter,

Pannutius the secretary exhorteth
all men vwillinglye to accepte
death,



Yns life is nowe
condempned for euill,
there remaineth nought
els, but to approue death
to be good. If it plea-
sed the immortall god-
des, that as I oftentimes haue hard the dis-
putacions of this matter: so now that thou
couldst therwith profite. But I am sorre
that to the sage, and wise man, counsaile
sometimes (or for the most parte) wanteth.
None ought to cleue so much to his owne
opinion, but sometimes he should folow the
counsaile of the third parson. For the man
which in all thinges will folowe his owne
advice, ought well to be assured, that in all
or the most part, he shal erre. O my lord
Marke, sith thou art sage, liuely of spirite
of great experience, and auncient, diddest
not thou thinke, that as thou haddest buri-
ed many, so likewise some should burie thee?
What imaginacions were thine, to thinke
that seinge the ende of their dayes, others
should not se the end of thy yeres? Sins
thou blest riche, honourably accompanied,
old, and aboue all, seinge thou dyest in the
seruice of the common wealth, whye see-
dest thou to enter into thy graue.

Thus

Thou hast alwayes bene a frende as much to knowe thinges past: as those which were hid and kept secrete. Sins thou hast proued what honoures and dishonours do deserue riches and pouerty, prosperity and aduersity, joy and sorow, loue and feare, vices and pleasures: me semeth that nothing remaineth to knowe, but that it is necessarye to know what death is. And also I sweare vnto y^e (most noble lord) that thou shalt learne more in one houre, what death is: then in a hundred yeres what life meaneth. Sins thou art good, and presumest to be good, and hast lyued as good, is it not better that thou dye, and go with so many good: then that thou scape, and liue amongst so many euil? That thou felest death, I maruaile nothing at all, for thou art a man: but I do maruaile that thou dissemblest it not, sins thou art discrete. Many thinges do the sage men fele, which inwardly do oppresse their hart: but outwardly they dissemble the same, for the more honour. If al the popp^e which in y^e sorrowful hart is wrapped were in small pieces in the feble flesh scattered: the walles would not suffice to rubbe, neither the nayles to scratche vs. What other thing is death, but a trappe or doore, wherewith to shutte the shoppe, wherin al the miseries of this woful life are vendible? What wrong or prejudice do the goddess vnto vs, when they call vs before them: but from an olde decayed house, to chaunge vs to a new builded pallace? And what other thinge is the graue, but a strong forte, wherin we shutte our selves from the assaults of lyfe, and broyles of fortune. Truly, we ought to be more desirous of that we find in death then of that we leaue in life. If Helia Fabricia thy wife do greue the, for that thou leauest her yonge, do not care, for she presently hath litle care of the perill, wherein thy lyfe dependeth. And in the ende, when she shall knowe of thy death, she wil be nothing greued. Trouble not thy selfe for y^e she is lefte widowe. For yonge womē (as she is) which

are marked with olde men (as thou) when their husbandes dye: they haue their eyes on that they can robbe, and their hartes on them whom they desire to marry. And speaking with due respecte, when with they eyes they outwardly seme most for to bewaile: then with their hartes inwardly do they most reioyce. Deceyue not thy selfe in thinking that y^e emperesse thy wife is yonge, and that she shall finde none other Emperour with whom agayne she may marry.

For such, and the like, wil chaunge y^e clothe of golde, for gownes of skynnes. I meane, that they would rather the yonge shepheard in the felde: then the olde emperour in his royal pallace. If thou takest sorowe for the children whom thou leauest, I knowe not why thou shouldest do so. For trulye it greue the now, for that thou dyest: they are more displeased, for that thou liuest. The onely birde Phenix is he, which neuer desireth the death of his father: for that if he be poore he maynteyneth him not, and if he be riche he desireth not his death to enherite the soner. Sins therfore it is true (as indeede it is) it semeth not wisdom that they sing, and thou wepe. If it greue the to leaue these goodlye pallaces, and these sumptuous buildinges, deceyue not thy selfe therein. For by the godde Iupiter I sweare vnto the, that sins that deathe dothe finish the, at the ende of lxxi. yeres: time shall consume these sumptuous buildinges in lesse then xl. If it greue the to forsake the company of thy frendes, and neighboures, for them also take as litle thought, sins for the they wil not take any at al. For amongst y^e other compassions that they ought to haue of the deade, this is true, that scarcelye they are buried, but of their frendes and neighbours they are forgotten. If thou takest great thought for that thou wilt not dye, as the other emperours of Rome are dead: me semeth that thou oughtest also to cast this sorowe from the. For thou knowest ryght well, that Rome hath accustomed to be so unthankful

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vnthankful to those which serue her: that the great Scipio also, would not be buried therein. If it greene the to dye, to leaue so great a seignory, as to leaue the empire: I can not thinke that suche banitye be in thy head. For temperate, and reposed menne, when they escape from semblable offices, do not thinke that they lose honour: but y they be free, of a troublesome charge. Therfore if none of al these thinges moue y to desire life, what should let y y through thy gates enter not death: The one of y. ii. thinges which cause me to be loth to die is either y lone we haue, to y we leaue: or y feare of y we hope. Sins therfore there is nothing in this life worthy of loue, nor any thinge in death why we should feare: why do me feare to die? According to the heauy sighes y fetchest y bitter teares y sheddest, & according al so to the great payne thou shewest, for my part I thinke: that the thing in thy thought most forgotten was, that the goddes should commaund the to pay this debte. For admitte that al thinke that their life shal end yet no man thinketh that death will come so sone. For that men thinke neuer to dye, they neuer begin their faulces to amend: so that bothe life and faulce haue ende in the graue together. Knowest not thou (moste noble prince) that after the long night cometh the moyst morning: Dost y not knowe y after y moyst morning, there cometh the clere son. Knowest not y, y after the cleare sonne, cometh the cloudy element: Dost thou not knowe, that after the darke myst there cometh extreame heate: And that after the heate cometh the horrible thunders: and after the thunders the sodayne lighteninges, and that after the peryllous lightenynges, cometh the terrible hayle: Fynally I saye, that after the tempestuous and troublesome tyme, commonly cometh cleare and faire weather. The order that tyme hath, to make him selfe cruel, and gentyll: the selfe same oughte men to haue, to lyue and die. For after the infancy cometh childhode, after childhod cometh the youth,

after youth cometh age, and after age cometh the fearefull death: Fynally, after the fearefull death, cometh the sure life. Of tentymes I haue redde, and of the not sel-dome harde, that the goddes onely which had no begynnynge, shall haue also no endinge. Therfore me thinketh (moste noble prince) that sage men oughte not to desire to liue longe. For men which, desire to liue muche, eyther it is for that they haue not felt the traunyles passe, because they haue bene fooles: or for y they desire more tyme to geue them selues to vices. Thou myghtest not complayne of that, sins they haue not cut the in the floure of the herbe, nor taken the greene from the tree, nor cut the in the springe tide, and muche lesse eate the earger, before thou were ripe. By that I haue spokē, I meane, if death had called the whē thy life was swetest: though thou haddest not had reason to haue cōplayned, yet thou mightest haue desired to haue altered it.

For it is a great grieue to saye vnto a yong man that he must dye, and forsake y worlde. What is this (my lord) now that the wall is decayed ready to fall, the flower is withered, the grape doth rotte, the tette are loose the gowne is worne, the launce is blant, the knife is dul, and dost thou desire to returne into the worlde, as if thou haddest neuer knowen the worlde the that will not be contented to liue, but yerres in this death, or to die in this life: wilt not desire to die in 60000

The emperoure Augustus Octavian sayd, That after men had liued. l. yeares, eyther of theyr owne will they ought to dye: or els by force they should cause theym selues to be killed. For at that tyme, all those which haue had any humaine felicity are at y best. Those which liue about y age passe their dayes in greuous tormētes: As in the death of childre in y losse of goods, & importunty of sonne in lawes, in mainteyning processes, in discharging debtes, in sighing for that is past, in bewayling y that is present, in disabling insurpes, in hearing wooful newes, & in other infinite traunyles.

The. lii. Chapter

So that it were much better to haue their eyes shutte in the graue: then their hartes and bodie aline, to suffer so much in this miserable life. Him whom the goddes take from this myserable life, at the ende of .50. yerres, is quited from all these miseries of life. For after that time he is not weake, but croked, he goeth not, but rouleth, he stöbleth not, but falleth. O my lord Marke, knowest thou not, that by the same waye wherby goeth death, death cometh: Knowest thou in like maner, that it is .52. yerres that life hath fled from death: and that there is an other time asmuche, that death goeth sekynge thy lyfe: and deathe goinge from Illiria where he leste a greate plague, and thou departinge from thy palayce, ye. ii. nowe haue mette in Hungary, knowist thou, that toher thou leapedste out of thy mothers intralles to gouerne the lande, immediately deathe leaped out of his gracie to seeke thy lyfe. Thou hast alwayes presumed, not onely to be honozed: but also to be honorable, yf it be so, syns thou honoredst the Ambassadors of Prynces which dyd sende them the more for theyr profyte, then for thy seruice, why doest thou not honoure thys messenger whome the goddes send: more for thy profyte, then for their seruices: Doest thou not remember well, whē Vulcane my sonne in lawe, popsoned me, more for the couetousnes of my goodes, thē any desire he had of my life: thou lord diddest come to comfort me in my chambze, & toldest me that the goddes were cruell, to flea the yong: and were pitiful, to take the old from this world. And thou saydest surther these wordes. Comfort the Panutius.

For if thou were bozne to dye, now thou diest to liue. Sins therfore (noble prync) yf I tel the that whiche thou toldest me, and counsayle the the same whiche thou counsayledst me: I render to the that, whiche thou hast geuen me. Finallye, of these bygnes, I haue gathered these clusters of grapes.

* The aunsvvere of the emperour Marcus, vwherein he declareth that he toke no thought to forsake the vworlde but all hys sorowve vvas to leaue behind him an vnbappy childe to enheryte the Empire.



Panutius blessed be the milke thou haste sucked in Dacia, the bread which thou hast eaten in Rome, the learning whiche thou hast learned in Grece, and the bringinge vp whiche thou hast had in my pallace. For thou hast serued as a good seruaunt in liue: and geuest me counsayle as a trusty frend at death. I commaund Commodus my sonne to recompence thy seruice, and I beseeche the immortall goddes, that they acquite thy good counsayles. And not without good cause I charge my sonne with the one, and require the goddes of the other. For the payment of many seruices, one mā alone may do: but to pay one good counsayle it is requisite to haue all the goddes. The greatest good that a frend can do to his frend, is in some great and wayghty affayres, to geue him good and holsome counsayle. And not without cause I saye holsome. For commonly it chaunceth, that those which thinke with their counsayle to remedy vs: do put vs oftentimes in greatest perples. All the trauayles of lyfe are hard: but that of deth is the most hardest and terrible. All are great, but this is the greatest. All are perillous, but this is most perillous. All in death haue end, except the trauayle of deth, wherof we knowe no ende. That whiche I saye now, no man perfectly can knowe: but onely he which seeth him selfe, as I see
my

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my selfe nowe at the poynt of deathe. Certainly Panutius, thou hast spoken vnto me as a wise man: but for that thou knowest not my griefe, thou couldst not cure my disease, for my soze is not there, where thou hast layde the playster. The fistula is not there, where thou hast cut the fleshe. The opslation is not there, where thou hast layde the oymntmentes. There were not the righte baynes, where thou diddest let me blood. Thou hast not yet touched the wound which is the cause of al my griefe. I meane that thou oughtest to haue entered further withine, to haue knowen my griefe better. The sighes which the hart fetcheth (I say those which come from the hart) let not euery man thinke which heareth them, that he can immediately vnderstand them.

* For as men cannot remedy the anguishes of the spirite: so the goddes likewise would not that they should knowe the secretes of the hart. Without feare or shame, manye dare saye, that they knowe the thoughte of others, wherin they shewe theym selues to be moze fooles, then wise. For sins there are many thinges in me, wherin I my self do wote: howe can a straunger haue any certayne knowledge therin? Thou accushest me Panutius, that I feare death greatlye the which I denie: but to feare it as man, I do confesse. For to deny that I feare not death should be to deny that I am not of fleshe. We se by experience, that the elephantes do feare the lion, the beare the Elephante, the wolfe the beare, the lambe the wolfe, the rat the catte, the cat the dogge, and the dogge the man: finallye the one and the other do feare for no other thinge, but for feare that one killeth not the other. Then sins brute beastes refuse death, the whiche thoughe they dye, feare not to fight with the furies, nor hope not to rest with the goddes: so muche the moze oughte we to feare death, which dye in doubt, whether the furies wil teare vs in pieces with their tormentes, or the goddes wil reuegure vs into

these houses with soye. Thinkest thou Panutius, that I do not see wel that my vine is gathered, and that it is not hid vnto me, that my pallace falleth in decay? I knowe well, that I haue not but the kinnell of the raison, and the skinne: and that I haue not but one sighe of all my life, vntill this time. There was great difference betwene me & the: and nowe there is great difference betwixt me and my selfe. For aboute the ensigne, thou dost place the armie. In the ryuers, thou castest thy nets, within the parkes, thou hunttest the bulles. In the shadow thou takest colde. By this I meane, that thou talkest so much of death: because that thou art sure of thy life. O miserable man that I am, for in shorte space, of all that in this life I haue possessed: with me I shal carry nothing, but onely my winding shete. Alas nowe shall I enter into the field, not where of the fierce beastes I shalbe assauled: but of the hungrie wormes deuoured. Alas I se my selfe in that distresse, from whence my fragile fleshe can not escape. And if any hope remayne, it is in godde deathe. When I am sicke, I would not that he that is whole should comforte me. When I am sorrowful, I would not that he which is merry should comfort me. When I am banished, I would not that he which is in prosperitie should comfort me. When I am at the houre of death, I would not that he should comforte me which is not in some suspicion of life. But I would that the poore should comforte me in my pouerty, the sorrowful in my sorowes, the banished in my banishment, and he which is in as great danger of his life, as I am nowe at the point of death. For there is no counsaile so healthfull, nor true: as that of the man which is in sorowe, when he counsaileth an other, which is likewise tormented him selfe. If thou considerest wel this sentence, thou shalt finde that I haue spoken a thing very profound, where in notwithstanding my tongue is appeased. For in my opinion, euyl shal be comforted.

forced, which is weeping with him, that continually laugheth I say this, to thend thou knowe, that I knowe it: and that thou perceue, that I perceue it. And because thou shalt not lyne deceyued, as to my frende I will disclose the secretes: and thou shalt see, that finale is the sorowe whiche I haue, in respect of the great, whiche I haue cause to haue. For if reason had not stryued with sensualite, the sighes had endyd my lyfe, and in a ponde of teares, they had made my graue. The thinges whiche in me thou haste sene, whiche are to abhorre meate, to banyshe slepe, to loue care, to be annoyed with company, to take rest in sighes, and to take pleasour in teares: may easely declare vnto the, what torment is in the sea of my harte, when suche tremblynges doe appere in the earthe of my bodye. Let vs nowe come to the purpose, and we shall see, why my bodye is withoute consolacion, and my hart so ouercome with sorowes: for my felynge, greatly exceedeth my complaining, because the body is so delicate, that in scratchinge it, it complaineth: and the harte is so stout and valiaunt, that though it be hurt, yet it dyssembleth. ¶ Panutius, I let the wete, that the occasyon why I take death so greuouflye, is because I leaue my sonne Commodus in this life: who liueth in this age moste perillous for hym, and no lesse dangerous for the Empire. By the flowers are the frutes knowen, by the grapes the vines are knowen, and by the face men are knowen: by the colt the horse is iudged, and by the infante, youth is knowen.

This I saye by the Prince my sonne, for that he hath bene euill in my lyfe, I doe imagine that he wyll be worse after my death. Since thou (as wel as I) knowest the euyl condicions of my sonne, why dost thou meruel at the thoughtes and sorowes of the father? My sonne Commodus in yeaeres is ponge, and in vnderstandynge yonger. He hath an euill inclynation, and yet he wyll not enforse him selfe against the same.

he governeth hym selfe by hys owne sence, and in matters of wysdome he knoweth lytell: of that he shoulde be ignorant, he knoweth to muche: and that which is worst of all, he is of no man esteemed. He knoweth nothinge of thinges passe, nor occurreth hym selfe aboute any thinge present. Finallye, for that whiche with myne eyes I haue sene, I saye, & that which with in my harte I haue suspected I iudge: that shortly the person of my sonne shalbe in hazarde, and the memorye of hys father peryshe. ¶ Howe unkindelye haue the Gods bled them selues towarde vs, to comaund vs to leaue our honour in the handes of our chyldren: for it shuld suffice, that we shuld leaue them oure goods: and that to oure frendes we shuld commit oure honour. But yet I am sorry, for that they consume the goods in vices: & lose the honour, for to be vitious. The gods beinge ptesfull as they are, since they geue vs the authoritey to deuyde our goods: why doe they not geue vs leaue, to make our wylles of the honour? My sonnes name being Commodus, in the Romaine tonge, is as muche to saye, as prosyre: but as he is, we wyll be contente to be without the lytle prosyre, whiche he may do to some: so that we maye be excused of the great damage, whiche he is lykely to doe to all.

For I suppose he wyll be the scourge of men, and the wrath of Gods. He entreth nowe into the pathewaye of youth, alone without a guide. And for that he hath to passe, by the highe & dangerous places: I feare lest he be lost, in the woode of vices.

For the chyldren of Princes, and greate Lordes, for so muche as they are broughte vp in lyberty, and wantonnes, do easely fall into vices, and voluptuousnes: and are most stubborne, to be with drawen fro their folly. ¶ Panutius, geue attentine eare to y I say vnto the. Wilt thou not, that Commodus my sonne is at lybertye, is ryche, is pong, and is alone? By the faythe of a good man. I sweare vnto the, that the leasse of

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these windes would ouerthrow, not onely a yong tender ashe: but also a mighty strong oke. Riches, youth pryde, and liberty, are .4. plagues which poison the prince, replenysh the common wealth with filth, kill the liuing, and defame the dead. Let the old men beleue me, & the yong men marke wel what I say, that where god haue geue many gyftes: it is necessarye they haue many vertues to susteine them. The gentle, the peaceable, the counterfayte, and the simple, doe not trouble the common wealth: but those whom nature hath geuen most gyftes. For as experience teacheth vs, with the moste and fairest women, the strewes are furnished, the moste proper personages are vnshamefast, & most stout and valiaunt are murderers, the most subtile are theues, and men of clearest vnderstanding, oftentimes become most fooles. I say, & say againe, I affirme, and affirme againe, I sweare, & sweare agayne, that if two men which are adourned with natural gyftes doe wante requysite vertues: such haue a knyfe in their handes wherewith they do strike and wound them selues, a ster on their shoulders where with they burne them selues, a rope at their neckes to hange them selues, a dagger at their brest where with they kyl them selues, a thorne in their foote wherewith they prycke them selues, and stones wherewith they stonble: so that stonbling they fall, and fallinge they synde them selues with death whom they hate, and withoute lyfe whiche so muche they loued. Note wel Panutius', note, that the man whiche from hys infancie hath alwayes the feare of the Gods before hys eyes, and the shame of men, sayeth trouthe to all, and lyueth in prejudice to none: and to such a tree, though euil fortune do cleaue, & flower of his youth do wither, the leaues of their fauours dye, they gather the frutes of hys traunyles, they cut the bough of his offices, they bolue the highest of hys braches downewardes, yet in the ende, though of the wyndes he be beaten, he shall neuer be ouercome. & hap-

pye are those fathers, to whom the Gods haue geuen quicke Chyldren, wyse, faire, able, light, and valyaunte: but al these gyftes are but meanes to make them vicious. And in suche case, if the fathers would be gouerned by my counsaile, I would rather desire that members should wante in them: then that byces should abound. Of the moste fairest chylde whiche are bozne in the Empire, my sonne Commodus the Prince is one. But I would to the immortal gods, that in face he resembled the blackest of Ethiopie: and in maners, the greatest philosopher of Grece. For the gloze of the father is not, nor oughte not to be, in that hys chylde is faire of complexion, and handesome of person: but that in hys lyfe he be very vpryght. We wyl not cal him a pytefull father, but a greate enemye, who exalteth for the his chylde, for that he is faire: and doeth not correcte him, though he be vicious. I durst saye, that the father whiche hath a chylde endued with many goodly gyftes, and that he doeth employe them all to vices: suche a chylde ought not to be bozne in the world, and if perchaunce he were bozne he ought immediately to be buried.

The. liii. Chapter.

The Emperoure Marcus Aurelius concludeth his matter and sheweth that sondry yong princes for being vicious, haue vndone them selues and impoueryshed their Realmes.



What great pyty is it, to se how the father blyeth his chylde of god with sighes, how his mothers deliuer them with payne, howe they bothe nouryche them with traunyles, howe they watche to susteine them, howe they labour to remedy them, & afterwardes they haue so rebelled,

rebelled, and he so vicious: that the miserable fathers oftentimes do dye not for age, but for the greuous wherewith their children torment them. I do remember, that the prince Commodus my sonne beinge yonge, and I aged (as I am) with greate paynes we kepte hym from vices: but I feare, that after my death he wyl hate vertues.

I remember manye yong princes, which of his age haue enherited the empire of Rome, who haue bene of so wicked a life: that they haue deserued to lose, bothe honour, and lyfe. I remember Dennis the famous tyrant of Scicill, of whom is sayed, that as great rewarde he gaue to those that inuented vices: as our mother Rome did to those which conquered realmes. Suche worke could not be but of a Tyrant, to take them for mosse familiare, which are mosse vicious. I remember. iiii. yonge princes, which gouerned the empire, but not with such bayntnes, as the greate Alexander: that is to wete, Alexander, Antiochus, Siluius, and Ptholomeus, to whom for their bayntty & lightnes, as they called Alexander the great, Emperour in Grece: so likewyse doe they cal these yong mē, tyrantes in Asia. Very happye was Alexander in lyfe, and they vnhappye after hys death. For al that which with glorious triumphes he wanne, with vyle vices they lost. So that Alexander deuided betwene the foure the worlde, and afterwarde it came into the handes of moe then. 4. hundzeth. I do remember, that king Antigonus lytle extemed, that which cosse hys lord Alexander muche. He was so lyght in the behaour of hys person, and so defamed in the affayres of the common wealth: y for mockery and cōtempte, in the stede of a crowne of golde, he bare a garment, in the stede of a scepter, he caried netels in hys hande, & of this sorte & maner he sat to iudge among his counsaillours, & bled to talke w strangers. This yonge Prince doth offed me much, for y lightnes he committed: but muche more I meruaile at the grauity of the sages of Grece, which suffred

hym. It is but mete he be pertaker of the payne, which he condescended to the faulte. *

I doe remember Calligulus, the fourth, Emperour of Rome, who was so yong and folythe, that I doubte of these two thinges which was greatest in hys tyme. That is to wete, the dysobedience which the people beare to their lord: or the hate which the lord beare to hys people. For that vnhappy creature was so disordered in hys maners, that yf all the Romaynes had not watched to take life fro him: he would haue watched to take lyfe from them. This Caligula weare a broche of golde in his cappe, where in were wyrtten these wordes,

Vtinam omnis populus unam precise crucem haberet, ut uno ictu omnes necaret.

Which is to say, woulde to god, that all the people had but one necke, to the ende I myghte kyl them all at one stroke. I remember the Emperoure Tiberius thadoptine sonne of the good Cesar Augustus, which was called Augustus, because he greatly augmented the empire. But the good Emperour did not so muche augment the state of hys common wealth, duringe his lyfe: as Tiberius dyd demynshe it, after his death. The hate and malyce which the Romayne people bare to Tiberius in hys lyfe, was manifestlye discovered after the tyme of his death. For the daye that Tiberius dyed (or better to saye, when they kylled hym) the Romayne people made greate processions, and the Senators offred greate presents to the Temples, and the priestes gaue greate sacrifices to their Gods: and all, to the ende their Gods shoulde not receyue the soule of this tyrante amongst them, but that they woulde sende it to be kepte amonge the furies of hel. I remember Patrocles (seconde kynge of Corinthe) inherited the Realme at .xxii. yeares of hys age, who was so dysordynate of his feash, so vndyscreate in hys doinges, so conetious of goods, and such a coward of his person: that where hys father had possessed the

A.ii.

realme

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realme. x. yeares, the childe dyd not possesse
it. xxx. monethes. I remember Tarquine
the proude, who though among. viii. knigh-
tes of Rome was the lasse, and comelyest of
gestur, ballaunt in armes, noblest of bloud,
and in geaynge moſte lyberall: yet he em-
ployed all hys gyftes and graces which the
Gods had geuen hym, euyl. For he em-
ployed hys beautye to ryote, and hys forces
* to tyrannye. For throughte the treason, and
byllayne, whiche he committed with the
Romaine Lucretia, he dyd not onelye
lose the realme, and flyeng ſaued hys lyfe:
but alſo for euer was banyshe, and all his
lynage likewiſe. I remember the cruel em-
perour Nero, who lyued, enhercyted, and
dyed ponge: and not without a cauſe I ſay,
that he lyued, and dyed ponge. For in hym
was graffed, the ſtocke of the noble and
woorthy Ceſars: and in hym was renewed,
the memozye of thoſe Tyrantes. To whom
thinkeſt thou Panutius, this tyrant would
haue geuen lyfe, ſince he with hys owne
handes gaue his mother her death: Tel me
I praye the, whom thinkeſt thou hath made
that curſed harte, who ſlew hys mother,
oute of whoſe wombe he came: opened her
breaſtes, whiche gaue hym ſucke: ſhed the
blonde, whereof he was borne: toze the ar-
mes, in whiche he was caried: and ſaw the
ſtrialles, wherein he was ſourmed: the day
that the emperour Nero ſlew hys mother,
an oratour ſaid in the Senate.

*Fure interficienda erat Agrippina que tale portentum
peperit in populo romano.*

Which is to ſay, juſtly deſerued Agrippina
to be put to death, whiche brought forth ſo
ſtraunge a monſter amonges the Romaine
people.

Thou oughteſt not therefore to merr-
traile (Panutius) at y nonelities whiche thou
haſte ſene in me: for in theſe. lii. dayes that
I haue bene troubled in my mynde, and al-
tered in my vnderſtandynge, all theſe thin-
ges are offred vnto me, and from the bot-
tome of my harte I haue degeſted them.

For the carefull men are not blynded, but
with their owne imagynations. All theſe
euyl condycions whiche theſe Prynces
had ſcatered amongeſt them (of whome I
haue ſpoke) do mete togethers in my ſonne
Commodus.

For if they were ponge, he is ponge. If
they were rich, he is rich. If they were fre,
he is fre. If they were bolde, he is bolde. If
they were wilde, he is wilde. If they were
euil, certainly I do not thinke y he is good.
For we ſe many pong prynces, which haue
ben wel brought bp, and wel taughte: yet
when they haue inherited, they become im-
mediately vicious and diſſolute. What hope
haue we of thoſe, which fro their infacy are
diſſolute and euyl inclined: of good wine, I
haue made oftymes ſtronge vineger: but of
pure vineger, I haue neuer ſene good wine.
This child keapeſt me, betwene the ſayles
of feare, & the ſcher of hope: hoping he ſhall
be good ſince I haue taught hym well, and
fearinge he ſhalbe euill, becauſe his mother
Fuaſtine hath nouryſhed hym euyl.

And that whiche is the worſte, that the
pong childe of hys owne nature is inclined
to all euyl. I am moued to ſaye thus much,
for that I ſee hys naturall inclination in-
creaſe: and that whiche was taughte hym
dempnyſhe. For the whiche occaſyon, I
doubte that after my death, my ſonne ſhall
retourne to that, wherein hys mother hath
nouryſhed hym: and not to that, wherein I
haue taughte hym.

O how happy had I bene, if neuer I had
had child, for not to be bounde to leaue hym
the myre: For I would choſe then, amonge
the chyldren of the good fathers: and would
not be bounde to ſuche a one, whom the
Gods haue geuen me. One thinge I
aſke the Panutius, whom wouldeſt thou
call moſte fortunate: Veſpaſion whiche
was natural father of Domitius, or Ner-
ua the Putatine, father of the good Tra-
iane: bothe thoſe two (Veſpaſion, and
Nerua) were good prynces, but of chyldren,
Domitian

Domitian was the heade of all mischete: and Traiane was the mirroure of al goodnes. So that Vespasian, in that he had chylzen, was unhappye: and Nerua in that he had none, was mosse fortunate.

One thinge I wyll tell the Panutius, the whiche by the considered, thou wylte lytle esteeme life, and shalt lose the feare of death. I haue liued. xxi. yeres, wherein I haue red muche, hard muche, sene, desired, attayned, possessed, suffred, and I haue much reioysed my selfe. And in the ende of all this, I se my selfe now to dye, and I muste wante my pleasures, and my selfe also. Of all that I haue had, possessed attained, and whereof I haue enioyed, I haue onely two thinges: to wete, paine for that I haue offended the gods and sorrow for y^e tyme which I haue wasted in vices. There is great difference betwene the riche, and the poore in death, and more in lyfe. For the poore dyeth to rest, but yf the ryche dye, it is to their great payne. So that the gods take from the one, that which he had: and putteth the other in possession, of that he desired. Great care hath the harte to seke the goods, and they passe greates troubles to heape them together, & great diligence muste be had in keepynge them, and also muche wit to encrease them: but withoute comparison, it is greater grieve to depart fro them. What intollerable paine and grieve, is it to the wyse man, seting hym selfe at the point of death, to leaue the swette of his family, the maiesty of his empire, the honour of his presēt, the loue of hys frēdes, the paymēt of his debtes, the desertes of his seruantes, & the memozye of his predecessours, in the power of so euyl a chylde, the whiche neither deserueth it, nor yet wyl deserue it. In the ix. table of oure aunciente lawes, were written these wordes.

The ordeine and commaund, that the father whiche shall be good accordyng to the oppynyō of all, maye dysheryte hys sonne, who accordyng to the oppynyō of all is euyl.

The lawe sayde farther.

The Chylde whiche hath disobeyed his father, robbed anye holye Temple, iniured anye wyddow, fled from any battaile, and committed any treason to a straunger, that he shuld be banished fro Rome, and disinherited fro his fathers goodes. Truly the lawe was good, though by our offices it be forgotten. If my breath sayled me not, as it doeth sayle me (for of trouth I am greatly payned) I wold declare vnto y^e how many Parthes, Medians, Egiptians, Assiriās, Caldeans, Indians, Hebrues, Grekes, and Romaynes, haue leste their chylzen poore, beinge able to haue leste them ryche, for no other cause, but for that they were bitious. And to the contrary, other beinge poore, haue leste them ryche, for that they were vertuous. By the immortall Gods I swere vnto the, that when I came from the warre of Parthia, and triumphed in Rome and confirmed the Empire to my sonne, if then the senate had not withstode me, I had leste Commodus my sonne poore with hys vices: and would haue made heire of al my realmes, some vertuous man. I let the to wete Panutius, that v. thinges oppresse my harte sore, to the whiche I would rather se remedye my selfe, then to commaunde other to remedye it.

The first for that in my life tyme I can not determine y^e proces, y^e the vertuous wydow Drusia hath with the senate. Because sined she is poore, and desourmed, there is no mā that wyl geue her iustice.

The secōd, because I dye not in Rome. And this for none other cause then that with the sound of the trumpeter should be proclaimed, that all those whiche haue anye quatell, or debte againste me, and my famylpe should come thither to be payed, or satisfied of their debtes, and demaundes.

The thirde, that as I made. lxxi. traitantes to be put to execution, whiche committed treason in Asia and Italy: so it greued me that I haue not also punyshed certaine Pirates, which roured on the seas,

iii.

The

THE DIALL

The fourth, for that I haue not caused the temple to be synned, whiche I dyd begin, for all the Gods. For I myghte haue sayed vnto them after my death, that since for all them I haue made one house: it were not much y any of them should receiue one into his, whiche passe this lyfe in the fauoure of gods, & without the hatred of men. For dyeng after this sorte, me shal susteine our honours: & the gods shal prouide for our soules.

The fifth, for that I leaue in lyfe for my onely heire, Commodus the Prince yet not so muche for the distruction which shall come to my house: as for the great damage which shal succede in the common wealth. For the true Princes ought to take the damages of their persons lighte, and the damages of the common wealth for most greuous. Panutius, let therefore this be the lastte worde whiche I wil saye vnto the, that is to wete, that the greatestt good that the Gods maye geue to the man that is not conuictous, but vertuous, is to geue hym good renowne in lyfe: and afterwarde a good heire at our death. Finally I saye, that if I haue any thing to doe with the gods, I requyre, and beseeche them, that if they should be offended, Rome slandered, my renowne defamed, and my house deminished, for that my sonne be of an euyl lyfe: that they will take from hym lyfe, before they geue me death.

The liiii. Chapter

Of the vvordes vvhiche the Emperour spake vnto his sone, necessary for al noble yong gentilmē to vnderstand.



Ince the deafe of Marcus Aurelius was so extreme, that in euery houre of his life he was assaulted with death: after he had talked a longe tyme with Panutius hys secretarpe, he commaunded hys sonne

Commodus to be wakened, who as a yōg mā slept soundly in his bed. And being come before his presence, al those which were ther, were moued immediately with compassio, to se the eyes of hys father al swollē with weeping: and the eyes of the child, closed with ouermuch slepe. They could not waken the child, he was so careles: and they could not cause the good father slepe, he took so great thought. Al those whiche were there, seing howe the father desyred the good lyfe of the sonne, and howe lytel the sonne wayed the death of hys father: had compassyon of the olde man, and bare hate to the wicked child. Then the good Emperoure castynge hys eyes on highe, and dyrectyng his wordes to his sonne sayed.

When thou werte a chylde, I tolde thy maisters howe they ought to bring the vp: and after that thou dyddest waxe greater, I tolde thy gouernours howe they shoulde counsaile the. And nowe wyll I tell the, howe thou for them whiche are fewe, and all for the being one, ought to gouerne and mayntayne the common wealth. If thou esteeme muche that whiche I wil saye vnto the my sonne: know thou, that I wil esteeme it much more that thou wilt beleue me. For more easely doe we old men, suffer your insurpes: then yea other yonge, doe receyue oure counsailes. Wysedome wanteth to you for to beleue vs, yet ye wante not boldnes to dishonoure vs. And that whiche is worste, the aged (in Rome) were wonte to haue a chayer of wysedom, and sages: but nowe a dayes, the yonge men counte it a shame and follye. The worlde at this day is so chaunged, from that it was wonte to be in tymes passe: that all haue the audacitye to geue counsaile, & few haue the wysedom to receiue it, so that they are a thousand, which sel counsailes: & there is not one, that by the wysedom. I beleue wel my sone, that according to my fatal destinyes, & thy euyl maners, lytle shall that auayle, whiche I shal tell the. For since thou wouldest not credite

credite these wordes, which I spake vnto þe in my life: I am sure that thou wilt lytle regard the after my deathe. But I do this more to satisfy my desire: & to accomplishe that which I owe vnto the commō wealthe: than for that I hope for any amendment of thy life. For there is no griefe that so much hurteþ a person, as when he him selfe is of his owne paine. If any man dothe hit an iniurie, if I laye my handes vppon him, or speake iniurious wordes vnto him my hart is forthwith satisfied: but if I do iniury to my selfe, I am he whiche wrongeth and am wronged, for that I haue non one whom I may reuenge my wrong, and I here and chafe with my selfe. If thou my sonne be euill, after that thou hast enherited the empire: my mother Rome wil complayne of the goddess, which haue geue the so many euil inclinacions. She wil complaine of Faustina thy mother which hath brought the vp so wantonly. She wil complayne of the which hath no wil to resist vices: but she shall haue no cause to complayne of the old man thy father, who hath not geuen the good counsailes. For if thou haddest beleued that, whych I told the: men would reioyce to haue the for their lord, and the goddess, to vse the as their minister. I can not tel my sonne if I be deceyued, but I see the so depriued of vnderstanding, so vncertaine in thy wordes, so dissolute in thy maners, so vnjust in iustice, in that thou desirest so hardie, & in thy dutye so negligent: that if thou chaunge & alter not thy maners, men wil hate the, and the gods wil forsake the. If thou knewest my sonne, what thinge it is to haue men for enemies, and to be for taken of the goddess: by the sayth of a good man I sweare vnto the, that thou wouldest not onely hate the seignorie of Rome, but with thy handes also thou wouldest destroy thy selfe. For men which haue not the goddess mercifull, and the men frendly, do eate the bread of griefe, and drynke the teares of sorowe. I am sure thy sorowe is not so

greate, to se that the nyghte dothe ende my life: as is the pleasure which thou hast, to se that in short space thou shalt be emperour of Rome. And I do not maruaile hereat For where sensuality reigneth, reason is banished & constrained to flye. Many loue diuers thinges because of trowth they knowe them not: the which if they did know, without doubt they would hate them. Though men loue in mockery, the gods & men hate vs in earnest. In al thinges we are so doubtful, and in al our workes so disordered, that at some time our vnderstanding is dul, and loseth the edge: & an other time, it is more sharpe then it is necessary.

Whereby I meane, that the good we wyll not heare, and much lesse we will learne it. but of the euyl we knowe, more then behoeth vs, or necessity requyrez. I wil counsaile the my sonne by wordes, that whiche in lxxi. yeres I haue learned by science and experience. And since thou art as yet so yonge, it is reason that thou beleue him which is aged. For since we princes are the mirror of all, euery man doch beholde vs, and we other do not beholde our selues. This daye or to morowe thou shalt enherite the Romayne empire, and thinke that inheriting the same, thou shalt be lord of the world. Yet if thou knewest howe many cares and perilles, commaunding bringeth with it. I sweare vnto the, that thou wouldest rather chole to obeye all, then to commaund one. Thou thinkest my sonne, that I leaue the a great lord, for to leaue the the empire, which is not so. For all they haue nede but of the, and thou alone hast nede of all. Thou thinkest that I leaue the much treasures, leauing the the great reuenues of the empire. & which also is a litle. For though a prince haue treasures in aboundaunce yet if he want frendes, he hath great want of treasures. Thou thinkest also my sonne, & I leaue the & thou be obeyed of all, & that none dare gaynsaye the.

Trulye it oughte not to be so. For it is more

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more mete for the princes (which desire to preserve his life, and augment his honour) to be conformable to the will of al: the to desire that al should be agreeable to him. For thou my sonne that knowest not what truth is, lies will not greve the. Forasmuch as I knowest not what rest is, the peoples and motions of the people shall not bere the. For that thou knowest not what friendes meane, thou shalt esteeme it litle to have enemies. For if thou wert patient, reposed, true, and a loving man: thou wouldest not onely refuse the empire of Rome, but also thou wouldest curse the father which wold leave the suche inheritance. I will thou knowe, if thou knowest it not, that in leaving the empire, I leave the not riches, but poverty, not rest but travaile, not peace, but warre, not friendes but enemies, not pleasures but displeasures: finally in place I leave the, where alwayes thou shalt have somewhat to bewaile. And though thou wouldest, thou shalt not laugh. I advertise admonish, and also exhort the my sonne to thinke that all that whiche I leave the, is vanity, lightnesse, and folly, and a disguised mockery. And if thou beleuest it is in mockery, from henceforth I knowe thou art deceived. I have lived longer then thou, I have red more than thou, and with great payne have gone further than thou. And thus that with all these advertisements, in the ende I finde my selfe mocked: hopest thou to live surely, and scape without fraude or guyle? When thou shalt thinke to have the empire in rest, then shall there arise a province in Africa, or in Asia, the losse of the which should come to a great inconvenience: and for to recover it, great charges would ensue. When thou thinkest to recover friendes, then shall straining enemies invade the. So that in flattering and rejoycing our friendes: we can not kepe them: and in flying, and reflecting them, we can not defend our selves. When thou shalt thinke to be in greatest

joy, then shall some care oppresse thy hart. For princes which have, and possesse much the newes which give them pleasure, are very seldome, but the thinges which annoy the, come hourly. When thou shalt thinke to have libertie, to doo what thou wilt: then shalt thou be most restrained.

For the good and wel ordered princes ought not to go whither their wanton desires moueth them: but where it is most lawful and decente for the honour of their estates. When thou shalt thinke that none dare reprove the, for that thou arte emperor, then oughtest thou most to beware. For if they dare not threaten euell princes with wordes, they have the hardines to sell the by treason. If they dare not punish the they dare murmur at them: these which can not be their friendes: do procure to be their enemies: finally, if they laye not handes on their persons: they let their tonge runne at large, to prate of their renoune. When thou shalt thinke to have satisfied thy seruantes, then wil they demand recompence for their services. For it is an old custome among courtiers, to spend frey and couet greedely. Therefore if thou dost credit these thinges I knowe not who is so folle, that for his inheritance desireth such sorowe.

For admit that any man come to the empire without comparison, the rest is more worth, which he empire taketh from him: the pleasures which it giueth him. If the empire of Rome were as wel corrected & ordered, as in old tyme it was accustomed to be though it were great payne to gouerne it, yet it were more honour to kepe it, but it is so roted in vices, & so many tyrantes are entred therein, that I wold take them more wise to iudge it a mockery, the those which embrace it as an honour. If thou knowest what Rome is worthe, what Rome hath, what Rome maye, and what Rome is, I sweare vnto the, that thou wouldest not labour much to be lord therof.

For though Rome with walles be strongly compassed: yet of vertuous it is greatly provided, If the inhabitauntes be greates, the vices are without number. Finallye I saye, that the stones which are in the buyldinges, in one day may be counted: but the evils which are therein, in a 1000. yerres can not be declared. By the faith of a good man I sweare vnto the, that when I beganne to repaire that, which of the walles of Rome was fallen, in .lxx. yerres I caused it to be repaired: and one onely strete to liue well, in .xx. yerres I could not resourme. The deuine Plato saide very well. That muche more ought the great cittyes to glorifye, to haue vertuous citizens: then to haue proude and sumptuous buildinges. Beware, beware my sonne, that the inconstancie of youthe, & the liberty which thou hast to possesse, and gouerne the empire, cause the not to vndo thy selfe. For he is not counted free, whiche in libertie is borne: but he that dyeth in libertie. Of holwe many I haue red, heard, and also seene, whiche are borne slaues, and afterwardes haue dyed free: and thys for y they were vertuous. And how many I haue sene die slaues, beinge borne free, onely for beinge vicious: so that there liberty remapneth, where noblenes is resident. Princes which haue great realmes, of necessity shal haue occasions to punishe many excesses: wherfore it is requisite, that they be couragious. And beleue me my sonne, that they ought not to take courage vpon them, because they be mighty, and puissant: but because they are vertuous. For to punishe these excesses of others the good life is more requisite: then is the great authority of the empire. A vertuous prince ought to leaue no vice unpunished: for the good to folowe good, and the euil for feare of his correction, dare not commit any offence in the common wealthe.

He that liueth like a wyse man, is hardy to geue punishment: but he that liueth in feare dare not almost speake. For the ma

which dare be so hardy to punishe an other, for the selfe same faulte, for the whiche he deserueth to be punished: of the gods he is lustily hated, and of men despised. Let princes take it for an assured thinge, that they shal neuer haue the loue of the people the liberty of the common wealthe, the order of their house, the contentation of their frendes, the subiection of their enemies, and the obedience of their people: but with many teares shedde on the earth, and with many prouesses done of his person. To a vertuous prince, al do render: and against the vicious prince, all the earth doth rebell.

If thou wilt be vertuous, heare what thinge vertue is. Vertue is a castle whiche neuer is taken, a river whiche is not passed ouer, a sea whiche is not sayled, a fire that neuer is quenched, a treasure that neuer is wasted, an army that neuer is ouerthrowen, a chaunge whiche neuer wearieth, a spee whiche alwayes returneth, a signe whiche begileth no man, a waye verie streighte, a frend that succoureth all necessities, a surgion that immediatly healeth, & a renowne whiche neuer perissheth. If thou knewest, my sonne, what thinge it is to be good, thou wouldest be the best of the world. For the more vicious a man is, so muche the more he is entangled in vices: and holwe muche more a man is vertuous, so muche more to vertues he cleaueth. If thou wilt be vertuous, thou shalt do seruice to the gods, thou shalt geue good renowne to thy predecessours, & for thy selfe thou shalt prepare a perpetual memory. Thou shalt do pleasures to straungers, & get y fauour of thine owne people. Finally, y good wil honour y with loue: & the euil wil serue the w feare. In the histories of the warres of Tharentines, I found y the renowned Pirrus (king of Epirotes) did weare in a ring these wordes written. It is to litle punishment for a vicious man, to take his life fro him: & it is to small a reward for a vertuous man, to geue him the seignory of the whole erth. Truly these wordes

wordes were worthy of such a man. What thing can be begon of a vertuous mā, wher of we hope not to se the end, & come to good profite: I am deceyued, if I haue not sene in in my dayes many men, whiche were base bozne, vnfitte for sciences, boide of bices in the cōmon wealth, poore of goodes, and vnknown of birth, whiche with all these base condicions haue learned so many vertues, that it semed great rashenes to begin them and afterwarde for being vertuous only, they haue founde the effectes suche as they thought it. By the immortal gods I sweare vnto the, & so the god Iupiter take me into his custodie, and confirme the my sonne in mine: I haue not knowen a gardener & a potter in Rome, whiche for being vertuous, were occasion to cast fīue riche senators out of the senate. And the cause to make the one to gayne, and y other to lose, was that to the one they would not pay the pottes, & to the other his appels. For at that time, moze was he punished, whiche toke an apple from a poore man: then he whiche bet downe a rich mans house. All this I haue told the my sonne, because vice abaseth the hardye prince: and vertue geueth courage to the bashful. From .ii. thinges I haue alwayes kept my selfe. That is to wete, not to strīue agānst open iustice, nor to contend with a vertuous person.

The .lv. Chapter

The Emperour Mar. Aure. among other holsome counsayles exhorteth his sonne to kepe vwise and sage men about him, for to giue him counsayle in all his affayres.



hitherto I haue spoken to the ingenerally but now I wil speake vnto the perticulerly, & by the immortal gods I cōfure the, that thou be very attentue to that I will say. For talkinge to the as an aged father,

it is reason thou heare me as an obedient child. If y wilt enioy long life, obserue well my doctrine: For y gods wil not condescend to thy hertes desires enlece the u receyuest my holsome counsayles. The disobedience & vnfaithfulness whiche children haue to their fathers, is al their vndoing. For oftentimes the gods do pardon the offences, that are done vnto them: and do not pardon the disobediences, whiche the child beare to their fathers. I do not require the my sonne, that thou giue me money, sīns thou art poore. I do not demaunde that thou trauaile, sīns thou art tender. I do not demaund the reuengement of mine enemies, sīnce I haue none. I do not demaund that thou serue me sīns I dye. I do not demaunde the empire, sīns I leaue it vnto the. Duely I do demaund, that thou gouerne thy selfe well in the common wealth: and that the memozy of my house be not lost throught the.

If thou esteeme much that I leaue vnto the so many realmes, I thinke it better to leue the manye good counsayles, wherewith thou mayst preserve thy selfe, susteyne thy parson, and mayntayne thine honour.

For if thou hast presumption not to profite with my counsayle, but to truste to thine owne mind: before my fleshe be eaten with wormes, thou shalt be overcome with thy enemies.

My sonne, I haue bene yong, lighte, bolde, vnshamefast, proude, enuious, conetous, an aduolterer, furious, a glutton, slouthful, and ambitious, and for that I haue fallen into so great excesses, therefore I giue the such good aduice. For the man whiche in his youth hath bene very worldlye, from him in age procedeth the ripe counsayle.

That whiche vntill this time I haue counsaile the, & y whiche to my death I wil counsayle the. I desire y ons at the least y pzeue it. And if it do the harme, leaue it, & if it do the good, vse it. For there is no medecine so bitter, y the sicke doth refuse to take: if ther by he thinks he may be healed. I pray the, I

erhozt the, & I aduise the my sonne, that thy yowth beleue mine age, thy ignozancy beleue my knowledge, thy slepe beleue my watche, the dimnes of thy eyes beleue the clearenes of my sight, thy imaginacion beleue my vertue, & thy suspicion beleue my experieñce, for otherwise, one day þu shalt se thy selfe in some distresse, where smal time þu shalt haue to repent, & none to find remedy. Thou mayste saye vnto me (my sonne) that sins I haue bene yonge, I let the to be yong: & that when thou shalt be aged thou wilt amēd. I answere the, that if thou wilt liue as yonge: yet at the least gouerne thy selfe as olde. In a pynce which gouerneth his cōmon wealth wel, many miseries are dissembled of his parson. Euen as for mighty affaires ripe counsailes are necessarye: so to endure the troubles of the empire, the person nedeth some recreation. For þu bowe string which alwayes is stretched, either it lengthneth, or it breaketh. Whether pynces be yong or old, there can be nothinge more iust, then for the recreation of thein selues, to seke some honest pastimes. And not without a cause I saye, that they be honest. For sometimes they accompany with so dishonest persons, and so vnruly: that they spend their goodes, they lose their honour, and weary their persons more, than if they were occupied in the affaires of þu cōmon wealth. For thy yowth, I leaue þu children of great lordes, to whom thou mayste passe þu time awaye. And not wout cause I haue prouided, that with þu they haue bene brought vp from thy infancye. For after þu comest to mannes estate, inheritinge my goodes, if perchauce þu woldest accompany thy selfe to yong mē, þu shouldest finde them wel learned. For thy warres I leaue the valiant captaynes, though (in dede) thinges of warre are begon by wisdom: yet in the ende, the issue falleth out by fortune. For **¶** Guardes of thy treasures, I leaue the faithful men. And not wout cause I say they are saythfull, for oftentimes greater are the

theues which are receyvers, & treasourers then are they þu do robbe among the people. I leaue the (my sonne) expert & auncient mē, of whom thou mayst take counsaile, & to whom thou mayst cōmunicate thy troubles. For there can be founde no honest thinge in a pynce, vnlesse he hath in his company auncient men: for such geue grauity to his parson & authorite to his pallace. To inuent theaters, to fishepondes: to chase wilde beastes in the forrestes, to renne in þu felde, to let thy haukes flye, & to exercise weapōs, all these thinges we can not deny the, as to a yonge man, & thou being yong, mayst retoyce thy selfe I. al these. Thou oughtest also to haue respect, þu to ordeine armies, inuent warres folowe victories, accepte truces, confirme peace, raise byrtes, to make lawes, to promote the one, & put downe the others, to punish the euil, & first to rewarde the good, the counsaile of al these thinges ought to be taken, of cleare iudgementes, of persons of experieñce, and of white heades. Thinkest thou not, that it is possible to passe the time with the yong, & to counsaile with the olde? The wise and discrete pynces, for all thinges haue time inoughe, if they knowe well how to measure it. Beware my sonne, that they note the not to vse great extremities. And the end, and occasion why I speake it, is because thou shouldest knowe (if thou knowest not) that it is as vndecent a thing for a pynce, vnder the colour of grauity to be ruled and gouerned wholly by old men: as vnder semblaunce of pastime, alwayes to accomppny him selfe with the yong. It is no general rule, that all yonge men are light, nor all old mē sage. And þu must accorde to my aduise, in suche case gyue thy hand: that if any old man fall for age, and if thou find any yong men sage, dispise not his counsaile. For the bees do drawe more honny out of the tender flowres: then of the hard leaues. I do not condemne the aged, nor I do commend the yong, but it shal be wel done, that alwayes thou chose of bothe

THE DIAL

the most vertuous. For of trouthe, there is no company in the world so euill ordered, but that there is meane to liue with it, without any suspicion: so that if the yonge are euill with folly, & old are worse through couetousnes. On's againe I retourne to aduertise the (my sonne) that in no wise thou vse extremity. For if thou beleue none but yong, they will corrupt thy maners with lightenes: and if thou beleue none but the old, they will deprauē thy iustice through couetousnes. What thing can be more monstrous, the & the prince which commaundeth all, should suffer him to be commaunded of one alone? Beleue me sonne in this case, that the gouernmentes of manye are seldome times gouerned well by the heade of one alone. The prince which hath to rule and gouerne many, ought to take the aduise and counsaile of manye. It is a great inconuenience, that thou being lord of manye realmes, shouldst haue but one gate, wherin all do enter into, to do their busynes with the. For if perchaunce he which shall be thy familiar, be of his owne nature good, and be not mine enemy: yet I would be afraide of him, because he is a frende of mine enemies. And though he for hate they do me no euill, yet I am afraide that for the loue of an other, he wil cease to do me good. I remember that in the annalles of Pompeius, I found a litle booke of memoyses, whiche the great Pompeius bare aboute him, wherein were manye thinges that he had read, and other good counsailes, which in diuers partes of the worlde he had learned: and among other wordes, there were these. The gouernour of the comō wealth, which comitteth al the government to olde men, deserueth very litle: & he that trusteth al yong, is light. He that gouerneth it by him selfe alone, is beyonde him selfe: and he which by him & others do gouerne it, is a wise prince. I knowe not whether this sentences are of the same Pompeius or: that he gathered them out of some booke or: that

any philosopher had told him the, or if his frende of his had geue him them. I meane that I had them written with his handes: and trulye they deserued to be written in letters of gold. When thy affaires shall be weyghty, se thou dispatche them alwayes by counsaile. For when the affaires be determined by the counsaile of many, & fault shall be deuised among them al. Thou shalt find it for a truth (my sonne) that if thou take counsaile of many, the one wil tel the the inconuenience, the other the perill, the other the feare, the other the damage, the other the profite, and the other the remedy: finally, they wil so debate thy affaires, that playnly thou shalt knowe the good, and see the daunger thereof. I aduertise the (my sonne) that when thou takest counsaile, thou beholde with thy eyes the inconuenience, as well as the remedies whiche they shall offer vnto the. For the true counsaile consisteth, not to tel what they ought to do: but to declare what therof is like to succede.

When thou shalt enterpryse (my sonne) great and weyghty affayres, as much oughtest thou to regard the litle damages, for to cut them off in time: as the great mishappes, to remedye them. For oftentimes it chaunceth that for the negligēce of takinge by a gutter, the whole house falleth to the ground. For withstandinge I tell the, thou take counsaile, I meane not, & thou oughtest to be so curious, as for euerye trifflē, to call thy counsaile. For there are manye whiche are of suche qualite, that they demand immediatly, to be put to execution, and they do endamage them selves, attending for counsaile. That whiche by thine owne authoritie thou mayst dispatche without the doynage of the common wealth, referre it to no other person: and herein thou shalt be iust, and shalt do iustice confor-mable. For considering that thy seruice dependeth onely of them, the rewarde which they ought to haue, ought to depend onely on the. I remember, that when Marius the

Consull came from the warres of Nuz-
midia, he deuised al the treasure he brought
amongest his souldyers, not puttinge one
suel into the common treasure. And when
here of he was accused for y he had not de-
maunded licence of the senate: he answered
* them. It is not iust I take counsaile with
others, for to geue recompence to those:
whiche haue not take the opiniōs of others,
to serue me. Thou shalt fynde (my sonne)
a kinde of men, whiche are verie harde of
money, and exceeding prodigal of counsaile.
There are also dyuers lender s, which with
out demandinge them, doe offer to geue it.
With suche lyke men, thou shalt haue this
counsaille, neuer loke thou for good counsaile
at that man, whose counsaile redeth to the
* prejudice of another. For he offereth wordes
to thy seruice, and trauaileth thy busynes
to his owne profyte. As the gods gaue me
long life, of these thinges haue I had great
experyence, wherein I let the know, that for
the space of .xv. yeres I was consull, Sena-
tour, Censor, Pretor, Questor, Edill, a Tri-
bune: and after al this, I haue ben .is. yeres
emperour of Rome, wherein al those whiche
haue spoken moste agaynst me, touched the
profite or damage of another. The chiefe in-
tencion of those which folow the courtes of
Princes, are to procure to augmente their
houses. And if they cannot come to that,
they seke to demynishe that of another, not
for that anye profyte shuld folow vnto them
thereof, be it neuer so lytle: but because
mans malycie is of suche condycion, that it
esteemeth the profyte of another, bys owne
damage. They ought to haue greate com-
passyon of the Prince, for the moste that
followe hym, serue hym not for that they
loue hym: but for the gyftes and rewardes
whiche they hope to haue of hym. And this
seemeth to be true, for the day that Princes
shal cease to geue them: the selfe same day
begyn they to hate hym. So that suche ser-
uauntes, we cannot call frendes of oure
persons: but couetous of our goods.

That thou loue (my sonne) the one aboue
the other, thou mayest ryghte well: but I
aduertyse the that thou, nor they, doe make
anye semblance, in suche sorte that al doe
knowe it. For if thou doest otherwyse, they
wyl murmur at the, and wyl all persecute
the. He in curereth into no smal peryll, nor
hath no lytle trouble, whiche is aboue all
of the Prince beloued, and of the people ha-
ted. For then he is hated, and persecuted
of all. And yet more damage ensucth vnto
hym, of the emptie of al: then doeth of the
loue of the prince alone. For sometimes (the
gods permitte) it, and his behauiour de-
seruinge it) the Prince doeth cease to loue
him: and there with his enemyes begyn to
persecute hym. From the tyme I knewe
what meened to gouerne a commō weale,
I haue alwayes determyned neuer to kepe
man in my house one daye, after I knowe
him to be an enemye to the commō wealth.

In the yere of the foundacion of Rome;
649. Lucullus the Senatour going to the
warre agaynst Mithridate, by chaunce
found a tablet of copper, in the cite called
Triganie, the which was at the gate of the
kyngde of that prouynce. And on that same
was engrauen certayne Caldean letters,
the whiche in effecte sayed these wordes.

The prince is not sage, who wyl put in
hazarde the state of his common wealth, for
the onely commodite of one alone: for the
seruice of one, cannot auayle agaynst the
loue of al. The prince is not sage, that for to
enriche one alone, sekerh to enpouerish al:
* For it is a thing vntollerable, that the one
do labour the felde, and the other doe ga-
* ther the fruite. The Prince is not iust,
whiche wyl satisfye the couetousnes of one,
more then y seruice of al: for ther is meane
to pay the seruices of the good, and there is
no ryches to satisfye the couetousnes of the
euil. The Prince is a foole, that despyseth
the counsaile of all, and trusteth in the opi-
* nyon of one.

For though there be in a greate thynne

R. L.

but

but one Pilot, yet it nedeth manye Harry: ners. Bold is the Prince, which to loue one onely, wyl be hated of al: for noble Princes ought to thinke it muche profyte to be beloued, and muche moze displeasour to be hated. These were the wordes whiche were wyrtten in that tablet, worthy of eternal memory. And I wyl tel the further in this case, that Lucullus the Senatour sente on the one parte the tablet of copper, where these wordes were: and on the other parte, the coffers, where in he hadde broughte the ryches, to the ende the senate shoulde choose one, and leaue the other. The senate despying the riches and treasours, chose the tablet of counsayles.

The .lvi. Chapter.

The Emperour foloweth his matter and exhorteth his sonne vnto certayne particuler thinges vworthy to be engraued in the hartes of men.



Vntil now, I haue spoken as a father to his sonne, & which toucheth thy profyte. Nowe I wyl tell & what thou shalt do, after my death for my seruice. And if thou wilt be the true sone of thy father, the thinges whiche I haue loued in my life, shal be of & esteemed after my death. do not resemble many chiltzen, which after their fathers haue closed their eyes, doe remember the no moze. For in such case, though in dede the fathers be dead & buried: yet they are alwayes liuing, to complaine to & Gods of their children. Though it seemeth not to be sclauderous, yet it is moze perillous, to contend with the deade: then to inturpe the lyuinge. And the reason is, for that the lyuinge may reuenge, & are for to aunswere: but the deade cannot make aunswere, and

muche lesse they can be reuenged. And in suche case, the Gods doe take their cause in protection: and sometymes they execute suche cruel punnyshmente of those that liue, that rather then they would endure it, they wyshe to be deade. Thou oughtest to thinke (my sonne) that I haue begot the, I haue nouryshe the, I haue taughte the, I haue crymmed the, I haue chastised the, and I haue exalted the. And for this consyderacion, though by death I am absent: it is not reason that thou euer forget me. For the true, and not vnthankesful chyldre, ought the same daye to burye hys father in hys tender harte: when other haue layde hym on the harde graue. One of the visibill chastisements whiche the gods geue to men in this world is, that the chyldren obey not their fathers in their lyfe. For the selfe same fathers did not remember their owne fathers after their death. Let not yonge Princes thinke, after they haue inherytred, after they se their father deade, and after they are past correccion of their maysters, that al thinges ought to be done as they them selues wil it, for it wil not be so. For if they want the fauour of the Gods, and haue maledyccion of their fathers: they lyue in trouble, and dye in daunger. I requyre nought els of the (my sonne) but that suche a father as I haue ben to the in my lyfe, suche a sonne thou be to me after my death. I commende vnto the (my sonne) the beneration of the gods, and this cheselye aboue al thing. For the prince which maketh accöpte of the gods, nedeth not to feare any storme of fortune. Loue & gods, and thou shalt be beloued. Serue them, and thou shalt be serued. Feare them, and thou shalt be feared. Honour them, and thou shalt be honored. Do their commaundment, and they wyl geue the thy hartes desire. For the gods are so good, that they doe not onely receiue in accompte, that whiche we doe: but also that whiche we desire to doe. I commende vnto the (my sonne) the reuerence of the Temples, that is to wete, that they

they be not in dyscorde, that they be cleane and renewed, that they offer there in the sacrifices accustomed. For we doe not this honoz, to the substance wherewith the temples are made: but to the Gods, to who they are consecrated. I commend vnto the, the veneration of priestes: & I pray the, though they be couetous, auaricious, dissolute, vn- pacēt, negligēt, & vicious, y they be not dishonored. For to vs others it appertaineth, not to iudge of the lyfe they leade as men: but we must cōsider y they are mediatours betwene the gods and vs. Behold my sone, that to serue the gods, honour the temples, and reuerence the priestes, it is not a thing voluntary, but very necessary for Princes.

For so longe endured the glorie of the Greekes, as they were worshippers of their Gods, and carefull of their Temples. The unhappy realme of Carthage was nothing more cowardye, nor lesse ryche, then that of the Romaynes, but in the ende, of the Romaynes they wer overcome, because they were greates louers of their treasures, and little worshippers of their Temples. I commend vnto the (my sonne) Helia thy steppe mother: and remember, though she be not thy mother, yet she hath bene my wyfe. That whiche to thy mother Faustine thou oughtest for bynging the into y worlde: the selfe same thou oughtest to Helia, for the good entertainemēt which she hath shewed the. And in dede, oft tymes I being offēded with the, she mainteined the, and caused me to forget: so that she by her good wordes, did winne againe y, whiche y by thy eny wor- kes didest lose. Thou shalt haue my curse if thou blest her euyl: and thou shalt fall into the ire of the gods, if thou agreest that of there doe not vse her well. For all the damage whiche she shall fele, shal not be, but for the inconueniēce of my death, & iniurye of thy persō. For her enterpynmēt, I leaue her the tributes of Hostia, and the orchardes of Vulcanus, whiche I haue made to be planted, for her recreation. Be thou

not so hardye to take them from her: for in taking them from her, thou shalt shewe thy wickednes, and in leauynge them her, thy obedience; and in geuyng her more, thy bounsy & libéraltye. Remember (my sonne) that she is a Romayne woman, yong, and a wydowe, and of the house of Traiane my lord, and that she is thy mother adoptiue, and my naturall wyfe: and aboue all, for that I leaue her recommended vnto the. I commend vnto the, my sonne in lawes, whom I wyl thou vse as parentes and frēdes. And beware, that thou be not of those whiche are bretherne in wordes, and cou- sins in workes. Be thou assured that I haue willed so much good to my daughters, that the best whiche were in al the countries, I haue chosen for their personned. And they haue bene so good, that if in geuyng them my daughters, they were my sonne in lawes: in loue, I loued them as chyldren. I commend vnto the my Sytters, and daughters, whom I leaue the all maried: not with straunge kinges but with naturall senatours. So that al dwel in Rome, wher they may doe the seruices: and thou maist geue them rewarde and giftes. Thysisters haue greatlye inheryted the beautye, of thy mother Faustine: and haue taken lytle nature, of their father Marke. But I sweare vnto the, that I haue geuen them such hāshandes, and to their hāshandes, such and so profitable counsailes: y they would rather loose, then agre to any thing touching their dishonour. Vse thy sisters in such sorte, that they be not out of fauoure, for that their aged father is dead: & that they become not proude, for to see their byother Emperour: women are of a very tender condiction: for of smal occasion they doe complaine, and of lesse they were proude. Thou shalt kepe the, and preserue them after my death, as I did in my lyfe. For otherwyse, their conuersa- tion to the people shalbe very noysome: and to the berre impozynate. I commend vnto the, Lipula thy yongest Sytter,

As it,

whiche

THE DUAL

which is inclosed with in the virginestall
les, who was doughter of thy mother Fats-
tine, whom so derely I haue loued in lyfe,
and whose death I haue bewailed vntill my
death. Euery yeare I gaue to thy sister, sixe
thousand Sextercies for her necessyties: and
in dede I had marped her also, if she had
not fallen into the fire, and burnt her face.
For though she were my laste, I loued her
with all my harte. All haue esteemed her fal-
into the fire for euill lucke: but I do count
the euill lucke for good fortune. For her face
* was not so burned with cooles, as her re-
nowme suffred perill amonge euill tonges.
I sweare vnto the (my sonne) that for the
seruice of the gods, and for the renowne of
men: she is moze sure in the Temple with
the bestall Virgines, then thou arte in the
Senate, with thy Senatours. I suppose
nowe, that at the ende of the iourney, she
shall fynde her selfe better to be enclosed,
then thou at libertie. I leane vnto her (in
the prouince of Lucaine) euery yeare sixe
thousande sextercies. Trauayle to augment
them for her, and not to dymynishe them.
I commend vnto the Drusia the Romaine
wydow, who hath a proces in the Senate.
For in the times of the commotions passe,
her husband was prescripte. I haue greate
pety of so noble, & so woorthy a widow: so it
is nowe thre monethes since she hath put
vp her complainte, & for the greate warres,
I coude not shewe her iustice. Thou shalt
fynde (my sonne) that in .xxxv. yeares I haue
gouerned in Rome, I neuer agreed that
anye wydowe should haue any suite before
me, aboue .viij. dayes. Be careful to fauour,
and dispatche the orphanes, and wydowes.
For the nedy wydowes, in what place so e-
uer they be, do encurre into great daunger.
Not with out cause I aduertise the, & thou
trauayle to dyspatche them so sone as thou
maiest: & to administer iustice vnto the. For
through the pprologing of beautiful womens
suites, their honour & credite is diminished.
So that their busynes being pprologed, they

shal not recouer somuch of their goods: as
they shall lose of their renowne. I commed
vnto the (my sonne) my old seruantes, which
with my longe yeares, & my cruel warres,
with my greate necessyties, with the com-
braunce of my bodye, and my long disease,
haue had greate trouble: and as faithfull ser-
uantes, oftentymes to ease me, haue an-
noyed them selues. It is conuenient since I
haue ppreuailed of their lyfe, that they shuld
not loose by my death. One thing I let them
be assured, that though my bodye remaine
with the wormes in the graue: yet before
the gods I wyll remember them. And here
in thou shalt shewe thy selfe to be a good
childe, when thou shalt recompence those
whiche haue serued thy father wel. Al prin-
ces whiche shal do iustice, shal get enemies
in the execution thereof. And sicke it is done
by the handes of those, which are nere him:
the moze familiare they are with the prince,
the moze are they hated of the people: all in
generally doe lone iustice, but none doe re-
ioyce, that they execute it in his house. And
therefore, after that the Prince endeth his
lyfe, the people wyll take reuenge of those,
whiche haue bene ministers therof. It were
greate infamy to the empire, offence to the
gods, iniury to me, vnthankfulness to the,
hauing found the armes of my seruantes,
redy .xviij. yeares, & thy gates shuld be shut
against them one day. Kepe, kepe these thinges
(my sonne) in thy memozye: and since
particulerlye I doe remember them at my
death, consider how hartely I loued them in
my lyfe.

The .lvii. Chapter.

The good Marcus Aurelius Empe-
rouer of Rome, endeth his pur-
pose, and lyfe. And of the laste
vvordes vvhich he spake to his
sone Commodus and of the ta-
ble of counsels vvhich he gaue
him.



When the Emperoure had ended his perticuler recommendations, vnto his sonne Commodus, as the dawninge of the daye began to appeare: so his eyes began to close, his tong to faulter, & his handes to treble, as it doeth accustome to those, which are at the point of death. The prince perceiving the little life to remaine, commaunded his secretary Panutius to go to his coffer of his bookes, & to bring one of the coffers befoze his presence: out of the whiche he toke a table of, .iij. foote of bredthe, and, .ii. of lengthe, the whiche was of Eben, bordered al about with brycozne. And it was closed with, .ii. lyddes very fyne of red woode, whiche they cal rasin, of a tree where the phenix (as they saye) breaderh, whiche dyd growe in Arabia. And as there is but one onely, so in the worlde is there but one onely tree of that sorte. On the bittermoste partie of the table, was grauen the God Iupiter, and on the other his goddesse Venus: & in the other was drawen, the God Mars, and the goddesse Diana. In the uppermoste parte of the table, was carued a bull: and in the neyther moste partie, was drawen a kynge. And they sayed, the paynter of so famous, and renowned a worke, was called Apelles. The Emperoure takinge the table in his handes, casting his eyes vnto his sonne, sayed these wordes. Thou seest my sonne, how from the turmoyles of fortune I haue escaped, and how I into miserable destenies of death doe enter, where by expectence I shal knowe what there is after this lyfe. I meane not now, to blasphemie the gods: but to repent my synnes. But I would willingly declare why the Gods haue created vs, since there is suche trouble in life, and such paine in death. Not vnderstanding why the gods haue bled so great cruelty with creatures, I see it now, in that after .lxxij. yeres I haue sailed in the danger, & perill of this life: now they commaund me to land & harbor in this graue of death. Now approcherh

the houre wherin the band of matrimony is losed, the cloeth is cut and vntwoued, the key doeth locke, the slepe is wakened, my lyfe doeth end, and I go out of this troublesome paine. Remembryng me of that I haue done in my life, I desire no more to lyue: but for that I knowe not whyther I am carped by death, I feare, and refuse his darters. Alas what shall I doe, since the gods tell me not what I shal do: what counsaile shal I take of any man, since no man wyl accompany me in this iourney? O what great disceite, o what manifest blindnes is this, to loue one thing al the dayes of his lyfe, and to cary nothing with vs after oure death: because I desired to be ryche, they let me dye poore. Because I desired to lyue with companye, they let me die alone. For such shortenes of life, I knowe not what he is that wyl haue a house, since the narrow graue is our certayne mansiō place: beleue me, my sonne, & many thinges passe do greue me sore: but w nothing so much I am troubled, as to come so late to this knowledge of this life. For if I could perfectly beleue this, neither shuld me haue cause to reprove me, neither yet I now such occasiō to lament me. O how certayne a thing is it, that men when they come to the point of death, do promise the gods, & if they prozoge their death, they wil amēd their life: but notwithstanding, I am sorry that we se them deliuered frō death, without any maner of amendmēt of life. They haue attayned that, which of the gods they haue desired: and haue not performed it, whiche they haue promysed. They ought assuredly to thinke, that in the sweetest tyme of their lyfe, they shal be constrained to accepte death. For admyt the punishment of ingrate persons be deferred: yet therefore the fault is not pardoned. We thou assured my sonne, that I haue sene enough, heard, felt, tasted, desired, possessed, eaten, slepte, spoken, and also liued inough. For vices geue as greate trouble, to those which follow them much: as they doe great desire, to those which neuer proued them.

THE DIALL

I confesse to the immortal Gods, that I haue no desire to lyue: yet I ensure the, I would not dye. For life is so troublesome, that it weareth vs: & death is so doubtfull, that it feareth vs. If the gods deferred my death, I doubt whether I should reforme my life. And if I doe not amende my lyfe nor serue the Gods better, nor profite the common wealch more, & if that euerye tyme I am sicke it shuld greue me to die: I say it is much better, for me now to accept death, then to wythe the lengthninge of my life, I saye the lyfe is so troublesome, so fyckle, so suspitious, so vncertayne, and so impo-
rtunate (synally I saye, it is a lyfe withoute lyfe) that he is an obstynate foole, whiche so muche desireth it. Come that, that maye come: for finallye, not withstanding that I haue spoken, I wyllynge commit my selfe into the handes of the Gods, since of necessity I am there vnto constrained. For it proceedeth not of a lytle wisdom, to receiue that willingly, which to do we are constrain-
ned of necessity. I wil not recommend my selfe to the priestes, nor cause the oracles to be visited, nor promise anything to the temples, nor offer sacrifices to the gods, to the ende they shuld warraunte me from death, and restore me to lyfe: but I wil demand, and requyre them, that if they haue created me for any good thinge, I may not loose it for my euill lyfe. So wyse and sage are the gods in that they saye, so iuste and true in that they promyse, that if they geue vs not that whiche we others would: it is not for that they will not, but because we deserue it not. For we are so euyl, and worthe so litel, and we maye doe so lytle, that for manye good workes we deserue no merite: and yet with an euill worke, we be made vntow-
thy of al. Since therfore I haue put my selfe into the handes of the Gods, let them doe with me what they wyl for their seruice: for in the ende, the worke that they wyl doe, is muche better then the worlde wyl doe. For all that the worlde hath geuen me, hath

bene but mockery, and deceipte: but that whiche the gods haue geuen me, I haue go-
uerned, and possessed withoute suspicion.

For this laste houre (my sonne) I haue kepte the beste, the moste noble, and richest iewel that I haue possided in my life tyme. And I doe protest vnto the immortal gods, that if as they doe commaunde me to dye, they would geue me lycence to reade in the graue: I woulde commaunde it to be buryed with me. Thou shalt know my sonne, that in the .x. yeare of my Empire, a greate warre arose againste the vnrulye people of Persia, where by euyl lucke it was appoin-
ted for me, in person to geue the battayle: the which wonne, and al their countrey destroyed, I returned by the olde city of Thebes, in Aegypte, to se if I could finde any antiquite of these in tymes past. In the house of an Egiptian pyest, I found a ly-
tell tabel, whiche they hanged at the gate of the kynges pallace, the daye of his coro-
nation. And this poore priest tolde me, that that whiche was in this table, was wyrtten by a kyng of Egipte, named Piholomeus Arsacides. I beseeche the immortal Gods, my sonne, that suche be thy workes, as the wordes of this table require. As emperour, I leaue the heire of many realmes: and as a father, I geue the this table of counsay-
les. The wordes whiche the fathers doe teach vnto the chyldren at the laste houre, the chyldren oughte to kepe continually in their memozye. Let this therfore be my laste worde, with the Empire thou shalt be feared through oute all the worlde: and with the counsayles of this table, thou shalt be loved of al nations. This talke being en-
ded, and the table geuen, the Emperoure turned his eyes, losse his senses, and for the space of a quarter of an houre laye in ex-
treme payne, and within a while after yel-
deth the ghooste. In this table were certaine greke letters whiche were in meter and in oure tongue signify thus,

On

ON honours still I did not irauunt beane,
nor yet the poore suppress if he ware iust
For riches rule I nould to pardon cleaue
For want of welth nor folowe rigours lust.

For naked louse I neuer spent reward
nor woulde correct for onely enuies heate
of vertues impes I alwayes had regard
And mischeis mates haue plagde with torment great

To others doome I neuer would commit,
of open right the quarell to decide,
ne yet of doubtfull strifes in trust of witte
The small ende alone I would deuide

To them that sought for iustice equall swaye
her golden rule I neuer did deny
ne yet to such for whom desert would saye
Their sclender faultes might wel be slipped by

To feede the grieve that waied in my minde
With others smart I neuer could iusteyne,
nor yet rewardes my princely wordes would binde
When swete delight had chiefst ioye to rayne.

In high estate when most blind fortune smild,
A reckles lyfe I restles ran not on
nor yet when chaunge thoes happy dayes beguild
to cold despayr my quiet minde was gon.

By boiling heat of malice endeles fect,
to vices trayne I cast no egre ey,
ne yet for lust of pining welthes desie.
Vnlefull factes I recheles would apply

The traitours brest I neuer could embrace
nor lend mine eares to swallow flatteryng talke,
of vices slaues I wayed not the grace
nor lest vnseught good wil, in vertues walke

Poore Iru's hand for that I did relieue
Whose neddy state doth stoope in Cresus swaie
the greatest gods whoes heauenly wraeke doth grieue
the proudest crownes was ay my present state.

FINIS.

1940

920

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¶ Here foloweth the letters

(Which were not in the Frenche Coppe)

conferred with the originall Spanishe coppe.

The.lviij. Chapter

*Of a huge monstre vvhych vvas seene in Scicilye in the time of Marcus Aurelius.



IN the yeare of the Foundation of Rome. 720. & 41. of the age of Marcus Aurelius, and 2. yeares befoze he tooke possession of the Empire the 26. daye of August, aboute the goinge downe of the sonne, in the realme of Syccill (then called Trinacry) in the cytie of Bellina (whiche ioynerh vnto the sea, and at this present is called Palermo) there chaunced a thing perillous to them that sawe it then, and no lesse dreadfull to those which shall heare it now. Whiles they of Palermo were celebrating a great feast, with muche ioy for gladnes that their pirates had banquished the nauye of the Numidians, and taken 10. of their shippes, and cast. 32. persons into the sea, for at that time they were mortall enemies the one to the other, and for the wicked workes which they did, they vitered the cruel affections which they had. And as it is h maner of rowers: that which they got w great peril on the sea, they wast w litle thought, whē they come to land. It is a thing worthy to be noted, how all sort of men bothe good and euill do applye their mindes. The good men hane al their mindes on their triumphes, and the conetous on their filthy lucre. In this sort men should be beloued, as though within a short space after, they ought to be hated. And so they should be hated, as though shortly af-

ter they should be beloued. Thus the magistrates of the citie commaunded all these shippes and riches to be arrested to the intent that neither the pirates should sel the, nor the other conetous men bye them. And the reason was, that amonge those of the Ilandes, there was a lawe that all prizes which were gotten in the warre, should be layed by vntill they had peace. And truly it was a iust lawe. For oftentimes the onely let, whye the peace is not made betwene princes, when they assemble to talke therof is, because there wanteth riches to satysfy the domages done. When all the people were retourned home vnto their houses to supper (for it was in the sommer there appeared an huge monstre in the city in this fourme. He seemed to be of the length of 3. cubites, he had but one eye, his heade was balde, so that his scull did appeare. He had no eares, saue only .ii. hooles in his necke whereby men iudged that he heard: he had 2. withen hornes like a goote, his ryghte arme was longer then his left, his handes were like the fere of hoxes, his shoulders and his head were bothe of one heyght, his shoulders shone as doth the scales of fishes, his brest was all roughe of heere, his face in all thinges was like vnto a man, saue that it had but one eye whiche was in the middell of his forehead. In his nose there was but one nosegrell. From the middle downeward there was nothinge, seene, because it was al conered, he sat on a chariot with 4. wheles whiche was drawn with 4. beastes, that is. 2. lions befoze, and two beares behind. No man could tell of what wood the chariot was made. In fashion it differed nothing from those which other men do accustomedly vse. within the chariot

THE DIALL

riote stode a greate chaudiſon with cares, wherein the monſtre was, wherfore it could not be ſene but from the middle byward. It wandered a great ſpace in the city from one gate to an other, caſting out ſparkes of fire. The feare was ſo great thzough out al the city that ſome women with childe were with great daunger deliuered, and others being faynt harted fell downe dead. And al the people both men, & women great and ſmale ran to the temples of Iupiter, Mars and Februa with dolefull clamours and cries making their impoſſunate prayers. At the ſame time all theſe rousers were lodged in the gouernours pallace of the citye whoſe name was Solyno, bozn at Capua, where alſo the riches was kept. After the monſtre had bene in al partes of the city (oz in y moſt part therof) it came to the pallace where y pirates were, & cut one of the lions eares of, & w the bloud thereof wrote theſe letters by y pallace gate which was thut R. A. S. P. I. P. Theſe letters were of diuers men diuerſly enterprered ſo that the interpretations were mo then the letters. And in the end, a woman propheteſe greatly eſteamed for her ſcience (to whom god had geuen this ſecrete knowledge) opened the true meaning of theſe letters, ſayinge R. ſignifieth Reddite, A. aliena S. ſi vul tis, P. propria, I. in pace, P. poſſidere. Which altogethers is to ſay, Render vnto others that which is theirs, if you in quiet wil poſſeſſe your owne. Truly the pirates were wonderfully aſtayed of this ſodayne commaundement; and the woman was highly commended for her expoſition. This being done, the monſtre went the ſame night out of the city vnto a high hill called Iamicia, & there ſtode for the ſpace of thze dayes in the ſight of the city; the lions with terrible voices roying, the beares with no leſſe feareful cries raging, & finally the monſtre moſt dreadful flames caſting. Duringe all this time there was neither bird ſene in the ayze nor beaſt in the fieldes. And the people offered ſuch great ſacrifices vnto their

gods y they brake the baynes of their bodies & ſete, & offered the bloud thereof to ſe if they could appeaſe their wrathes. Theſe .3. dayes being paſſed there appeared in y clemēt a marneſſous dark cloud, which ſemed to darke y whole erth etherwith it began to thunder and lighten ſo terribly that ſundry houſes fel to the ground, and infinite men ended their liues. And laſte of all there came ſuch a flame of fire from the monſtre, that it bzent both the pallace where the rousers were and alſo the riches & all other thinges that were therein, ſo that all was conſumed with fire: yea the very ſtones theim ſelues. This tempeſt was ſo great that there fell aboute two thouſande houſes, & there died moze then ten thouſand perſonnes. In this place where this monſtre was on the toppe of the hill, the emperour edified a ſumptuous temple to the god Iupiter in perpetual memory of the ſame. Whereof afterwarde Alexandze emperour hauinge warre with the people of that ile made a ſtrong caſtell.

The .lix. Chapter

* Of that vvhich chaunced vnto a neighbour of his in Rome in the time of his empire.



At the ſame time vvhē this woſul chaunce happened in y ple there dwelled a Romanayne in the ſame city called Antigonus a man of a noble bloud & wel ſtrokē in age, who with his wiſe, & daughter were baniſhed. 11. yeares beſore from Rome. The cauſe of his baniſhment was this. There was an old laudable cuſtome in Rome inſtituted by Quintus Cincinatus y dictatour, that .2. of the moſt auncient Senatours ſhould go to the cenſour newlye created in the moneth of December to viſite al Rome, and to examine ſeuerallye every Romanayne, declaring vnto him the .xii. tables, and alſo the periculer decrees of the Senate demaunding of theym if they knewe anye mannyng that

had not obserued these lawes, and if they did: they shuld enforce the senate therof, and so euery man shoulde receyue condign punishment, according to his offence. But they neuer punished before they warned, for they vsed the one yeare to admonishe them of their faultes, and the next yeare, if they did not amend to punishe them, or els to banishe them. These were the wordes of the lawe in the fift table and thirde chapter. The sacred senate doth ordeyne, the happye people do consent, and the aunciente colonies do allowe, that if men as men in one yeare do trespasse, that men as men for that yeare do winke at them: but if they as cruel men do not amend, that then the good as good do punishe them. Moreover the law sayde, the first faultes are dissembled with all, because they are committed throughe weake ignorance: but the second shall be punished because they procede of negligēce and malice. This inquiry was made in the moneth of December, because in the moneth of January folowinge, the officers of Rome were elected. And it was reason the good from the euell shoulde be knowne, to the intent they mighte knowe who merited to haue them, & who deserued to go without them. The chiefe cause why this Antigonus, his wife and his daughter were banished was this. It was ordeyned by the second emperour of Rome Octa. Augustus, that no man shoulde be so hardye as to pisse nere the doores of any temple. And Caligula the .4. Emperoure commaunded that no woman shoulde geue or sell anye letters of witchecraftes to hange about the peoples neckes to deliuer them from the feuer quartayne. And Cato the censour made a lawe that neither yong man, nor mayde shoulde talke togethers, at the conduites where they vsed to fetch water, nor at the riuer where they washed their clothes, nor at the backehouse where they baked their breade because all the warren youth of Rome ordinarily haunted one of these two places.

It chaunced when the censours and Consules visited the warde of mounte Celio, Antigonus, who dwelled there by, was accused to haue pilled againste the walles of the temple of Mars, and his wife likewise was complayned of for sellinge writings to cure the fevers. And his daughter was noted for one that commonly haunted the conduites, riuers, and backhouses to talke with yong men, the whiche in those dayes was a great shame to maydes of Rome. The censours therfore seing the euill president which they found in the house of Antigonus at that time, registred also before, and that he had bene gently therof admonished: banished him into the yle of Sicilly, for as long time as it shoulde please the senate: And like as in sumptuous and goodly buildinges one stone falleth not withoute shakinge of an other, so it chaunceth likewise to men. For commonly one mischaunce cometh not alone: but that another immediately foloweth. I speake it for this purpose for that Antigonus was not onely depriued of his honoure, goodes, and countrey, but also by the tremblinge of the earth his house fell downe to the ground, and slewe his dearest beloued daughter. Whiles both these great mischaunces happened, I meane of the monstre in Sicilly, and of the banishment of Antigonus from Rome. Marke the emperour was in the warres againste the Argonautas where he receyued a letter from Antigonus of his banishment, wherof the emperour was merueylous sorry as it appeareth by the aunswere which he sent to comfort him.

The .lx. Chapter

Hovve Marcus Aurelius Emperour soughte the vvealth of his people, and how his people loued him;

THE DIAL

IN the second yeare that Marke was elected emperor the .4. s. of his age, when he returned from the conquest of the Germanes and the Argonantes (fro whence he brought great riches and treasures to the Romayne empire, he to rest him selfe & to appoynte his men) lay at Salon untill suche time as the Romaynes had prepared al thinges convenient for such a glorious triumphe: There was one thing done which neuer was sene in Rome, for the same daye of his triumphe his sonne Commodus by the assent of the whole people of Rome, was chosen emperor after the death of his father. He was not chosen at the request of his father for he was against it: sayinge that the empyre oughte not to be geuen for the merites of those which are dead, but he should be chosen for his owne woorkes. This emperor sayd oftentimes y then Rome shuld be vndone: when the election shall be taken from the senate, and when the emperor shal inherite the empire by patrimony. Powe to come to our matter the emperor beinge at Salon, traupled muche to bringe his men into Rome in good order. And Rome was moze careful for to receyue him triumphantly, as it apperteyned to suche a great conquest: he was marueylously well beloued of all the empire, and he alwayes studied the wealth of his people, and they were alwayes most faythfull in his seruices. So that sundrye times there was a question moued in the senate which of these .ii. thinges was better beloued. Either the emperor of his people, or the people of the emperor. So that one day they appoynted .ii. iudges in this case, the one was the imballadour of the Parthes & the other was the imballadour of the Rhodes, and the information was geuen in bothe partes in writing. The emperor alleaged the great profite that he had done to h comon welth,

and the many euilles which he had deliuered it fro. On the other part the senators declareth the good dedes they had done in his absence & the great loue they bare him alwayes in his presence. So likewise the emperor another day moued another question to the senate, affirminge that it was moze glory for him to haue such subiectes, then for them to haue suche an emperor. The senate denyed it affirminge that the comfort was greater that they had of him: then that which he could haue of them. And in this wise the emperor gaue the glory to his people, and the people gaue the glory to their emperor. Thus merlye this matter was reasoned of agayne. It was a pleasaunt thing to heare the reasons wherewith eche part proued his purpose, for the good emperor attributed the whole laude for a perpetuall memory vnto the people, because of the great obedience, diligente seruice, and faythfull loue which he had found in them. And on the other part, the fortunate people gat the glory vnto the emperor, for his clemency and mercifulnes, for his bryghtnes governing for his honesty of liuinge, & for his stout courage in conquering. It was a thing worthy of noting, to se how h people gaue h honour to their emperor, & howe h emperor attributed h prayse to his people. These matters were deliuered in trustyng to the strange imballadours, to thend that al people might learne to obey their princes and also princes learne to loue their people: to thende that by suche examples (as it was reason) the good shoulde be encouraged and the euil discomforted. Thus the emperor prepared al thinges redy with his captaynes and captiues for his entring, and the people of Rome made as great preparation for to receyue him. It was a marueylous thing to se what people came forth of Rome to mete him, and what an infinite nombre were at Salon to behold him. They that were at Salon had their eyes and also heartes at Rome, & they that were

suche sorte that their eyes daseled with that they saw, also their hartes reioyced for that they hoped to se. For there is no moze grea-
 * ter tozmente to the harte: then when it is differred from that whiche it greatelye des-
 sireth,

The .lxi. Chapter.

Howv at the intercession of many,
 vvhich the Empresse had sente,
 the Emperoure graunted hys
 doughter Lucilla licēce to sport
 her selfe at the feastes.



On shal vnderstand that
 the Romaynes vsed alwayes
 in the moneth of Januarie to
 permit that their Emperours
 should tryumphe, and it chaunced that at
 that tyme when they prepared for the try-
 umphe, that Faustine the Empresse caused
 dyuers noble barons, to demaunde licence
 of the Emperoure that her doughter might
 come from her mysters, where she was
 taught, to the pallace to sporte her selfe at
 the feastes: Her name was Lucilla, who
 was elder then the Prince Commodus
 her brother. She had a goodly gesture, she
 was well made in the bodye, and derely be-
 loued of her mother, whom she resembled
 not onely in beautye but also in lynyng.
 Thoughe the request semed to be reasona-
 ble and those that made it is counsellors and
 thoughe hym whom they asked was the fa-
 ther, and she that demaunded it was the
 mother, and she for whom this request
 was made, was the doughter: yet the Em-
 peroure woulde not graunte it but halfe a
 gaynsse hys wyll. Faustine (when she had
 obtayne lycence) was exceding glad, and

so sone as she myghte possyble she brought
 her doughter home vnto the pallace.
 And when the daye of the grea-
 solempne triumphe came: the yonge dame
 sel perceiuyng her selfe at large, without
 anye gouernour, trusting in the innocen-
 cy of her selfe, esteemed not the malycie of
 any other man: but reioyced with those that
 reioyced, talked with them that talked, be-
 helde them, that beheld her, and she thought
 because she mente euill to no man that no
 man wyllled euill to her. In those dayes
 it was as grea-
 t an offence for a mayde of
 Rome to laughe in the companye of men,
 as it was for the priestes of Grecia to com-
 mit adulterye with a woman. So greatlye
 was the honestye at that tyme of the Ro-
 mayne Matrones regarded, and the light-
 nes of the maydens was so detested, that
 they gaue moze sharper punishmente for
 one offence done openly then for two other
 whiche were committed in secrete.

Amonge all other thinges, from the se-
 uen the Romayne matrones dyd maruey-
 lously refraine, that is to wete: fro talkyng
 muche at feastes, from greedy eating among
 strangers: from drynkinge wine to byles
 they were whole: from talking in secrete
 with any man: from lifyng by their eyes
 in the temples: from gasing muche out at
 the windowes. And from wandring abrode
 without their husvandes: For the woman
 that was apprehended in any of these thin-
 ges, was alwayes after counted as one in-
 famed.

There are manye thinges suffred in
 parsons of meane estate, which can not be
 enduced in those of hygher degre: For La-
 dyes of highe renoume can not keape the
 reputation of their estates, vnlesse they are
 maruellous circumspecte in all their doin-
 ges.

All thinges that degenerate from their
 kynde deserue blame: but the dishonest wo-
 mā meriteth infamy. If ladies wilbe couered
 ladies in dede, let the know how much they

excell others in riches, so much lesse licence
 haue they then other to go gaddinge in the
 streetes. For of a suretye the aboundaunce
 of their riches, and the liberty of their par-
 sons shuld not be a spurre to prouoke them
 to gadde abrode, but rather a bydel to kepe
 them with in. Al this is spokē for this cause
 that Lucil as a mayde tender and yonge,
 and Faustine her mother as one not verie
 old: sometimes on soote, and sometimes ris-
 ding, sometimes openly, and now and then
 secretly: Sometimes with company and at
 other times alone: Sometimes by daye and
 oftymes by night: vsed to sote the streetes of
 Rome, to view the fieldes of Vulcane: To
 sport them by the riuer of Tiber: to gather
 the fruites in the orchardes of Saturne: to
 suppe at the conduites of Nero, and such o-
 ther bagares they vsed. The which thinges
 though their age dyd desire, and their idel-
 nes allure them there vnto: yet the grauity
 of suche ladies ought to haue withdralwen
 them fro it. I wyl speake one thing, to thed
 that other ladies and gentylwomen maye
 take warning thereby: which is, that I can
 not tel which was greater, either the smal
 discretion which moued Faustine and Lu-
 cilla to wander in suche sorte aboute the
 streetes, or the audacye that euyl men toke
 thereby to talke of their parsons and doubt
 of their honestyes. The keepynge of women
 in their houses, is lyke vnto a bydel to hold
 still euyl mens tonges. The woman that is
 a strayer abrode, putteth her good name in
 muche daunger, of trouth it were better for
 a woman neuer to be bozne: then to lyue
 with an euyl name. Amonge all the famy-
 lies of the aunyent Romaynes, that of the
 Cornelians was counted mosse fortunatē,
 for amonge the men there was neuer anye
 founde a coward, nor amonge the women
 anye that was defamed. The hystoryogra-
 phers say, that there was one womā of that
 lynage, only for being lyght in her behaui-
 our, was by the hādes of her owne parētes
 hāged vpo the gallowes. Surely it was wel

done of the Romaynes, to thentent that the
 lyghtnes of one womā alone, shuld not de-
 fame the whole family. Where as is noble-
 nes, and honesty: therethe matters y touche
 the honoz ought not to tary, whiles they be
 remedied by iustice: but from that man or
 woman which among al, hath lost his good
 name, fro the number of the lyuyng he also
 ought to be taken. It is not sufficiēt for one
 to hym selfe to be good: but it is requysite
 that he geue no occasion to others to iudge
 him to be euil. Al the losses of tēporal goods
 that chaunce vnto men in this lyfe, oughte
 not to be compared with a lytle blemyshe, of
 a mans good name. The mā that hathardeth
 for a tryfle hys good name in this world,
 shal at a hundredth shootes scarfly shote one
 right. And contrariwise, the man that hath
 losse his honesty & that esteemeth not the res-
 putation of his parson: truly from hym we
 shal neuer se any good thing procede. Now
 the emperour like vnto a wise ship maister,
 fearynge after the greates calmes some tem-
 pestuous storme: I meane in the tyme of this
 great mirch and gladnes, fearedlest any in-
 famye shoulde enleu vnto these two ladies.
 And for a surety he doubted not withoute a
 cause, for it is an infallible rule of enuyous
 fortune, to geue vs in manye yeares a lytle
 prosperity to thentent that afterwarde so-
 deynly she maye bying vs into some greates
 aduersity. By experyence we see that the sea
 is seldome tymes calme: but immediatlye
 foloweth some peryllous tempest. The ex-
 treame heate of the daye doeth pronosticate
 the terrible thōder in the euen tide. I meane
 when fortune doeth flatter vs with her gol-
 den pyles, it is a token that she entendereth
 to cathe vs in her snares. The mylner be-
 fore the bankes broken reparereth the dam-
 mes. The husbandeman before it rayneth,
 thackereth hys house, fearinge the snowe and
 rayne that is to come. So lyke wise the sage
 man ought to consyder, that durynge this
 lyfe he hath prosperytie but by leue, and
 aduersity as by patrimonye, Marcus Au-
 relius

relius amonge all other men was he that knewe howe to enioye prosperitie and also to preuaile of aduersitye. Though fortune gaue hym muche prosperitie: yet he neuer therein trusted, nor for any troubles that euer he receyued in this lyfe he was at any tyme abashed.

The.lxii.Chapter.

Of the sharpe vvordes vvliche Marcus Aurelius spake to hys vvife, and to his daughter.



When the tryumphes befoze named were fynished this good Emperoure being willynge to vnbourden hys harte and to aduise Faustine, and to teache the yonge damsel his daughter, and to chende that no man should here it, he called them a parte, and sayed vnto tham these woordes. I am not content Faustine, with that thy daughter dyd, nor yet with that whiche thou haste done being her mother. The daughters if they wilbe counted good chyldren, muste learne to obey their fathers, and the mothers if they wyl be counted good mothers, muste learne to brynge vp their daughters well. When the mother is honest and the daughter shamefast, the father is excused in geuing counsell. It is greate shame to the father beinge a man, that the mother beinge a woman should chastise his sonne. And it is a greate reproche to the mother that the daughter shoulde be chastised by the handes of any man. There was a law enacted amonge the Rhodiens, that neither the father shuld haue to doe with the daughters, nor the mothers with the sonnes, but the men bled to brynge vp the men, and the women the women. And in suche wyse that they abydyng all

in one house, it semed vnto the fathers that they had no daughters, & vnto the mothers that they had no sonnes. O Rome Rome, I bewaile the not for to se the streates vnpasid, nor to se the houses so decayed, nor to se thy battelmentes so fallen downe, nor the timber helwed downe, nor for the dymynishynge of thy habytauntes, for all this the tyme bryngeth, and the tyme taketh awaye, but I wepe for the, and wepe for the againe, to se the vnpeopled of good fathers, and vnprouided in the noryshynge of their chyldren. Rome then began to decaye, when the discipline of sonnes and daughters was enlarged, and that their bydle was let at libertye. For there is nowe suche boldnes in men chyldren, and so litle shamefastnes in women chyldren, with the dishonestye of the mothers, that where as one father suffyled for .xx. sonnes, and one mother for .xx. daughters, now .xx. fathers dare fear selfe vnder take to brynge vp well one sonne, and .xxx. mothers one daughter. I saye to you thus Faustine, you remember not how you are a mother, for you geue more libertye to your daughter, then ought to be suffred. And you Lucil remeber not how you are a daughter: for you howe to haue more libertye then requireth for a yonge maiden. The greatestt gifte that the Gods haue geuen to the matrons of Rome is, because that they are women, they kepe them selues close and secret, and because they are Romaynes they are shamefast. The day whē the women wante the feare of the gods secretly, and shame of men openly, beleue me they shal either faile the world, or the world them. The common wealth requireth it of greate necessity, that the women whiche therin enhabite shuld be as honest, as the capitaines valiaunt: for the capitaines going to warre defend them, and the women whiche abide at home conserue them. As now .liii. yeaeres passed ye sawe the greate pestilence and I demaunded then to haue a count of the people, & I found y of a C. xl. honest womē, lxxx. dyed, & of .x. dishonest

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dyshonest women, in maner they scaped al.
 I cannot tell for whiche I shoulde wepe,
 eyther for the lacke that we haue of the
 good and vertuous women in oure com-
 mon wealth, or els for the greate hurte and
 domages that these euill and wycked wo-
 men doe to the yowthe of Rome. The fyre
 that brenneth in mounte Ethna, doeth not
 so muche endamage those that dwel in Sci-
 cil, as one euill woman doeth within the
 walles of Rome. A fyrele beast, and a peri-
 lous enemye to the common wealth, is an
 euill woman, for she is of power to com-
 myt all euils and nothings apte to do anye
 good. Wholue manye realmes, and kyng-
 domes rede we of, whiche by the euill beha-
 uours of one woman haue bene lost, and to
 resyste agaynst them, there hath ben nede
 bothe of wysedom, peryls, money and force
 of manye men. The vices in a woman is
 as a grene rede that boweth euerye waye:
 but the lyghtnes and dyshonestye is as a
 dyke hye that breaketh, in suche wise that
 the moze euil they bitter, the moze vnlykely
 is the amendemente thereof. Beholde Fau-
 stine, there is no creature that moze desyr-
 eth honoure, & worse kepeth it, then a wo-
 man, and that this is true, we se, by iustice,
 by oratōs, by wytyng and other traualles
 man getteth fame & renoume, but without
 it be by flatering and faire speakinge, vnto
 this houre by auncient wyters we can rede
 of fewe women or none, whiche either by
 wytyng, redinge working with needle, spin-
 ning or by weuinge, haue gotten them any
 great renoume: but as I say of one, I saye
 of another, certainly of dyuers we rede, by
 keepinge the close in their houses, wel occu-
 pied in their busines, tēperate in their wo-
 des, faithfull to their husbandes, wel or-
 dēd in their persons, peafable with their neigh-
 bours, & finally for being honest amōg ther
 owne family, thanfast amōgest straungers,
 they haue obtained great renoume in their
 life, & lefte a perpetual memozy of the, after
 their death. I will tel you an auncient hysto-

as profitable to restrayne oure byces, as it
 did then augmēt vertues, which is this. The
 realme of Lacedemonius as Plato saith,
 was a lōg tyme as dissolute throughe the vn-
 chistines of womē, as infamed by the vices
 of mē, so y of al natiōs they werer called bar-
 barous, what tyme Grece, of y philosophers
 was called the mother of philosophers Li-
 curge a wyse philosopher in knowledge, &
 a right iust king in gouernaūce, partly with
 his doctrine very profitable, & partly w his
 life most pure, ordeyned lawes in the sayed
 realme, wherby he extirped all vices, & plan-
 ted all vertues. I cannot tel whiche of these
 two were most happie, the king hauing so
 obedient people, or els the realme to haue so
 worthy a king. Among other lawes for wo-
 mē, he enacted one worthy of highe cōmēda-
 tiō, the which cōmāded, y the father which
 died, shuld geue nothing to his doughter, &
 another y neither lining nor dieng, he shuld
 geue anye money to mary her w, to thintēt
 that none shoul take her for her goods, but
 al only for her vertues, & not for her beauty
 but for her qualittes: & where as now some
 be forsake, because they are poze, so the they
 abode vnmarrēd, because they were bitious,
 A tyme worthy to be desired, whē maydens
 hoped nothing to be maryed, with their fa-
 thers goods, but by the vertuous workes of
 ther owne persōs, this was the tyme called
 the golde world, when neither the doughter
 feared to be disherited, by the father in his
 life, nor y father to die sorrowfull, for leu-
 ing her w out dowry at his death. A come cur-
 sed be he first brought gold into thy house,
 and cursed be he that firste began to horde
 by treasure. Who hath made Rome to be so
 ryche of treasure, and so pooze of vertues:
 who hath caused noble men to marye the
 doughters of villaines, and leaue the dough-
 ters of Senatours vnmarrēd: what hath
 made, that the ryche mannes doughter is
 demaunded vnyllenge, and the dough-
 ters of a pooze manne, none will desyre:
 What hath caused, that one marryeth a sole
 with

with fyue hundred markes, rather then a wise woman with ten thousande vertues: then I wil not say that in this case the flesh banquisheth the flesh, but I say that vanity is overcome of malice: for a covetous person wyl soner now a daies, take a wyfe that is riche and foule, then one that is poore and faire: O unhappie women that bring forth the chylde, and more unhappie be the daughters that are borne: the whiche to take in marriage no man desireth, neither for the bloud of their predecessours, nor the favour of their frendes, nor the comelynes of their workes, nor the beautie of their persons, nor for the puritie of their lynes. O wretched world, where the daughter of a good man, without money shal have no marriage, but it was not wonte to be so. For in the olde tymes, when they treated of marriages, firste they spake of the persons, and after of the goods, not as they do at this present, in this unhappie tyme: for nowe they speake firste of the goods, and laste of al, of the persons, in the sated golden worlde, firste they spake of the vertues that the person was endowd with, & when they were marryed, as it were in sporte they woulde speake of the goods. When Camillo triumphed over the Gauls, he had then but one sonne, and he was such one that his desertes merited great praise, and for the renowne of his father, dyvers kynges desired to have hym to their sonne, and dyvers Senatours desired to have him to their sonne in lawe.

This yonge man being of the age of .xxx. yeares, and the father at .lx. was importunately stirred, by his naturall frendes, and desired of straunge kynges, for to marie hym: but alwaye the olde Camille with stood the counsel of his frendes, and the importunitie of the straungers. When it was demanded why he determined not upon some marriage for his sonne, for there by should ensue the quiet life of the yonge man and the love of hym selfe in his age, he answered, I wyl not marie my sonne, be-

cause some offer me ryche daughters some noble of linage, some yonge, and some faire. But there is none haib sayd to me, I geue you my vertuous daughter: Certayne Camillo merited triumphe for that he dyd, and deserved eternall memoire for that he sayd: I speake to you Faustine, all these wordes, because I se you leade your daughter to theatres and playes, and bringe her into the cappytoll, you put her to the hearinge of the sberde players, you suffer her to see the tumblers, and yet doe you not remember that she is yonge, and you not to aged, you goe into the streates without licence, and sporte you by the ryvers: I finde no byllanye therein, nor thinke that your daughter is cypri, but I save it, because you geue occasyon that she shoulde not be good. Beware beware Faustine, neuer trust to the rate of flesh of yonge people, nor have no confydens in olde folkes, for there is no better waye, then to flye the occasion of all thinges.

For this intent the virgins bestalles are closed by betwene the walles, to eschew the occasyons of open places, not to be more lighte and soly the, but to be more sad and vertuous, fleeing occasyons, the yonge shal not save, I am yonge and vertuous, nor the olde shal not say, I am old and broken. For of necessity, the drye flaxe wyl ben in the fier, & the grene slagge smoke in the flame. I save though a man be a diamonde set amonge men, yet of necessity he ought to be quicke and to melt as ware in the heate amonge women, we cannot deny, & though the wood be taken from the fyr and the timbers quenched, yet neuertheless the stones ofentyme remayne hotte. In lyke wise the flesh, though it be chastised with hotte and dry diseases, consumed by many peres with traunce, yet concupysces abydeth still in the bones.

What nede is it, to blase the vertues, and denye oure naturall types, certaynly ther is not so old a horse, but if he se a mare

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wyl ney once oꝝ twyse, there is no man so yong noꝝ old but let hym se yong damissels, either he wyl giue a sighe oꝝ a wishe: in all voluntary thinges I deny not, but that one may be vertuous: but in natural thinges, I confesse euery man to be weake. When you take the wood fro the fier, it leueth burning when sommer commeth, the colde wynter ceaseth, when the sea is calme, the waues leaue their behemente motions, when the sonne is set, it lighneth not the world, I wil say that then and not before, the flesh wyl cease to trouble vs, when it is layde in the graue. Of the flesh we are boꝛne, in þe fleshe we liue, and in the flesh we shal dye, & there by it foloweth that our good life, shal soner end, then our fleshy desires forsake vs, oftentimes some holsome flesh corrupteth in an euil vessel, a good wine sometime sauereth of the foisse, I say though that the woꝝkes of our life be vertuous: yet shal we fele the stench of the weake fleshe. I spake this Faustine, sith that age can not resist these hot appetites, how can the tender members of youth resist them: vnlesse you y are the mother goe the right waye, how should the daughter that foloweth you find it: the Romaine matrons, if they wil bzing vp their daughters well, ought to kepe these rules, when they se y they would wander abrode, that they breake their legges, and if they would be gasinge then put out their eyes, and if they wyl lyffen, stoppe their eares, if they wil geue oꝝ take, cut of their handes, if they dare speake, sowe vp their mouthes, if they wyl pretend any lightnes, burye them quicke, dearch ought to be geuen to an euyl daughter in stede of her dowry, soꝝ gyftes geue her woꝝmes, & soꝝ her house a graue, take hede Faustine if you wyl haue muche soy of your daughter take, from her the occasions whereby she shall be euil, to vnder set a house behoueth dyuers proppes, and if the principalles be taken awaye, it wyl fall downe, I say you women are so fraile, that with keepers with great paine, they can kepe

them selfe, and soꝝ a smal occasion they wil lose altogether. ¶ how many euil hath ther bene, not because they would be so, but because they folowed such occasiōs, the which they oughte to haue eschewed. It is at my pleasure to enter into this battel, but yet it is not in my power to attrayne the victoꝝpe, it is soꝝ me to enter into the sea, yet it lyeth not in my handes, to escape the peryl, it is in the handes of a woman, to enter into the occasyon, and after that she is therein, it is not in her power to escape from euil, to deliuer her from troubles. ¶ Peradventure Faustine, thou wylt say to me, none can speake to your donghter Lucil, vnlesse thou hearest it, noꝝ se her, but thou seest him, noꝝ couey her, but thou knowest where, noꝝ make any apointment, withoute thy consent, and yet thou knowest, that those whiche wil her euil, seke with their toges to dishoner her, & those that w their hartes loue her speake onelye in their hartes. ¶ We loue in ponge bloud in the springing time and floꝝythyng youth is a popson that soꝝthe with spredeth into euery dayne, it is a herbe that entreteth into the entrayles, a swolning that incontinently mortifyeth all the members, and a pestilence that sleeth the hartes, and finally it maketh an ende of all vertues, I knowe not what I saye but I fele that whiche I would saye, soꝝ I woulde neuer blasen loue with my tonge, excepte I were soꝝe wounded therewith in my harte. Ouide saith in his booke, of the arte of loue, loue is I wot not what, it cometh I knowe not from whence, who sente it I wot not, it engendꝛeth I knowe not howe, it is satisfied I wot not wherew, it is felt, & I wot not how oft, it sleeth, I wot not wherefoꝝe, & finally wout breakyng the fleshe outwardly, loue taketh roote and molesteth the harte inwardly: I knowe not what Ouide meaneth here by, but I trowe when he sayd these woꝝdes, he was as farre banished from him selfe, as I am at this tyme from my selfe. ¶ Faustine they that loue together. bitter the se-

cretes of their hartes by diuers wayes, & in sleping they reason and speake, and by signes they vnderstande eche other. The many wordes outwardly declare smal loue within. And the seruient inward loue, keperh silence outward, the entrayles within embraced with loue, cause the tongue outward to be mute, he that passeth his life in loue, ought to kepe his mouth close. And to thintent that ye shall not thinke, that I speake fables, I will proue this by auncient hystories. We finde aunciently, that in the yere. 160, after the foundacion of Rome. Estrasco a yonge Romaine that was dombe, and Verona a fayre Ladye of the Latines which was dombe also, these two sawe eche other on the mount Celio, at the feastes, and there fel in loue ech with other, and their hartes were as sore fired in loue as their tongues were tye from speache. It was a marueylous thing to se then, and feareful to note nowe. The yong lady came fro Solon to rome: and he went fro Rome to Solon sundry times by the space of .30. yeaeres without the knowledge of any parson, and neuer spake together. It chaunced at the last that the husband of the lady Verona died, and the wife of Estrasco also, and then they discovered their loue, and treated a mariage betwene them, of whom descended the noble linage of our Scipions which were moze famous in the seates of armes, then their father and mother were troubled for want of wordes, then Faustin marke this thinge, it hadde litle auayled to haue cut out the tongues of the two dombe persons, to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut out their hartes. Also I shall tel you of Masinissa a worthy knight of Numidie, and Sopharisa a famous lady of Carthage, all onely by one sighte, as they sawe eche other on a ladder he declared his desire vnto her: and she knowinge his lust, breaking the oozes of feare, and lifting by the ankers of shame, incontinently rayped the sayles of their hartes, and with

the shippes of their personnes, they ioyned eche to other, here may we se, howe the first sight of their eyes, the knowledge of their parsons, the consent of their hartes, the copulation of their bodiles, the decay of theyr estates, and the losse of their good names, in one daye, in one houre, in one momente, and in one step of a ladder were losse, what will you that I say moze to this purpose, do you not knowe, that Heleyne the Greke, and Paris the troyan, of two straunge nations, and of farre countreyes, with one onely sight in a temple their willes were so knitt together, that he tooke her as his captiue, and she abode his prisoner. In Paris appeared but small force, and in Helena but litle resistance, so that in manner these two yong persons, the one precurtinge to vanquish, and the other suffering to be vanquished, Paris was cause of his fathers death, and Heleyne of the infamy of her husband, & they both of their owne deatthes, losse to their realmes, and sclauder to all the worlde. All this loue grewe of one onely sighte: when great kinge Alexander woulde haue geuen battayle to the Amasones, the quene captayne of them no lesse fayre then strong and vertuous, came to a ruer side, and the space of an houre. eche of them behelde an other with their eyes, without vitering of any worde.

And when they retourned to their tentes, the fierenes was turned into swete wanton amorous wordes. When Pirrus the saythful defender of the Torrentines, and renowned king of Epirotos was in Italy, he came into Naples and he had not bene there but one daye, but he was enamoured of a fayre lady named Gemelicia of a high lignage and greatly esteamed for her beauty, and the very same daye she was gotten with childe and shamed throughe out all Italy & cast out of the city, & after she was deliuered of childe, she was slayne by one of her owne byetherne, also Cleopatra in the prouince of Bithiny in the wood Sechin made

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made a goodly banquet to Marcus Antonius her lover, and though she was not very honest, yet had she with her chaste women, And thus the banquet endured a great part of the night. And the wood being thicke, the
 * young damselfs were not so wily to hide the, but the young men Romayns founde them, so that of 60. daughters of the senatoures, 55. were gotten with childe, among 5 thick bushes, which thing made a great scandal in the people, and augmented the infamy of Cleopatra, and minished the honesty of Marce Antony. Thus as I haue shewed of a small nombre, I could saye of many other. All men are not men, nor all women are not women. I speake it because I would it should be sayd, let it touche the that it toucheth, and let them that come, vnderstand me. There are some ships whiche are so light that they wil sayle with a litle winde. And there be other some mills that wil grind with a litle water. I say there be some womē so brittle, that as a glasse with a philippe wil breake, and wil slippe with a litle mistre.

Tell me Faustine haue you suffered your daughter to speake but with her vnclēs, and kept company but with their cousins, I say in this case as much, that the mother is in as much blame, as the daughter in perill.

Do you not knowe that the hoot fire both not forbeare the woode be it it wette or drye: but in likewise it consumeth the hard stones. Do you not knowe, that the extreame hunger causeth beastes to deuoure with their tethe the thing that was bred in their entrayles:

Do you not knowe that the goddess made a lawe ouer al thinges, except ouer louers, because they may not abide it, and doubtlesse it was right wisely done that Rome condempneth not these folishe innocentes because they haue no vnderstanding. The goddess geue no payne to amorous people because they are depriued fro reason: We

knowe when I was censoure there was a yonge woman which hadde a childe by her owne father, and an other that had a childe by her sonne, and a niece by her proper vnclē, and there was sentence geuen on them that the father should be geuen to the lions, and the childzen buried quicke, and the mothers were hente in the campe of Mars, the matter was so horrible to heare that I might not endure to see the cursed men, and I commaunded by my decrees that none should be so bolde to speake in suche a case any more. And if this case were feareful to men, then certaynlye the Romayne matrones ought to liue chastlye. Then if the fire of the father do chase the daughter, inflameh himselfe, and burneth them selfe: ye may be sure if he finde after, other cosin, or saye sister, the flames of his concupiscence wil not leaue to take holde on her, for any parentage. If this riotous fleshe wil obeye reason, then it may be, that your daughter may speake liberally with her cosines, but such that passion repugneth so muche at reason, I counsaile you, trust not to much in her betherne.

You se by experience that the worme that is bred in the timbre, & the mohtes which are bred in the clothes eateth y same cloth: I saye that sometime a man bringeth him vp in his house whiche afterwarde taketh his honoure and life from him.

Faustine, take this that I haue sayde for a warning, and these laste wordes I giue you for counsaile.

If you wil kepe your selfe from thoughte, and your daughter from perill, let youre daughter be alwayes occupied with some good workes, for when the handes are occupied with any good exercise, the hart is boyde from many idle and basine thoughtes.

Every lightnes done in youth breaketh downe a loupe of our life, but ydlenesse, wherby our enny entereth, is it which openeth the gate to al vices.

Knowest

Knowest thou Faustine from whence proceedeth the vndoinge of the yong Romaine daughters. I wil tel the: for as sone as they be bozne, they presume to be amorous, they as bnmindfull with the rechelesnes of the father and wantonnes of the mothers, dispise the honest trauayles, and embrace the pleasaunt ydlenes. Of idle motions and outragious thoughtes the eyes take licence without leaue, the minde altereth, and the will is hurt. And finally thinking to be the white that amorous men shoote at, they remayne as a but ful of all vices. And in conclusion there is nothing that more chaseth the ball of the thoughte, in this playe, then the hand set a worke therewith.

The.lxiii.Chapter

The Emperour causeth his vvyfe to take avyaye all occasions of euell from her doughter, vvhether in is declared the fraylty of the tender fleshe.



When the good Emperour Marcus, hauing a clere vnderstanding and a quiete minde, toke right great hede of all thinges that were past prudently waiping thinges present, & thinges to come. Seing that the perdition of princes depended all in will wholly, eyther geuinge them selues to straunge thinges, forgetting their owne, or els to entend to their owne only, nothing regarding straunge thinges: His hart was so agreable to him, that neyther the great busines of the, nor for al fastenes of his house, he woulde leaue one of the empire vndispatched. I speake this because this emperour Marcus had .4. doughters, whose names were Lucille, Porcena Matrina and Domicia. Al resembled their

mother in excellent beuty, but they resembled not their father in honesty nor vertue. And though they were in gouernaunce vnder their maystres, out of his presence, yet he had them allwayes in memozy, and the elder they were, the more study and thought he toke for them. And when they came to lawfull age, he studied to make prouision for them. It was a laudable custome, that the daughters of the officers of the senate, should not mary without licence, nor the emperours daughters without the consent of the senate. Then it was so that one of the sayd princellesses his doughter beinge of age and of will to be married, her father seinge her impozunitie to accomplishe her desire because he was sicke, he sent for Faustine that she should go and talke in the senate, the which with al her pover she withstode, because that secretly she had treated for another marriage for her doughter, and openly she excused her selfe, sayinge that her doughter was to yonge and tender of age. And as the goddes had geuen age sufficient to the father, so had not the doughter of yeres. When the emperoure vnderstode this, he called Faustine to his bed side where as he lay, and sayd: diuers thinges are dissimuled in perticuler persons: the least of theym is not to be suffered in them which are gouernours of other. The prince is neuer wel obeyed, onelesse he haue good credence among his people. I say this Faustine, because you do one thing in secrete, and saye another openly. herein faileth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth in suspect the auctoritey of so great an empire. If you suppose my good desires, be sinistre in youre hart, for the wealth of your owne children: how should we hope then, in auge of youre good workes for the childre of straungers? It semeth to you better to geue your doughter to theim that demaunde her of the mother, and refuse them that the father dothe chose. Certaynlye because ye be a woman, you desire pardon, but in that you are a mother

THE DIALL

ther you augment your fault. Do you not knowe that marriages are guided some by fortune; and some by vertues and wisdomes:

Such as demaund the daughters of the fathers, beleue me, their eyes be moze vpon their owne proper billiue, then vpon the welth of another; I knowe well you bring forth the children; but the goddes will marry them, sith they haue endewd them with so marneplous beauty.

Do you not knowe, that the beauty of women setteth straungers on desire, and putteth neighbours in suspicion: to great men it getteth feare, to meane men enuy; to the parentes infamy, and perill to the parsons theim selues, with great payne it is kepte that is desired of many. Of trith I say the beauty of women, is nothinge but a signe for idle folke, and an earlye waking for the that be lighte. whereas of strange desires, lyeth the renowne of them selues, and I deny not but that a light person sercheth soner a woman with a fayre face, then one of an honest life. But I saye that a woman that is married onelye for her beauty, may hope in her age to haue an euill lyfe.

It is an infallible rule, that she that was married for her fayrenes, shalbe despised for her foulenes.

What trouble he offereth him selfe vnto, which marieth a fayre woman. It behoneth him to suffer her pride, for beauty and folly alwaye go together.

✱ Also he must suffer her expences, for follye in the heade and beauty in the face, be two woymes which create the life, and wast the goodes.

✱ Also he must suffer her riots, for a fayre woman wil that none but she haue her commaundementes in the house,

Also he must suffer her nice mitions, for many fayre women wil passe their liues in

pleasure. Also he must suffer her presumption, for euery fayre womanne will haue preheminence before all other.

Finally he that marieth with a fayre woman putteth him selfe into great feopardy. and I shall tell you wherfore surely. Carthage was neuer so enuironed with Scythians, as the house of a fayre woman is with light persons.

✱ Unhappy husband when his spirite is at rest, and the bodye sleeping, then those light persons ronne about the house, sleepinge his bodye with selospe, castinge their eyes at the windowes, scalinge the wallen with ladders, singinge swete songes, playinge on diuers instrumentes, watchinge at the gates, treatinge with bandes, vncouering the house, and waytinge at euerye cozner thereof.

All these thinges in case they shoote at the pike of womans beauty they leaue not to shoote at the butte of the sorrowfull husbands good name, and whether this be true or not, let them aske my selfe, that am married with your beauty, and let them write of my renowne that go so aboute the cite.

I saye muche: but truly I fele more, no man complayneth of the goddes, for geuing him a foule wife, amonge his destinies, white silver is not wronge; but in blacke pitche, and the tender tre is not preferred but by the harde barke. I saye, a man that marieth a foule wife, leadeth a sure lyfe, let euery man chose as he listeth, and I say a man that marieth a fayre wife, casteth his good name at hasard, and putteth his life in perill.

All the infamy of our predecessours, stood in exercising of deedes of armes, and now all the pastime of the Romayne youthe is to serue Ladies. When a woman is bruted

hunted to be fayre, then euerye man goeth
thither, and taketh great paine to serue her
and the womant will be sene: I say Faustine
you neuer sawe a yong damsel Romayne,
greatly renowned in beauty, but either in
dewe, or in suspicion, there went some euill
report of her name. In that litle that I haue
red, I haue heard of diuers fayre women,
both of Grece, Italy, Parthe, and Rome, &
they be not in memozy because they were
fayre, but for the great perilles and misad-
uentures whiche throughe their beautyes,
chaunced in the worlde. For by reason of
their excellent beautyes, they were visited
in their owne landes, and for their infamy
shamed throughe all the worlde. When the
realme of Carthage flourished in ryches,
and was fortunate in armes, they ruled the
commen wealth by wise philosophers, and
that they repulsed their enemies by stronge
armes Arminius the philosopher was as
greatly esteemed among the Carthagini-
ens as Homere was among the Grekes,
or Cicero among the Romaines. He liued
in this worlde 120. yeares. So, of the whiche
good yeares, he liued most quiettly, he was
as much tourned from women, as geuen to
his booke. When the senate seinge he had
such experyence in the affayres of the weale
publike, and so withdrawen from all natu-
ral recreations, they desired him with great
instaunce to be married, to thentent the me-
mozy might be had of so excellent a wyse
man, in tyme to come, and the more impo-
rtune they were, the more he resisted, & sayd.
I will not be married: for if she be soule, I
shal abhorre her, if she be riche, I must suf-
fer her, if she be poore, I must maintein her,
if she be fayre I must take hede of her, if she
be a threlo, I can not suffer her, & h least pe-
ccilce of al these is sufficiēt to flea a. D. mē.
In such wordes this wise man, excused him
selfe. But in the ende throughe great studye
in his age, he lost his sight, wherby the so-
licitnes of his swete liberty, constrayned
him to take the compaignie of a woman, by

whom he had a daughter, of the whiche de-
scended the noble Amilears of Carthage,
competitours of the Scipioes of Rome.
The whiche shewed no lesse worthines in h
defence of Carthage, then oures did cou-
rage, in the amplifying of Rome. Tell me
Faustine, may not such suspicion fall vpon
your daughter, though her vertue succ-
our her in the perill, and her honestye as-
sure her person. I will discover a secrete
thing to you. There is nothinge that can
chaunce euill to a woman if she be enuiron-
ed with feminine shamesfastnes. Greatly
they desire & with much importunity they
procure those thinges which highly may be
attayned. There is nothinge so certayne as
this, that the welth of an other is the cause
of thy owne euill. And Faustine ye knowe
that the most honest women, by our malice
are most desired. Certaynly their shamesfast-
nes & keeping close, be arrowes in defence
of our honestye. We reade not of the blond,
riches, nor beuty of the vnhappy matrone
Lucrece, were the cause that she was desi-
red: but the beauty of her visage, the grauit-
ty of her person, the honestye of her liuing,
the keeping of her selfe close in her house, the
spending of her time and credite amonge
her neyghboures, and the great renoume
that she had amonge straungers, prouoked
the folishe Tarquine to commit with her
aduoutry by force. What thinke you, wher-
of came this? I shall shewe you. We that
be euell, are so euill, that we vse euell the
goodnes of them that be good. The faulte
herof is not in h ladies of rome, but rather
in the immortall goddes. Their cleane ho-
nestye declareth our cruel malice. Faustine
you saye your daughter is to yonge to be
married. Do you not knowe, that the good
father ought to endoctrine his sonnes from
their yong age: & to prouide for his dought-
ers whiles they be yong? Of a trouthe, if
the fathers, be fathers, and the mothers
mothers: as sone as the goddes haue geue
them a daughter, forthwith they ought to be

THE DIAL

be mindful therof and neuer forget it, tyll they haue prouided her a husband. The fathers ought not to cary for riches, nor the mother for her lignage, the better to mary them: so what with the one and the other, the time passeth, and the daughter wareth aged, and in this maner, they be to olde to be married, and to liue alone they can not, so that they them selues liue in payne, the fathers in thought, the parentes in suspicion, least they should be cast away. What great ladies haue I knowe, the daughters of great senators, which not for faulte of riches, nor of vertues in their persons, but al ouely for differring of time, and byrning from one houre to an other, so that at last sodeyne death came to the fathers, and no prouision was made for the daughters. So that some were conered vnder the earthe, after their deeth, and others buried with forgerfulnesse, being al liue. Either I lye, or I hauiere in the lawes of the Rodians, these wordes. We commaund the father in marrynge tenne sonnes, to trauaile but one daye: but to mary one vertuous daughter, let him trauaile ten yerres: yea and hazard his body in the water wypp to the chiane, sweate droppes of bloud, alter the Rome make dysherite al his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduerture his person. These wordes in this lawe were pytfull for the daughters, and no lesse gracie for the sonnes. For x. sonnes by the lawe of men are bound to go ouer al the world: but the daughter, by this good lawe, ought not to go out of the house. I say mozeouer, that as thinges vnstable chette fallinge, so likewise it chaunceth to yonge damiels, which thinketh all their time lost, and superfluous vnto the daye of their marriage. Homere sayeth, it was the custome of ladies of Grece, to count the yeares of their life, not from the time of their birthe, but from the time of their marriage. As if one demaunded a Cressian her age, she wold answer, 20. yerres, if it were. 20. sith she was married, thoughe it were. 60. yerres sith she

was borne. Affirming after thei had a house to gouerne and to commaund, that day she beginneth to liue. The Melon after it is ripe, and abideth still in the gardeyne, can, not escape, but either it must be gathered or els it rotteth. I saye the mayden that carrieth long til she be married, can not escape, eyther to be taken, or infamed. I will saye no moze. As sone as the grapes be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessary that the woman that is come to perfect age, be married. And the father that doth this, casteth perill out of his house, byrning him selfe out of care, and getteth much contentation to his daughter.

The.lxv.Chapter.

Of a letter vvliche the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sente to his especiall frende to comfort him in his troubles.



Marke oratour Romaine, borne at mount Celso, to Piramon of Lion my great frinds desireth healtie to thy person, and strenght and vertue agaynst thy sinister fortune. In the thirde kalendes of January I receyued thy letter, whereby I perceyue thou hast receyued one of mine. I regard not much thy wordes, but I esteame greatly thy meaning. So that without declaring therof, I haue gathered thy sentence. Reason would, because I haue written so often to the, that thou shouldest the better vnderstand me: but thou art so slouthfull, that though I cal the, thou wilt not heare: nor though I strike the thou wilt not feele. But nowe to come to the purpose. Thou knowest Piramon, how nere we be in parentage, auncient in frendshippe, stedfast in loue, and tender of hertes, and how faithfull in al thinges, wherein one true frende might

prone another. Thou remembreſt wel, when we were at Rhodes, that we dwelled together in one house, and did eate at one table, and all that thou thoughtest, I dyd it in effect: and that I sayed, thou neuer gainsaydest. Certainly thou were in my heart, and I in thine entrailles. I was thine and thou were mine. We being together, it seemed to all other, that we were but one, and of one will. What a matter is this? Thou wyrttest how thou art heavy, and yet thou doest not tell the cause why: Thou complaynest that thou arte almost dead, and thou thewest me not who taketh from the thy lyfe. If thou wilt not shew to me thy troubles, sith thou art my frend, I will thou knowe, that I demaund it of righte: if thou wilt not, I wyl that thou know, that the pitifull gods haue determined, that al pleasures and ioye shal departe from my house: and that al heuines and sorowes shal be lodged in my person. Sith I am prince of al honour, in tribulation, if thou wouldest, thou canste not escape out of my seignory. For if thou complayne, that thou art unhappy in fortune, then I seme my selfe to be happy in unhappines. I demaunde one thinge of the: when haste thou sene me haue suffyciet, and thou nede? When hast thou sene me slepe, & thou wake? and when hast thou trauailed, and I rested? Of trouthe sith the goods and persons are their owne proper, the trauayles and euyl adventures are alwaies commō. One thing thou oughtest to knowe, if in myne amitye thou wylte perseuer, that all my goods are thine, and all thine euylles are myne, sith thou wast bozne to pleasure, and I to trouble. I saye not this fainpnynglye: for thou hast hadde experyence of me, that when I amaxia thy sister dyed, who was no lesse vertuous then faire, thou perceiuedest wel when she was with earthe couered deade, I was with sorowes overwhelmed alpye, and at the sowne of my teares thine eyes daunced. Sith thou haste suche confydence in my parson, surelye thou mayest dyscouer

to me thy paine. Per as often as I haue demaunded, there hath no sayned excuses wanted. I require the, and desire the agayne, and in the name of the Gods I praye the, and in their names I confure the, that thou poure all thy sorowes into myne entrailles.

For from y waye that thou goest I wyl not depart one fote: if thou goest, I wyl goe: if thou reste, I wyl rest: if thou worke, I wyl worke: if thou leaue of, I wyl be the same: if thou wilt dye, know thou I wil not lue. Like frende what thou wilt doe. For thy troubles and mine, tozmente both one hert. If thou haue dyspleasure, all thinges dysplease me, if thou wepe, I stwere fro hence, for the neuer to laugh: if thou dyscharge the of thy payne: fro henceforthe I shall take it for myne: if thou goe alone, I wyl forsake company, and forthwith lye solitarly.

What wilt thou that I shoulde desire. For al that euer thou wylte, I wyl. Thou complaynest that in all thy trauailles thou canst finde no parente to remedye the, nor frende to councel the, I stwere to the my frēd Piramō, that of these .2. thinges I haue as great nede in my house, as thou haste sorowe in thine.

I knowe well the remedye shoulde come by ryches, and by councel, and consolation of them that be wyse. And by reason of my heauye destinyes, flouthe hath taken from me the knowledge of wysedom: and fortune wil not permyt me to haue greate ryches: Certainlye I wepe for thy miserye, and yet there is but smal remedye in tre.

Thou saiest in thy letter, that thy neighbours and frendes in promysinge haue beahight the many thinges: but in perfozming it they do nothing. Whereof I meruayle, for the vertuous hande is not bounde to make the tonge a foole.

Trulye thoughe oure fete daunce, oure handes shoulde worke at the solwe of the tonge: oure lyfe endeth in fewe dayes, and our renoume in fewer.

THE DIAL

Promyse is an aunciente custome amonge the children of vanitie, and of custome the tong speaketh hastely, and the hâdes worke at leisure. Now let vs speake more particularly. Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou findest not but in few, that diuers haue found in the alone, it hath be a custome to receiue merily & wyllyngly, but to geue slowly and with euil wyl. They that be presumptuous doe the one, and they whiche be slouthful, doe the other. The Greekes saye, that he that promyseth and is long in fulfilling, is but a slacke frende. The Romaines saye, that he is muche better that denyeth forthwith, because he doeth not deceiue him that asketh. In this case I saye, he that may geue and geueth not, is an open enemy: and he that promyseth forthwith, and is long before he perfourme it, it is but a suspitious frend. What nede wordes to oure frendes, when we maye succour them with wordes: it is not right, to whom we geue our heartes, which is the best thing in our heartes, that we geue him our tonge, whiche is the worst thing of oure liues. In good sothe the Gods wyl not suffer in the place of ampty, to desire any thing of our frend in hast, and to be dyuyn of with longe delayeng. Plato in his lawes saith, we commaund, that in our governing, that politike counsaile be geuen to them; that be in prosperitie, to the intent that they decay not: & to succour them that be in heuines and trouble, to the intent that they dyspaire not. Certainlye vnder these wordes are comprised dyuers greatesentences. Thou knowest wel, my frend Piramon, y sweete wordes comfort y hart, but litel that is in tribulacion, vnlesse there be some good wordes therew. I wil not deny, but y they, to whō we haue geuen our good willes in y time of our prosperitie, be bound to geue vs of their goods, & to shewe vs fauour in our aduersity. I demaund one thing of the, wherfore holdest thou a presumptuous licence to demaunde, and reprocuest on the other parte the lybertye of denyeng.

Truly as the shamefast man shuld not haue deny in any of his requestes being honest: so the shameles and importunate mā shuld be denyed what so euer he demaundeth. Thou maiest know, if thou know it not my frēd Piramō, that to attaine to euery thing that is demaunded, belongeth onely to the gods. To geue al thing that is demaunded, is the signe of a seruaunt, And to deny any thing, is a toke of liberty. To wepe for that is denied, is the condicion of straitnes. And to be vnthankesful for that is geuen, is the condicion of Barbarians: & to haue a stoute harte though thinges are denyed, is y guise of the romaines. One of the thinges, where in Caius Cesar shewed hym selfe to be of high courage was, that he had mosse greatestoy, when the senate denated any thing desired by him. Oftentimes he saied. There is nothinge where in Rome geueth more glozy nor renoume to my persō, then when I shew my selfe mosse hasty to demaunde, and the most stiffe to deny: to the intent that after she shoulde know how great my wil is to desire, and how that my strenght is to acquyre. We thinke it is better to haue recours to the gods with vertue, then to dysplease them with vices. And to geue cōtention to thy reposed wyl, when thou seest thy selfe in tribulacion: & that thy demaundes of the Gods and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a ryghte measure, and to wey it in a right balauce, the many thinges whiche they haue geuen the, and the fewe thinges whiche they haue denyed the. Howe vncourteise be we to the gods, and vngreatious to men, when we mynysh the with forgetfulnes, that we haue receyued of them: and that lytell that hath bene denyed vs, we augmente with complayntes. Frende Piramon, I am begyled, if thou be not, fiftye yeares of age, and all that season thou haste done nothing but receyued gyftes: and yet for all that, I haue not sene the doe one dayes seruice.

Certainlye it is no reason to complayne
of

of eight dayes of euyl fortune, being fiftye yeares of age. Thou sacest in thy letter, how thou hast much payne, because thou knowest all thy neighbours to be enuyous.

In good sothe, I haue payne for thy payne; and of thy meruaillyng, I haue greate meruayle. For all admyration proceedeth of abundance of ignorance, and faulte of experience. Doeth the quicke vnderstandynge of men rule the lyfe of them that be mortal, that they nede not to thinke of the traualle to come, hauinge in their handes present remedye? If they be hungry, they maye eate; when they are colde, they maye warme them; if they be drownye, they maye sowe, when they be werpe, they maye reste, when they are sicke, they maye be healed: when they are heauy, they maye reioyce in suche maner, that the carefull lyfe passeth, some to make tiltes and lyfles, some to make armure and scaffoldes, some to inuent newe gynnys, and some to repaire bulwarkes. I saye the world and the flesh doe nought els, but fighte agaynst vs, and we haue nede at all tymes to defende vs fro them. All these remedies are agaynst the traualle of the fleshe. But what shall we doe, that the cursednesse of enuy endeth not amonge all these? Cursed is that wealthe, that euerye man enuyeth.

Certainely agaynst enuy is no fortreffe, nor caue to hyde, nor highe hyll to mounte on, nor thicke woode to shadowe in, nor shyppe to scape in, nor horse to beare alwaye, nor money to redeme vs. Enuy is so venemous a serpente, that there was neuer mortall man amonge mortalles, that coulde scape from the byttinge of her toothe, scratching of her nayles, defyllyng of her fete, and the casting of her popson. I sweare to the my frende Piramoni, that suche as fortune lyftech by with greate ryches, the full of crueltie sonest ouerthroweth. Enuy is so enuyous, that to them, whiche of her are most denied, & set farthest off: she geueth most cruel strokes with her seete. This vn-

happy enuy preparereth popson secretlye for them that enioye great pleasures.

I haue red diuers bookes of Hebrewe, Greke, Latine, and Caldee. And also I haue spoken with many excellent wyse men, to see if there might be found any remedye agaynst an enuyous man. I confesse the truth: reade all that can be red, and imagine, all that can be, demaunde all that can be demaunded: and ye shall find none other cure agaynst this cursed enuy, but to banishe vs fro all the prosperitie, & to dwel in the house of aduersity. How vnhappy are they that be in prosperitie? For surely they that be set by in high estate, cannot fly from the pyl of Scilla, without falling into the daunger of Caribdis. They cannot scape the peryll, without casting their treasures into the sea. I saye that the malady of enuy wil not suffer them to scape fro death, & the medycine that is applyed to them, wil not assure their lyfe. I cannot determyne, which is the best, or to saye moze properly, the worst, extreme misery without the daunger of fortune, or extreme prosperitie, that is alwaies thretened to fall. In this case to be so extreme, I will not determyne sith in the one is a perillous life, and in the other renoume is sure. I shall tel the, what wyse Cicero sayed, when he was pursued with many at Rome: beholde you Romaynes, I hold you not for so good, nor my selfe so euill, to saye the trouth alwayes, nor alwaies to make lies. I am certayne, that ye beare me no enuy, for that I am not as ye be, but it is, because ye cannot be as I am. In this case I had rather that my enemyes had enuy at my prosperitie, then my frendes, at my pouertie.

This oratoure spake after the appetitte of them that be in prosperitie, leauynge to geue remedye to them that be sorowfull. And after this Cicero hadde sene the fleshes of Iarsale, he toke other counsel and remedye, such as pleased hym in Rome. For though Caesar had graunted him his goods, yet that turned not his credence & renoume.

Z. II.

Surely

THE DIAL

Surely frende Piramon, I know no remedye to geue the agaynste enuye, sith thou seest all the woꝛlde ful thereof. We see how we be the sonnes of enuy, and we lyue with enuy, and die with enuy, and he that leueth moſte ryches, leueth the greateſt enuy. The auncient wyſe men counſayled ryche men, that they ſhuld haue poze folkes nere them, and they admonyſhed the poore, that they ſhould not dwel nere to the rich.

And trulye it is good reaſon. For the ryches of ryche men, is the ſede of enuye to the poore. And becauſe the poore man lacketh, and the riche hathe to muche, cauſeth dyſcorde among the people. I ſweare by the Gods immortall, frende Piramon, though they that be euyl would that I ſwere falſelye, as muche as ryches with thought nouſyſſeth couetyſe, ſo muche the enuious nouſyſſeth enuye therby. I tell the one thing, and that is, that it is no good counſel to fly enuye, and to auoyde the vertue contrarye the ſame. Homer ſayeth, that in hys tyme there were two Grekes extreame in all extremities: The one was extreme in riches, and therefore he was persecuted by enuye, and that was Achilles: and the other was ſore noted of malice, but no man had enuye at him, and that was Thieſtes. Certainly I had rather be Achilles with his enuy, then Thieſtes withoute it. Thou knoweſt wel, that we Romaynes ſearch not but for reſt in our life, and for honoz after death. And ſith it is ſo, it is not poſſible but the man that euery mā enuieth his renowne, ought to be exalted in the reſt of his lyfe. And ſithe I ſee thoſe two thinges in the, ſuch as be my frendes takerh litel thought, for that thine enemies murmure agaynſt the. Thou wyrtell to me, how they of Lions do wel, & are merry: except thy ſelfe, that are heuy, and full of penſiuenes, and ſith they ſheue not to haue pleaſure at thy dyſpleaſure, ſheue not thy ſelfe dyſpleaſed with their pleaſure. For it may chaunce one day they ſhall be ſorrowful, when that thou art merry: & ſo thou ſhalt be

quite with them. In an euyl perſon there can be no greater euyl nor in a good mā, a greater faute, then to be diſpleaſed with another mans wealth, and to take pleaſure at a nother mans harme. And in caſe that al do ſo damage with enuy, yet much moze a frend, then the enemy. For of mine enemy I wyll beware, and for feare I wyll withdraue: but my frende with his amity may begyle me, and I by my fideltye ſhall not perceiue. Amonge all mortall enemies there is none woꝛſe then a frende that is enuious of my ſelycitye. Piramon my frende, I wyll conclude, if thou wilt withdraue thy ſelfe from enemies, then kepe compaigny with thine owne ſampylare frendes. I wot not what to wyte moze to the, but with all my herte I lament thy heuyneſſe. Thou knoweſt how thy nece Bruſia was ſlayne with a dagger by her owne huſband. I was very ſorowful for her death, and for the renowne that ſhe lefte behind her. Flavius Priſcus thine vncle is newly made cenſure, The proces betwene thy brother Fornio and Britio is determined by the ſenate, and it pleaſeth me right wel, that they be frendes, and euery man wel contented. The booke intituled the conſolacion of heauyneſſe, I haue ended, and laied it in the capitoll. I haue wyrtten it in greke, and that is the cauſe that I ſente it not to the. But I do ſend the a rich ſwerde, and a faire girdel. Fauſtine my wyfe doeth ſalute the, and ſendeth thy wiſe two ſlaues. The gods be my keepers, and comfort the in thy preſent heuynes. Marke the man fortunate, to Piramon ſore diſcomforſed.

The.lxvi.Chapter.

A letter ſente by rhe Emperour Marcus Aurelius to Cenſorius that vvas ſo ſorowfull for the death of his ſonne, vworthy to be red and noted.

The



He yonge and neëve
censour saluteth the, old and
aunciente Catulus: I haue
wrytten two letters to the, and
thou haste made aunswere to

none of them. If it be because thou couldest
not, I holde my peace: if it be because thou
wouldest not, then I complayne me: if it be
for forgetfulness, then I accuse the: if it be
because thou settest lytel by me, then I doe
appeale the: if thou haste dreamed that thou
hast wrytten: I saye, beleue not in dreames:
And if thou wylt not, it shuld auayle to glo-
ryfy me as a frend, yet thou mightest wryte
it, aduertising and repreuing me, as the fa-
ther to the sonne: yong vertuous persos are
bound to honoz auncient wyse men, and no
lesse olde wyse men ought to endoctrine the
yong people, and very yong as I am. A iust
thinge it is, that the newe forces of youthe
supplie and serue them that are woyn by
age. For their longe experyence instructeth
our tender age, and natural ignoraunce.

Youth is euill applied, when it aboundeth in
force of the body, and wanteth the vertues
of the mynde: and age is honoured, where in
the force dieth outward, where by vertues
quickneth the moze inward. We maye see
the tree, when the fruite is gathered, the
leaves fall, and whē flowers dry, then moze
grene and perfecte are the rootes. I meane
that when the first season of yonth is passed,
whiche is the sommer time, then commeth
age called winter, & putteth the fruite of
the flesh, and the leaues of fauour fall, and
the flowers of delyte wither, and the bynes
of hope dry outwarde, then it is ryght, that
much better are the rootes of good workes
within. They y be old and aunciet, ought to
praise their good workes, rather then their
whitte heares. For honoz ought to be geuen
for the good life, and not for the whitte head.
Glorious is that common wealth, & fortun-
ate is that prince, that is lord of yong men
to crauaile, and auncient persons to coun-
cell. As to regarde the susteynyng of the

natural type of the lyfe, in lyke wyse ought
to be considered the policy of gouernance,
the whiche is, that all the frutes come noz
dry not al at ones, but whē one beginneth,
another faileth. And in this maner, ye that
be auncient teaching vs, and we obedyent,
as olde fathers and yong pulletes, beinge
in the nest of the Senate: Of some their fe-
thers fallng, and other yong fettered: and
where as the olde fathers can not fly, their
trauayles are mainteyned by their tender
chylzen. Frende Catulus, I purposed not
to wryte one lyne this yeare, because my
penne was troubled with thy slouth: but the
weakenes of my spyrite, and the greate pe-
ryl of mine offices alwayes called on me to
demaunde thy counsell. This prouidedge the
olde wyse men holde in their houses where
they dwell. They are alwayes lordes ouer
them that be simple, and are slaues to them
that be wyse. I thinke thou haste forgotten
me, thinkyng that sicke the death of my
dere sonne Verissimus, the time hath ben,
so long that I shuld forget it. Thou hast oc-
casion to thinke so, for many thinges are cu-
red in tyme, which reason cannot helpe. But
in this case I cannot tel which is the grea-
test, thy trumpery or my dolour. I swere to
the by the gods immortall, that the hungry
wozmes are not so puiſſant in the entrails
of the unhappy chylde: as the bitter sorowes
are in y heuy hart of the woful father. And
it is no comparisō, for the sonne is dead but
one tyme, and the heuy father dyeth euery
momente. What wylte thou moze that I
shuld saye: But that one ought to haue en-
uie of his death, and compassion of my life,
because in dyeng, he lyueth, and in the li-
uynge I dye. In the myschaunces of lyfe, and
in the great vncōstancy of fortune, where
as her gyles prospere but lytel, and her
strengthe lesse, I thinke the beste remedye
is to sele it as a man, and dyscymule it as
dyscrete and wyse.

If al thinges as they beselte at heart, shuld
be shewed outwarde with the tongue,

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I thinke that the wyndes should breake the heart with sighinges, & water all the earth with weping. If the corporal eyes saw the sorow of the hart, I sweare to the, they shuld se more of a drop of bloude sweatinge with in, then all the wepinge that appereth with out. There is no comparyson of the greates dolours of the body, to the least greife of the mind. For al traualle of the body, men may finde some remedy, but if the heauye heart speake, it is not heard: if it wepe, it is not sene: if it cōplayne, it is not beleued. What shall the poore heart doe? Abhorre the lyfe, wherewith it dieth: and desire death, where with it lyueth. The highe vertues amonge noble vertuons people, consist not all onely to suffer the passions of the body, but also to dissimule them of the soule. They be suche that alter the humours, and shew it not outwarde: they byng a feuer without altering of the poulce: they alter the stomacke: they make vs to knele to the earth, to suffer the water by to the mouthe, and to take death without leauing of the lyfe: and finally they length our lyfe, to thentente that we should haue no more traualle, and denyeth vs our graue, to thentente that we should not rest. But considering, as I am troubled with sorowes so am I void of cōsolations: for whē I haue either desire of the one, or wepynes of the other, I vse alwayes this remedye to dissimule with the tonge, to wepe with the eyes, and to sele it with my hart. I passe my life, as he that hoped to lese al that he hath, and neuer to recouer that that is lost. I say this, though ye se me not now make funerals wepynges and waylynges, as I dyd at the death of my sonne: yet thinke not but it doeth bzen my heart, so that with the great heate inward, is consumed the humidity of the eyes, for it bzenneeth al my spirittes with in. Thou mayest knowe what an honourable father suffreth, to leese a good chylde: In all thinges the Gods be lyberall, except in geuyng vs vertuons chyldren. Where there is aboundaunce of greates estates,

ther is greatest scarcety of good inheritors. It is a dolefull thinge to heare, and greater pytie to se, how these fathers clyme to haue rycheffe, and to see their chyldren dyscende to haue byciousenes: To see the fathers honour their chyldren, and the chyldren to infame their fathers: ye and the fathers to geue rest to the chyldren, and the chyldren to geue trouble to their fathers: yea and sometyme the fathers dye for sorowe that their chyldren dye so sone, and we see their chyldren wepe, bycause their fathers dye so late. What should I saye more, but that the honour and ryches that the fathers haue procured with greates thought, the chyldren consume with lytel care. I am certayne of one thinge, that the fathers may gather riches with strengthe and crafte, to susteyne their chyldren, but the Gods wyll not haue durable, that that is begonne with euil intencion, as that is whiche is wonne to the pseydyce of other, and possessed with an euill heire. And though the heauy destines of the father permit, that the ryches be lefte to their chyldren, to serue them in all their byces for their pastyme, at last accor dyng to their merytes, the Gods wyll that the heire and herpytage should perryshe. Marke what I saye, I had two sonnes, Comode, and the Prince Verissimus, the yonger is dead, that was greatest in vertue. Alway I imagined, that while the good liued, I shuld be poze, and now that the euil remaineth, I thinke to be rich. I wil tel the the cause, the gods are lopitiful, that to a poze father they neuer geue euil childe: and to a ryche father they neuer geue a good childe. And as in al prosperyty there chaunceth alwayes some sinister fortune, either sone or late, so there with fortune doeth arme and apparell vs, wherein the seeth we shall fall to our greatest hurte. And therefore the Gods permit, that the couetous fathers, in gatherynge with greates traualle, shoulde dye with that hurte, to leaue their ryches to their vicious chyldren euil imployed.

I wepe as much for my child that the gods haue left me, as for him that they haue taken from me. For the small estimation of him that lieth, maketh immortall memory of him that is dead. The yll rest and conuersation of them that liue, cause vs to sigh for the company of them that be dead. The yll is alwaye desired for his ylnesse to be dead, and the good alwaye meriteth to haue his death belayled. I say my frende Catulus, I thought to haue lost my wit, when I sawe my sonne Verissimus die: but I toke comfort againe: for eyther he of me, or of him must be the ende, consideringe that the gods did but lende him to me, and gaue him not, & how they be inheritors, I to haue the vse of the fruite. For al thinges is measured by the iust will of the gods, and not by our inordinate willes & appetites. I thinke when they toke away from me my childe, I restored him to another, and not that they haue taken mine. But sith it is the will of the gods to geue rest to the good childe, and hurt the father because he is euell: I yelde thanks to theym for the season that they haue suffered me to enioye his life, and for the patience that I haue taken for his death. I desire them to mitigate therewith the chauncement of theyr yre. And I desire, sith they haue takē away the life fro this childe, to plant good customes in the prince mine other sonne. I knowe what heavynesse thou hast taken in Rome for my sorowe. I praye the gods to send the joy of thy children, and that I may rewarde the with some good pleasure, for that thou haste wepte for my payne. My wyfe Faustine saluteth the, and truly thou wouldest haue had compassion to se her, for she wepeth wth her eyes, & sigheth wth her hart, & with her handes hurteth her selfe and curseth with her tongue. She eateth nothing on the daye, nor slepeth in the night. She loueth darkenes, and abhorreth light, and therof I haue no maruaile, for it is reason that for that was nourished in her entrayles, she should fele sorowe at her

hart. And the loue of the mother is so strong, that though her childe be dead, and layed in graue, yet alwayes she hath him quicke in her hart. It is a generall rule, that the person that is entirelye beloued, causeth euer great griefe at his death. And as for me I passe the life righte sorowfull, though I shewe a ioyfull face, yet I want mirth at my harte. And amonge wise men beinge sorowfull, and shewinge theyr faces mery, is none other thinge but burying the quicke, hauing no sepulture. And I sweare by the Goddess immortall I feele much more than I haue sayde. And diuers times me thinke I should fall downe, because I dare not wepe with mine eyes yet I fele it inwardly in my harte. I woulde fayne common with the in diuers thinges. Come I praye the to Briette, to the entent that we maye speake together. And sith it hath pleased the gods to take my childe from me, that I loued so wel, I would counsaile with the, that art my louing frende. But felwe dayes passed, there came thither an ambassadour fro the Rhodes, to whō I gaue the most part of my horses: and fro the farthest part of Spayne, there were broughte me 8, of the which I send the 4. I woulde they were such as might please the. The gods be thy safegarde, and sende me and my wyfe some comfort. Marcus Aurelius right sorowful hath wrytten this with his owne hand.

The.lxvii.Chapter.

A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius Emperour to Censorius, of the newes vvhich at that time vver at Rome.



Arcus the newve cenfore to the Catulus nowe aged sendeth salutations. There are ten dayes passe, that in the temple

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of god Ianius, I receyued thy letter. And I take y same god to witnes, y I had rather haue sene thy person. Thou desirest y my letters may be lōg, but the shorynes of time maketh me to aunswere the more bryeflye, than I would. Thou willest me to geue the knowledge of the newes here. Therto I answerē, that it were better to demaunde, if there were any thing remayninge here in Rome or Italy that is olde. For nowe by our euil destinies, all that is good and olde, is ended, and nowe thinges which be euill nowe begin. The emperour, the consul, the Tribune, the Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamines, the Pretours, the Centurions, all thinges be newe save the vertues which be old. We passe the time in making newe officers, in drayling newe counsayles, and in rayling newe subsidies. In suche wise, that there hath bene nowe mo nouelties within these. iiii. yeares, then in time passed in. 400. yeares. We now assemble together 300. to counsell in the capitoll, and there we bragge and holte, sweare and promise, that we wil exalt the vertuous, and subdue the vicious, fauour the righte, & not winke at the wrong, punish the euill and reward the good, repayre olde, and edefye newe, plucke vices by the rootes, and to plant vertues, to amende the olde, and selowe the good, reprove tyrantes, and assist the poore: and when that we are gone from thence, they that speake best wordes are often taken with the worst dedes.

Oh wicked Rome, that now a dayes hath such Senatours, which in sayinge we will do, we wil do, passe their liues and so euery man seeking his owne profite, forgetteth the weale publike. Oftentimes I am in the Senate to behold others as they regarde me: and I maruaile muche to heare the eloquence of their wordes, the zeale of iustice, and the iustification of their persons: and after that I come thans, I am ashamed to se their secrete extorctions, their damnable thoughtes, and their villanies. And yet

there is an other thing of more maruaile, and not to be suffered, that such personnes, as are most defamed, and vse most wicked vices, with their moste damnable incencions, make their auides to do most extrem iustice. It is an infallible rule, and of human malice most bled, that he that is most hardy to commit greatest crimes, is moste cruell to geue sentence against an other for the same offence. We thinke that we behold our owne faultes, as the olde small nettes, which cause thinges to seame the lesser, but we behold the faultes of other in the water, that causeth them to seame greater. How many haue I sene condemned by the Senate, for one smal faulte done in al their life, and yet they them selues committe the same fault euery houre. I haue red, that in the time of Alexander the great, ther was a renowned pirate on the sea, whiche robbed and drowned all shippes that he coulde get: and by commandement of this good king Alexander, there was an army sent forth to take him. And when he was taken and presented to Alexander, the king said vnto him: Shewe me Dionides, why dost thou spoyle on the sea, that no shippe can sayle out of the east into the west, for thee? The pirate answered and sayd: If I spoile the sea, why dost thou Alexander robbe both the sea and land also? O Alexander, because I fight with one shippe in the sea, I am called a thefe, and because thou robbest with. ii. hundred shippes on the sea, & troublest all the worlde with, 200000. men, thou art called an emperour.

I sweare to the Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the gods as extreame against the: they would geue me thine empire, and geue the my litle shippe, and then peraduenture I should be a better king than thou art, and a worse thefe than I am.

These were highe wordes: and wel receaued of Alexander, and of trouthe

to se if his wordes were correspondent to his promises, he made him of a pirate a great captayne of an army, & he was more vertuous on lande, than he was cruell on the sea. I promise the Catulus, Alexander did right well therein, and Dionides was to be praysed greatly, for that he had sayd. Howe adapes in Italy, they that robbe openly are called lordes: and they that rob priuily, are called theues. In the annales of Liuius I haue redde, that in the seconde troublous warre punike, betwene the Romaines and Carthaginense, there came an ambassadour Lusitayn sent fro Spayne, to treat of accord of peace. When he came to Rome, he proued befoze the senate, that sith he entred into Italy, he had bene ten times robbed of his goodes, and whyles he was at Rome, he had sene one of them that robbed him hange by another, that had defended him. He seinge so euill a deede, and howe the thefe was saued without iustice, as a desperate man toke a cole, and wroote vpon the gibet as foloweth.

A gibet thou art planted among theues, nourished among theues, squared of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set among theues, and hanged ful of innocentes, with innocentes. The originall of these wordes are in the history of Liuius, where the whole Decade was writte with blacke ynke, and these wordes with red vermillion. I can not tell what other newes I should send the, but that euery thinge is so newe and so tender, and is ioynd with so euill sement, that I feare me, all will fall sodenly to the ground. I tel the, that some are sodenly risen within Rome vnto honour, whose fall I dare rather assure then life. For al buyldinges hastily made, can not be sure. The longer a tree is kept in his kinde, the longer it will be er it be olde. The trees, whose fruite we eate in sommer do warme vs in winter. How manye haue we sene, wherof we haue maruayled of their risinge, and bene abashed of their

fall. They haue growen as a hole ptece, and sodenly wasted as a skumme. Their felicity hath bene but a short moment, and their infortune as a long life. Finally they haue made a mille, and layde on the stones of encrease, and after a litell grinding, left it vnooccupied all the whole yeare after.

Thou knowest wel my friend Catul⁹, that we haue sene Cincius Fulvius in one yere made consul, and his children tribunes, his wife a matrone for yong maydens, and beside that, made keeper of the capitol, and after that not in one yeare, but the same day we sawe Cincius beheaded in the place, his children drowned in Tiber, his wife banished fro Rome, his house rased downe to the ground, and all his goodes confisked to the common treasury. This rigorous example we haue not red in any booke, to take a copy of it, but we haue sene it with our eyes, to kepe it in our mindes. As the nations of people are variable, so are the conditions of men diuers, and me thinketh this is true, seing that some loue, some hate, and that some seke, some eschewe: and that some let litel by, other make much more. In such wise, that all can not be content with one thing: nor some with al thinges can not be satisfied. Let euery man chose as him liste, and embrace the world when he wil, I had rather mount a soft pace to the falling, and if I can not come thereto, I will abide by the waye, rather then with the sweate to moue hastily, and then to tumble downe headling. In this case sith mens hartes vnderstand it, we nede not to writte further with penne. And of this matter marke not the litel that I do say, but the great deale that I wil say. And sith I haue begun, and that thou art in straunge landes, I will wryte the all the newes fro hens. This yeare the 25. day of May, there came an ambassadour out of Asie, sayng he was of the yle of Cettin, a baron right propre of body, ruddy of aspect, and hardy of courage. He considered being at Rome, though the sommers dayes

were

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were long, yet winter would dwelle on, and then would it be dangerous sayling into this yle, and sawe that his businesse was not dispatched, On a day being at the gate of the senate, seeing all the Senatours entre into the Capitoll, without any armour upon them, he as a man of good spirite, and zelatour of his countrey, in the presence of vs all, sayd these wordes. O fathers conscript, O happy people, I am come from a strange countrey to Rome, onelye to see Rome, and I haue founde Rome without Rome: The walles wherewith it is inclosed, haue not brought me hither, but the fame of theym that gouerne it, I am not come to see the treasury, wherin is the treasure of all realmes, but I am come to see the sacred senate, out of the which issueth counsaile for all men. I came not to see ye because ye vanquish all other, but because I thought you more vertuous then al other. I dare well say one thing, excepte the gods make me blinde, and trouble mine vnderstanding, ye be not Romaines of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the romaynes your predecessours. We haue hearde in our yle, y diuers realmes haue bene won by the valiantes of one, and conserued by the wisdom of all the senate. And at this houre ye are more like to lose, then to winne as your fathers didde: all their exercise was in goodnes, and ye that are their children passe all your time in ceremonies. I saye this, ye Romaynes, because ye haue almost killed me with laughing at you, to see howe ye do all as muche your diligence to leaue your armure without the gate of the senate, as your predecessours did take to them to defend the empire.

What profite is it to ye, to leaue of these armours whiche hurte the bodies, and to put on them, those which slea al the world? What profiteth it to the careful suiter, that the senatour entreth vnarmed into the senate without sword or dagger: & his hart entreth into the senate armed with mallice? O Romaynes, I wil ye knowe, that in our

ile we esteeme you not as armed capstayns, but as malicious senatours. You feare vs not with sharpe grounden swoordes and daggers, but with harde hartes and venomous tongues. If ye shoulde in the senate put on harneys, and therewith take awaye your liues, it were but a small losse, seeing that ye susteyne not the innocentes, nor dispatche not the businesse of suiters. I can not suffer it. I can not tell in what state ye stand here at Rome: For in our ile we take armoure from fooles, whether your armoures are taken awaye as froo fooles or madde folkes, I wot not. If it be done for ambitiousnes, it cometh not of Romayns, but of ttrauntes, that wranglers and presumptuous folke should not be iudges ouer the peacible, and the ambitious ouer the meke, & the malicious ouer the simple: If it be done because yee be fooles, it is not in the lawe of the gods, that thre hundred fooles, shoulde gouerne thre hundred thousande wise men. It is a long season that I haue tarried for mine answer and licence, and by your delays I am nowe farther of, then I was the first day. We bring oyle, hony, saffron, wood, and timber, salte, siluer, and hold out of our yle into Rome, and ye will that we go els where to seke iustice. Ye will haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and another to determine our iustice, ye will that we pay our tributes in one day, and ye will not discharge one of our errandes in a whole yeare. I require you Romaynes determine your selues to take awaye our liues, and so we shall ende: or elles heare our complayntes, to the entente that we maye serue you. For in another maner it may be that ye knowe by hearinge to your eares, which peraduenture ye would not see with your eyes. And if ye thinke my wordes be out of measure, so y ye wil remedy my countrey I set not by my life: And thus I make an ende. Merily friend Catulo, these be the wordes that he spake to the senate which I gate in writing.

I say

I say of trouth, that the hardnesse that the Romaines were wont to haue in other countreys, the same as now straungers haue in Rome. There were that sayde, that this ambassadour shoulde be punished, but god forbid, that for saying trouth in my presence, he shoulde haue bene corrected. It is enough and to much to, to suffer these euils, though we flee not, and persecute those that aduertise and warne vs of them. The shepe are not in suerty of the wolfe, but if the shepherde haue his dogge with him. I meane, dogges ought not to leaue barking for to awake the shepherdes. There is no God commaundeth, nor lawe counsaileth, nor common wealth suffereth, that they whiche are committed to chastice liers, shoulde hange them that saye trouthe. And sith the senators shewe theym selues men in their liuinge, and sometime more humayne than other that be sclauens, who els shoulde deliuer them from chasticement? Oh Rome and no Rome, hauinge nothinge but the name of Rome, where is now become the noblenesse of thy triumphes, the glozpe of thy childe, the rectitude of thy iustice, and the honour of thy temples: for as now they chastice him more that murmureth against one onely senator, than they do them that blasphemie all the gods at ones. For it grieveth me more to se a senator, or censoze to be worst of al other, than it displeaseth me, that it shoulde be sayd, that he is the best of al other. For of a trouth I say to the my frend Catulus, that as now we nede not to seke to the goddess, in the temples, for the Senators are made gods in our handes. This is difference betwene them that be immortal, and they that be mortall. For the gods neuer do thing that is euill, and the Senators do neuer any thing well. The gods neuer lye, and they neuer saye trouthe: the gods pardon offe, and they neuer forgeue: the gods are contente to be honoured fift times in the yeare, & the senators would be honoured ten times a daye. What wyle

thou that I saye more: but what soeuer the gods do, they ought to be prayesed, and the senators in all their workes deserue to be reprobued: Finally I conclude, that the gods are constant in euery thinge, and erre and faile in nothing: and the Senators assure nothing, but erre in all thing: onely for one thing, the senators are not of reason to be chasticed: and that is, when they intend not to amend their faultes, they will not suffer the orators to waste their time to shewe them the trouth. Be it as may be, I am of the opinion, that what manne or woman, withoweth their eares from hearinge of trouth, impossible it is for them to applye their hartes to loue any vertues: be it censoze that iudgeth, or senatour that ordeyneth, or emperoure that commaundeth, or consul that executeth, or orator that preacheth: No mortall man take he neuer so good hede to his workes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he deserueth some chasticement for some cause, or counsaile in his doinges. And sith I haue writen to the thus of other, I will somewhat speake of my selfe, because of the wordes of thy letter, I haue gathered, that thou desirest to knowe of my personne. Knowe thou for certayne, that in the Kalendes of Januarie, I was made censoze in the senate, the which office I desired not, nor I haue not deserued it. The opinion of al wise men is, that no man, without he lacke witte, or surmounteth in folly, wil gladly take on him the burdeyne and charges of other men. A greater case it is, for a shamefast man to take on him an office to please euery man, for he must shewe a countenance outward, contrarie to that he thinketh inward. Thou wilt say, that the good are ordeined to take the charge of offices. Unhappy Rome, that hath wil led to take me in such wise, as to be the best in it. Greuous pestilence ought to come for them if be good, sith I am scaped as good among the euil. I haue accepted this office, not for that I had any nede thereof, but to

THE DIAL

to fulfill the commandment of Anthonius my graundfather. Haue no meruayle of any thing that I do, but of that I leaue to be done. For euery man that is wedded to Faustine, there is no villany but he shal do it. I sweare to the that sith the daye we were wedded, me seemeth that I haue no witt. I leaue wedding for this time, and resourne to speake of offices. Surely a peaceable man ought to be in offices, though it be paynfull: for as the offices are assured among them that be vertuous, so perillously goeth the vertuous folke among offices. And for the troth hereof, recker what they winne, and then thou shalt se what they loose. Say y is good, if thou knewest it, and heare the euil if thou desire to knowe it. He that wil take the charge to gouerne othet, seketh thoughte and trouble for him selfe, enuy for his neyghbours, spurres for his enemies, pouerty for his richesse, a wauking of theues, perill for his body, ende of his dayes, & toymient for his good renoume. Finally he seketh a way to relecte his frendes, and a repeale to reconer his enemies. An unhappye man is he, that taketh on him the charge of children of manye mothers, for he shall be alwayes charged with thoughtes, howe he shold content them all: full of sighes, because one hath to gene him: feare that one shold rake fro him, weeping if he lese: and feare that they infame him. That knoweth this, without long taryng ought to set a byrdell at his head. But I saye of one, as I saye of another. For I wil sweare, and thou wilt not deny it, that we may finde some now a dayes, that had rather be in the parke to fight agaynst the bulles, than be in suerty upon the scaffold. Oftentimes I haue heard say: Go we to the Theaters to renne at the bulles: go we to chase the Hartes and wild Bores: and whē they come there, they renne awaye, not the beastes fro them, but thei from the beastes. In such wise as they went runninge, they retourne agayne fleing. I say, these ambici-

ous persons, procure to gouerne, and are gouerned: they commaunde, and are commaunded: thei rule and are ruled: and finally thynking to haue diuers vnder their handes, these wretches put them selues vnder euery mans fote. For the remedy of all these perilles, my thought is comforted with one thing, and that is without procuring or offeringe my selfe, the senate of their owne wil hath commaunded me. In the, viii. table of our auncient lawes be these wordes. We commaund that in our sacred senate, charge of iustice be neuer geue to him that willingly offreth him selfe to it, but to such as by great deliberacion are chosen. This is certeynly a iust lawe. For men now be not so vertuous nor so louing to the comon wealth, that they wil forget their owne quietnes and rest, doing damage to them selfe to procure an other mans profite. There is none so folishe, that wil leaue his wife, children, and his owne swete countrey, to goe into strange countreyes, but if he se him selfe among strange people, thynking vnder the colour of iustice to seke for his own bristle. I say not this without weeping: that the princes with their smal study & thought and the iudges with their couetise, haue vndermined and shaken downe the high walles of the pollicy of Rome. O my frend Catulus what wilt thou that I should say, but that our credence so miniseth our couetise so largely stretcheth, our hardines so boldeth, our shamefastnes so shameles, that we prouide for iudges to go and rob our neyghbours, as captaynes against our enemies: I let the to witt, where as Rome was beloved for chastisinge the euill, nowe it is as much hated for spoyling the good. I do remember that I red, in the time of Dennis Siracusan, that ruled al Sicile, there came an ambassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, being of a good age, wel learned and valiant in armes, & right curious to note all thinges. He came to Rome to se the maiesty of the sacred senate, the height of the high Capitoll

toll enatrouned with the Colliſſet: the multitude of ſenatours, the wiſedom of the counſailours, the glory of triumphes, the correction of the euill, the peace of the inhabitants, the diuerſitye of nations, the abundance of the mayntenaunce, the order of the offices, and finallye ſeing that Rome was Rome, he was demaunded howe he thought thereby: He answered and ſaid. O Rome at this time preſente worlde, thou arte full of vertues and wiſe men, hereafter thou ſhalte be furniſhed with fooles. Lo what highe and berpe hyghe wordes were theſe: Rome was, vi. hundred yeares without anye houſe of fooles, and nowe it hath bene thre hundred yeares withoute one wiſe or vertuous man. Loke what I ſaye, it is no mockerye, but of trouthe, if the pytefull Gods nowe a dayes byd reſſe oure predeceſſours fro death to life, either they would not knowe vs for theiſe chyldren, or els they woulde atache vs for fooles. Theſe be thinges bleſed in Rome, but thou ſendeſt no worde of that is bleſed in Agripine, I will wyte nothing to the, to put the to payne: wyte to me ſome thinge to reioyce me, if thy wyſe Diniliſa chaunced well of the ſtote that came oute of Cetin with ſalte, oyle, and honye, I haue wel prouyded for her. Wiſte thou, that Floſdius oure vncle was caſt downe by the rage of his horſe, and is deceaſed. Laercia & Colliodorus are frendes together, by occaſion of a marriage. I do ſend the a gowne, I pray to the gods to ſend the loye thereof. My wyſe Fauſtine ſaluteth the. Recommend me to Jamiro thy ſone. The gods haue the in keeping, and contrary fortune be fro me. Marcus thy frend to the Catulus his owne.

The.lxviii.Chapter.

Of a ſharpe letter full of reprehensions ſente by the Empe.Mar.Au. to the amorous ladies of Rome, becauſe in hys abſence they deuised a play of him.



Arke oratoure, readinge in Rhodes the arte of humanitie, to you amorous Ladies of Rome, wyſeth health to your parſons, and amendemente of your deſired lines. It was wyte to me, that at the feaſte of the mother Berecinthia, all you being preſente together, made a play of me, in which you layed my life for an example, and ſlaundered my renowme. It is told me that Auiliſa compoſed it, Lucia Fulvia wrote it, and thou Toringua byd ſinge it, and you altogether into the Theathre did preſente it, you broughte me forth the painted in ſondry formes, with a booke in my hande tourned contrarpe, as a ſained philoſopher, with a longe tongue, as a bolde ſpeaker, without meaſure, with a horne in my heade as a common cuckold, with a nettel in my hand, as a trembling loue, with a banner fallen downe, as a coward capitaine, with my berd halfe ſhauen, as a ſeminate mā, with a cloth beſore my eyes, as a condemned ſoule, and yet not contente with this, another daye ye broughte me forth the poſtracted with another new deuile.

We made a figure of myne, with feete of ſtrawe, the legges of amber, the knees of wood, the thighes of brace, & belly of horne, the armes of pitche, the handes of mace, the head of yello, & eares of an aſſe, the eyes of a ſerpent, the heares of rootes tagged, & tearb of a catte, the tongue of a ſcorpion, and the forehead of lead, in which was wytte in two lynes theſe letters, M.N.S.N.I.S.V.S. which in my opinion ſignifyeth this. This picture hath not ſo manye metalles as hyſe hath changes, this done ye wente to the ryuer, and tyed it with the head downe ward a hole daye, and if it hadde not bene for the good Lady Meſſeline, I thinke it had beneſtied there til now.

And now ye amorous Ladies haue written me a letter by Fuluius Fabricius which greued me nothinge, but as an amorous man from the handes of Ladies I except it as a mockery.

THE DIAL

And to the intent I should haue no lasser to thinke thereon, ye send to demaund a questi-
on of me, y^e is, if I haue found in my booke,
of what, for what, from whence, when, for
whom, and how women were first made, be-
cause my condycion is to take mockes for
mockes: and sith you do desire it, I wyl shew
it you, your frendes and mine haue wrytten
to me, but especially your imbassadour Ful-
sius hath instantly required me so to doe. I
am agreued with nothinge and wyl hold my
peace, save to your letter onely, I wyl make
answere, and sith there hath ben none to
aske the questiō, I protest to none but to you
amorous ladies of Rome I sende my aun-
swere. And if any honest ladye wyl take the
demaunde of you, it is a token that she doeth
enuy the office that ye be of. For of trouth,
that ladye whiche sheweth her selfe annoyed
* with your payne openlye, from henceforth
I condemne her that she hath some faulte in
secrete. They that be on the stage, feare
not the rovinge of the bull, they that be in a
dungeon feare not the shot of the cannon. I
wyl saye the woman of good lyfe feareth no
mans slaundersous tong. The good matrons
maye keape me for their perpetual seruaunt
and the enyill for their chiefe enemye: I aun-
swere. It is expediente you knowe of what
the firste women were made. I saye that ac-
cordinge to the dyuersities of nations that
are in the worlde, I finde dyuers oppynions
in this case. The Egyptians saye, that when
the ryuer Nilus brake, and ouer ranne the
earthe, there abode certayne peces of earthe
whiche cleued together, and the sonne com-
pyng to them, created manye wyld bea-
stes amongst whome was founde the firste
woman. Note Ladyes it was necessary that
the floudde Nilus shoulde breake oute, so
that the firste woman myghte be made of
earthe. All creatures are nourished and
bredde in the intrayles of their mothers, ex-
cepte the woman whiche was bred withoute
a mother. And it semeth moste true, that
withoute mothers ye were borne, for with-
oute rule ye lyue, and withoute order ye

dye, trulpe he taketh vpon him a great thing,
and hath manye cares in hys minde, much
to muse vppon neadeth muche counsel, ne-
deth longe experyence, and oughte to choose
amongest manye women that thinketh to
rule one onelye wyfe by reason. Be the bea-
stes neuer so wyld, at lengthe the Lion is
ruled by his keaper, the bull is enclosed in
the parke, the horse ruled by the byddell, the
littell hoke catcheth the fysh, the Dre con-
tented to yealde to the poke, onely a woman
is a beste whiche wyl neuer be tamed, she
neuer looseth her boldenes of commaun-
dunge, nor by anye byddell wyl be commaun-
ded. The gods haue made men as men, and
beastes as beastes, and mā's vnderstanding
very high, and hys strength of great force,
yet there is nothing, be it of neuer so greate
power that can escape a woman, either with
sleghte or myghte. But I saye to you amo-
rous Ladyes, there is neyther spurte can
make you go, raine that can hold you backe,
byddell that can refrayne you, neither fysh
hoke ne net that can take you, to conclud
there is no lawe can subdue you, nor shame
restraine you, nor feare abashe you, nor cha-
stismente amende you. As to what great pe-
ryll putteth he hym selfe vnto, that thinketh
to rule and correte you, for if you take an
opinyon, the whole worlde can not remoue
you, who warneth you of anye thinge, ye ne-
uer beleue him, if they geue you good coun-
cell, you take it not, if one threaten you,
straitte you complaine, if one praise you then
are ye proude, if they reioyce not in you,
then are you spitefull, if one forbear you,
then are ye holde, if one chastice you, straitte
you become serpentes, finallye a woman
will neuer forget an insury, nor be thanke-
full for a benefite receiued, nowe a daies
the moste symplest of all women will swere,
that they knowe lesse then they doe, but I
swear whiche of them that knoweth least,
knoweth moze euill then all men, and of
trouthe the wyldest man shall fall in their
wysedom. Will ye knowe my Ladyes howe
littell you vnderstande, and how much you
be

ingnorant: that is in matters of imposs-
 raunce, ye determine rashely, as if ye had
 studied on it a thousand yeares, if anye res-
 sist your counsell, ye holde him for a mortal
 enemy, hardy is that woman that dare geue
 counsaile to a man, and he more bolde that
 taketh it of a woman, but I retourne and
 saye that he is a foole whiche taketh it, and
 he more foole that asketh it, but he most foole
 that fulfilleth it. My opinion is, y^e he whiche
 wyl not stumbe amongst so harde stones,
 nor p^{er}icke him selfe amongst such thornes,
 nor stynge hym with so manye nettels, let
 hym hearken what I will saye, and doe as he
 shall see, speake well, and worke euill. In
 promysinge a bove muche, but in perfour-
 mynge accomplishe littell. Finallye allowe
 your wordes and condemne your counsels,
 if we could demaund of famous men which
 are dead, how they liked in their life the cou-
 sel of women. I am sure they woulde not
 nowe rise agayne to beleue them, nor be re-
 usued to heare them. Howe was kinge Phi-
 lippe with Olimpia, Paris with Helaine,
 Alexander with Rosana, Aeneas with
 Dido, Hercules with Deanyrya, An-
 ibal with Tamira, Antony with Cleopa-
 tra, Iulius with Domitian, Nero with
 Agrippina, and if you wil not beleue what
 they suffered with them, aske of me unhap-
 pye man what I suffer amongst you. O ye
 women when I remember that I was boznie
 of you I lothe my life, and thinkeinge howe
 I liue with you, I wish and desire my death.
 For there is no suche death or tormente, as
 to haue to do with you, and contrary no such
 lyfe as to flye from you. It is a common
 falsenge amonge women, that men be ver-
 y vnthankfull, because we were bred in your
 entrilles, We order you as seruautes. Ye
 saye for that ye broughte vs forth with pe-
 rill, and nourished vs with tranel, it is reason
 that we shoulde alwayes employ vs to serue
 you. I haue thoughte dyuers tymes with
 my selfe, from whence the desire that man
 hath to women cometh.

There is no eyes but oughte to wepe,

nor harte but shoulde breake, nor spryte but
 oughte to waile to se a wyse man losse by a
 foolyshe woman.

The folysh louer passeth the daye to con-
 tente his eyes, and the darke nighte in tor-
 mentinge him selfe with sonde thoughtes,
 one daye in hearlinge tidynge, another day
 in doinge seruices, sometime lpyng darke-
 nes, sometime lothinge lyghte, disenge in
 compagne and solitarie liueth, and finallye
 the pooze louer maye that he will not, and
 would that he may not, more ouer the coun-
 sel of his frendes auaileth hym nothinge nor
 the infamy of his enemyes, nor the losse of
 goods the aduenture of honoure, the losinge
 of his lyfe, nor the sekynge of death, nei-
 ther commynge neare, nor flyenge farre,
 nor seinge with his eyes, ne hearynge with
 his eares nor tastynge with his mouth, nor
 fealyng with his hande, and to conclude
 to get victo^{ry} he is allwaye at warre with
 hym selfe.

Then I woulde ye louers knetwe from
 whence youre loue doeth come, it is this,
 The entrayles whereof we are bred be fleshe,
 the brestes that we sucked are of fleshe, the
 armes wherein we be fastened be of fleshe,
 the thoughtes whiche we thinke be fleshy,
 the workes whiche we doe are fleshye, the
 men with whome we liue are of fleshe, and
 the wonder for whome we dye are fleshe, by
 whiche occasyon cometh the renercyng
 of oure fleshe to fleshe, many free hartes,
 are intangeled with the snares of loue.

It semeth well my lades ye were gendes-
 red in puddels as befoze is mencioned of the
 Egyptians, the puddels haue no cleare wa-
 ter to drynke, nor fruite to eate, nor fishe to
 be taken, nor shyppe to saile in.

I meane that in youre liues ye be filthy,
 youre personnes withoute shame, in aduer-
 sitye weake and feble, in prosperytye full of
 deceite and guyle, false in youre wordes,
 and doubrefull in youre doynge in hatynge
 without measure, in loue extream, in gistes
 couetous, in takynge vnshamfast, & finallye I
 say ye are y^e ground of feare, in whom y^e wyse

men finde peryl, & the symple men suffer in-
 jury. In you y wise men holde their renoume
 staundered, & the symple men their life in per-
 nury: let vs omit the opynio of the egyptians,
 and come to the grekes, whiche saye that in
 the desertes of Arabia, the sone shyneth hot-
 test: & at the beginning there was found one
 womā with one bird called the phenix, which
 bird was created of the water, & the woman
 engēdered by the great heat of the sone, and
 of the powder of trees in this wise: their was
 a tree soze eaten with wormes & vpon a time
 a blast of lighning, set it on fier & burnt it,
 so as amongst the ashes of that rotten tree
 the first womā was made & found. Although
 I be a Romaine philosopher, yet can I not
 disallow the opynion of the greke philosopher.
 Of trouth ye amorous dames, ye haue your
 tonges of the nature of fier, and your condy-
 cions like the powder of a rotten tree. Accor-
 dinge to the dyuersitye of beastes, so nature
 hath in dyuers partes of the bodye placed
 their strength, as the Eagle in her byll, the
 Unicorn in the horne, the serpent in y taile,
 the bul in the head, y beare in his pawes, the
 horse in the brest, the dogge in the teath, the
 boze in the tathe, the wood dere in the wyng-
 ges, the womē in their tonges, for of trouth
 the flight of the done is not so hyghe, as the
 fantasy of your folishnes is vaine, the catte
 scratcheth not so soze with her nayles, as ye
 scratche the folish men with your importu-
 nities, the dogge hurteth not hym so much,
 that he runneth after, as ye doe the sozowful
 louer that serueth you, the lyfe of him is not
 in so much daunger that catcheth the bul by
 the hories, as the same of him that falleth in
 your handes. To conclude, the serpent hath
 not somuch poison in his taile: as ye haue in
 your tonges. I excepte the Romaine ladies a
 parte, for there are many very noble, whose
 lyes are not touched w cōplaynte, nor good
 fames had in suspect: of such neither my let-
 ter speaketh ought, nor my pen wyrteth: but
 of those womē I speake y be such, as al y ves-
 tiemus beastes in y worlde haue not somuch
 poyso in their bodies, as one of those hath in

their tōges. And sith the gods haue cōmaun-
 ded, & our face doth permit, y the lyfe of men
 cānot passe w our womē, I aduise the youth,
 and beseeche the aged, I awake the wylse: and
 instruct the symple, to shonne women of euyl
 name moze then y cōmō pestylēce. Readyng
 the aunciet lawes of Plato, I find writē this,
 we cōmaund y al women opely defamed, be
 openly banished the city, to the intent y others
 seing the sinne ponyshed, maye abhorre the
 same, for feare to fal in the like paine: y same
 lawe sated further, we commaund y they par-
 don a woman for al her faultes she commit-
 teth bodely, in case ye se amendmēt likely in
 her, but we wil that no fault be pardoned co-
 mitted by the tong, for actual sinne done, is
 the frailty of nature, the tōg only of malice.
 O diuine Plato, maister and measure of al
 knowledge & science, and prince of al philoso-
 phers. Wē thou in the goldē world madest
 such lawes, in whiche tyme there was suche
 scarcety of those womē which were enill, & so
 greate plenty of them that were good, what
 shuld we do now in Rome, where there be so
 many enill openly, and none good in secrete:
 women naturally oughte to be shamefast in
 their face, temperate in wordes, wise of wit,
 sober in going, honest in conuersatio, pityful
 in cozection, ware in their liuing, and yding
 companies, faithful in their promise, cōstane
 in loue. Finally she that wylbe counted ho-
 nest, let her not trust to the wysedome of the
 wylse, nor commyt her same to the wanton
 youth, let euery wise woman take hede what
 he is that promyseth her oughte. For after
 that the flames of Venus be set on fire, and
 Cupyde shotte hys arrowes, the ryche offe-
 reth all that he hath, and the pooze all that
 he maye, the wylse man wil be euer her frēd,
 and the symple man for euer her seruaunt,
 the wylse man wyl loose her lyfe for her, and
 the symple wyl accepte hys death for her.

The olde men saye, they wylbe frendes to
 their frendes, and the yonge man wyl saye,
 he wylbe enemyes to their enemyes, the a-
 ged promysyng to paye her debtes, the other
 to reuenge her inturpes. Finally the one be-
 cause

because to hide their pottersy, & the other to
publisse their beauty, leade these fooles los-
sing their lues, and bysing their fame to
ende. I wil leaue to speake of the good wo-
men, for I intnde not to charge them with
ougho. I aske your amorous ladies, if Plato
was amongest you when ye made a play of
my life, and drew my plaute about Rome:
no surely, for that I se in your age nowe, I
do suspect that to be true, which hath bene
fated of others; for there are fewe in Rome
that recrate the paine of Platons law. One
thing ye cannot deny; if I were the wo;ke
of al men; at the last ye se the end of my vir-
tues, but this you can not denye, that she
whiche is least enill of all you, the nauities
of her life, I could not sufficiently set out in
al my life: it is greates perill to wyse women
to be neyghored with fooles; it is greates perill
to the shamefast, to be w;th the shameles, it is
great perill to h; chaff to be with the aduou-
teres; greates perill it is for the honorable to
be with h; defamed; for there is no slaunde-
red womā but thinketh eueryone defamed,
or at the least desireth to haue the so; procu-
reth to haue them slauntered, or saith they
be infamed. And in the end to hide their in-
famy, they slaunde al h; good. It is log; like
I knew you amorous ladies & you me, if ye
speake I speake, if you know, I know, if ye
hold your peace, I am still, if ye speake opē-
ly, I wil not talke in secret. Thou knowest
wel Auilina h; didest compasse h; test of me,
that Cumeses solde caufes dearer, in the
butchery, the thou dydest innocent virgins
in thy house. And thou Toringa knowest
wel, h; before me thou couldest not couite all
thy louers on thy fingers; but didest desire
to haue a bushel of peas: thou wottest wel
Lucia Fulvia, whē thou were (thou wot-
test with whom) at Bretis, we made agree-
ment w; thy husband, thou tokest him aside,
and fated, vntes I may lye out of my house
one night in a wake, thou shalt not lie qui-
etly in thy house, thou knowest well Foto-
ria h; in thy yowthe thou were. It veres on h;
sea, & didest copouid w; the pirate h; no womā

shuld serue the hūdered souldiers but thou
alone in the galy. Thou knowest right wel
Egna Curcia, h; when the censor came to
take the, he found. b. mēs apparel, the which
thou wārest in the nyght season, & but one
womā as tre wherwith thou wast clothed
in the day time. Thou knowest wel Pelila-
na Fabricia, h; Alluines Metelles & thou
being married demasided opely what h; had-
dest gotte in his house w; thy frendes in se-
cret; thou knowest wel Camilla not being
cōtent with thy owne countre. folkes, thou
hadest such resort and haunt of strangers
to the, h; thou cāst speake al lāguages. I wil
marke them h; haue marked me, hurt them
h; haue hurted me, persecute the that haue
persecuted me, defame the that haue slaun-
dered me, all other my penne pardoneth for
that they perdoned me in their play: because
my letter began with h; ye did to my parsō,
therfoze I wil end it, with that it knoweth
of your good names. And thus I conclude,
that a man may scape from al daungers in
honning them, but frō women there is no
way but to fle frō them, thus I end and be-
seche h; gods that I may se of you h; whiche
you woulde se of me, and sith ye be louers,
I counsaile you as ye haue sent me h; playe
in a mockerye, euen so to receiue my aun-
swere, Marke Rodian to the amorous la-
dies of Rome.

The lxxix. Chapter.

Of a letter sente by Mar. Au. to his
loue Boemia for that she desyred
to go vwith him to the vvarres.



Arcus the Romaine pretor
being in the warres of Dacia,
sendeth healtie to hys louinge
Boemia, remaning in h; plea-
sours of Rome. Escaping from a cruel bat-
talle, thy few lines I red, & vnderstode thy
large informacio. I let the know, thou hast
affonted me more, then mine enemies haue
feared me, & taking thy letter in my hādes,
the herbe of malice entered into my harre.

THE DIALL

When I temper my body with thy delights,
I thinke my hart free fro the benigne of
thy amours, like I of my will, and thou for
what of power, haue geue vs to be free of our
pleasures, I thinke as well to make a de-
uorce of our sorowes: but ye be such, ye such
I say as are the banishmentes of loue: the
treasure of griefes: the loue of you al oughte
to be digested wth pilles, but y^e passio of one of
you wil not be oppressed with al the rubard
in Alexandria: ye shewe your selues cruel
to pardon an enemy: and every lightly you
chaunge your frendes I haue curiouslye
made serche whyllest delighte gouerned my
youth, yet could I neuer se in a womā sted-
fastnes, nor reason in their loue: nor end in
their hate, thy present wantones quarreleth
with my youth passed: because thou seest not
in me the auncient good will toward the, nor
the present seruice. And certainly heering thy
accusatio: & not my iustificatio, thou mightest
pay me as iustly with death, as I paye
the wth forgetfulness. The whiche forgetful-
nes ought to be as straunge in hym that ser-
ueth: as ingratitude in the lady y^e is serued:
thinkest thou that I haue forgotten y^e lawe
of Venus? when I commaundeth that the
curious louers shuld exercise their strengthe
in chivalry and occupy their hartes in loue:
& more it willes a mā to weare hys geare
cleanly: their sete right, their bodies constant:
their voice softe & humble, demure and mo-
dest of chere: they oughte to haue their eyes
open alwaies looking vp to the wyndowes,
and their hartes ready to fly into the ayer.
For a trowthe my frende Boemia: he is a
grosse louer y^e hath his will in captivity: and
his iudgement free. The iudgement is of no va-
lue where the will is in thraldome, this I
say that thou maist know, though my age
hath lest y^e exercise: yet my vnderstandynge
hath not forget y^e arte: thou complainest be-
cause I geue my selfe to muche quiet, & that
haue forgotte the, I will not deny y^e trueth,
the day of my forgetting maketh the preuy
of my thoughtes. And reason the ouerseer
declareth y^e it is not requisite for my graunt

to permit I shuld loue: no: in thy age to
suffer to be beloued. Though that the world
doth distable many thinges in youth: which
in age meryteth greuous correction. The
wanton toles of youth procede of ignorance,
but the villanies done in age growe of ma-
lice. Whē I walked in nightes: I tettered the
streets, I sang ballades: I gased to y^e wynd-
owes, I played on the gytroones: I scaled
the walles, I wakened the youth. Thinkest
thou I wist what I dyd in my youth but:
like I se my selfe bereued of all my wanted
leanton toles: & polished wth so many whyre
heares, clad wth so manye sorowes: either I
thinke now, I was not the: or els I dreame
now, not knowing the way I stray in, nor
seing y^e stony way ready to stūble in, but wth-
tingly I haue falle into the strates, not for
seing y^e wherilpole, guides I entred in the
rashnes of my youth I lost me: for y^e whyle
I aske pardon, & now y^e I am out of the by-
ers, y^e wouldest haue me furder in, the enner
I was: now y^e I cannot take the purgatio, &
thou offrest to me the stropes, I haue was-
hed al night, & now thou geuest me a fresh
a laram: by our auncient frendshipp I praye
the: & by the gods I cōfure the: y^e sithens my
hart is rebel to thy will: y^e thy doubtful will
doe suffer & let alone my wyl out of doubtre.
And because y^e shuldest not thinke any vng-
ratitude in my whyle heares: as I may in
thy yong & wanton parlo, I wil that we ac-
compte y^e we haue gotten: & that we hope to
get. Tel me what cometh of these vaine ple-
sures: the time euil spent, the same in way of
perdicio, the gods consumed, y^e credite lost,
the gods offended, the vertues slandered.
Fro whēce we get the names of brute beas-
tes: & sūre names of shame: suche be ye, and
others. Thou writest in thy letter how thou
wouldest willingly leue Rome, & come to
se me in the warres of Dacia. Considering
thy folly I laugh, but knowing thy boldnes
I beleue the. And when I thinke on this: I
tourne to my bosome and peruse thy seale:
doubtinge whether the letter were thine or
not, the vaines of my hart do chaunge, my
couler

couler doeth turne, imagininge that either shame hath utterly forsake the or els graunt hath wholly abandoned the. For such lightnes shuld not be beleued, but of þe lyke persons: thou knowest wel, he that doth euill deserueth punishment soner then he that doeth infamy. I would aske þe whether thou wilt go, thou suffrest to be cut as sowen, and now thou wouldest be sold for wine: þe cammest in with cherries, and yet wouldest remaine as quinces, we haue eaten þe in blossomes, and thou wilt be like the fruite: the nuttes be pleasaunt, but the shelles be hard, by dong thou were made ripe in thy youth, and thou wendest to be in flil, þe arte nought els but rotten, and if thou be rotten, thou art to be abhorred, thou arte not contented with xlv. peres which thou hast, wherof xlv. thou dydest passe in tast like to swete wyne that is sold, or like to melones that be rype and melow: art not thou þe Boemia: which lacketh. li. teath befoze: are not thine eyes sonken into thy head: thy heares whiter, thy flesh wrinckeled, & thy hand peryshed with the gout, and one ribbe marred with childe bearing. Whether doest thou desire to go: put thy selfe then in a baryl and cast it into the riuer, so shalt thou be come pure and white. We haue eaten the fresh fish, & now thou wouldest bringe her the stinkinge salt fische. O Boemia Boemia, in this case I see no trust in youth, nor hope in age.

For vnder this thy hored age there is hyd, the panges of fraile youth. Thou complaynest that thou hast nothing, it is an old quarrel of the auncient amorous ladies in Rome, that taking al thinges, they saye they haue leste them nothinge. The cause thereof is, where you do lacke credite, there ye would haue it accompyshed with money, beleue me louing frend, the folish estate of vnlawful gainting, both geueth an vnsecure state, & also an euill fame to the person. I know not how þe art so wasteful, for if I pulled of my ringes to the one hand, þe pickest my purse to the other: greater warres haddest thou then to my coffers, then I haue now to my enemies. I neuer had suell, but þe demaundest

of me, & I neuer denied þe. I find & bewayle now in my age, þe high parties of my youth: of trauel & pouerty thou complainest. I am he that hath great nede of þe medicine for this opilacio, & plaisters for þe sone, & cold water for such a burning seuer. Doest thou not wel remeber how I did banish my necessity into the land of forgetfulness, and placed thy good wil, for þe request of my seruice, in the winter I wet naked, & in the sommer loded with clothes, in the mire I went one fote, and rode in a faire way, when I was sad I laught, when I was glad I wepte, being a fraid I dyed out my strenght, and oute of strenght cowardnes, the nightes to slyghes, & daies in wailing I consumed. When thou haddest nede of any thinge, I robbed my father for it. Tel me Boemia with who dydest thou fulfil thine open follies, but with the misorders þe did in secret: wot ye what I thinke of þe amorous ladies in Rome: that ye be mootes in old garmentes, a pastyme for light persons, a treasure of fooles, & the sepulchres of vices, this þe semeth to me is, þe in thy youth euery man gaue to the, for that thou shuldest geue to euery one, now þe geuest thy selfe to euery man, because euery one shuld geue them to the. Thou tellest me that thou hast two sonnes and lackest helpe for them, geue thanks to the Gods for the mercy they haue shewed the. To. xlv. childe of Falricius my neighbour they gaue but one father, and to thine onely two sonnes they geuen. xlv. fathers, wherfore denyde them to their fathers, & euery one shall not haue a cenger. Luuia thy daughter in ded, and myne by suspect, remeber that I haue done more in marieng of her, then thou dydest byn ingig her forth, for in þe getting of her thou calledst many, but to marry her I did it alone: very litle I wyte to the, in respecte of þe I would wyte, Butrio Cornely hath spokē muche to me on thy behalfe, & he shal say as much to þe in my part, it is long ago sith I knew thy impacience, I know wel thou wilt sed me another letter more malicious, I pray þe sece I wyte to the in secret, discover me not openly, & when thou readest

THE DIALL

this, remember what occasion thou hast ge-
uen me to wryte thus: Although we be sal-
lan out, yet I wyl sende the money. I sende
the a gowne, and the gods be with the Bo-
emia and sende me from this warre with
peace: Marke pretour in Daci, to Boemia
his louer his auncient frend.

The .lxx. Chapter.

The aunsvvere of Boemia to the
Emperoure Marcus Aurelius
vwherein is expressed the greate
malice, and lytle patience of an
euil vvoman.



Boemia thine aunciente
louer, to the Marke of mount
Celio her natural enemy, de-
sireth vengeance of the per-
son: and euil fortune durynge
thy life. I haue receiued thy letter: and there
by perceiue thy spitefull intentes, and thy
cruel mallices. Suche naughty persons as
thou art haue this priueledge: that sith one
doeth suffer your villanies in secrete, you
wyl hurte them openly: but thou shalte not
doe so with me Marke. Although I am not
treasures of thy goods: yet at the least I am
of thy naughtines. All that I cannot reuege
with my person: I wyl not spare to doe it
with my tonge: and though we women for
weakenes sake are easely overcome in per-
son: yet know thou that oure harres are in-
usurible: thou shalt escapyng from a bat-
taille thou receiuedst my letter. wherof thou
wast sore agast. It is a comen thinge to
them that be slouthful, to speake of loue: for
fooles to treat of bookes, and for cowardes
to blase of armes. I saye it because the aun-
swere of a letter, was not needfull to re-
hearse to a woman whether it was before
the battaille or after. I thinke wel thou hast
escaped it, for thou werte not the first that

fought nor the last that fled. I neuer sawe
the goe to the warre in thy yowth: that ener
I was feareful of thy life: for knowyng thy
cowardlines: I neuer take care for thy ab-
sence, I alwaies iudged thy person safe.
Then tel me Marke what doest thou nowe
in thy age, I thinke thou carrest thy lance:
not to serue thy tourne in thy warre: but to
leane on when the goutte taketh the. Thy
head pece I iudge, thou hast not to defend
the from strokes of swerdes: but to drinke
with al in tanernes. I nowe sawe the stryke
any man with thy swerde: but I haue sene
the kyl a thousande women with thy tonge.
O malicious Marke, if thou werte as halp-
aunt, as thou art spiteful: thou shouldest be
no lesse feared amongst the barbarous na-
tions: then thou art abhorred (with good rea-
son) amongst the Romaine nations. Tel
me what thou list: but thou canst not denye
but both thou hast ben and arte a slacke lo-
uer: a cowardly knight: an unknowen frend:
auaricious infamed: an enemy to all men:
and frend to none. Whereouer we that knewe
the a light yong man, cōdemne the now for
an old dotting foole. Thou saiest that taking
my letter into thy handes for the with thy
hart receiued the hearbe of malice. I beleue
the well bnswozne: for any thing touching
malice, doeth straight synde harbor in thy
brest. The beastes corrupted do take poison,
which the sound and of good complectio re-
fuseth: of one thing I am sure, thou shalte
not dye of popson: For seldometymes one
poison hurteth another: but it doeth out the
other: O malicious Marke: if all they in
Rome knewe the as well as the unhappye
Boemia doeth: they shuld se how much the
woordes that thou speakest dyffer from the
intencion of thy hart. And as by the bookes
thou makest thou meryttest y name of a phi-
losopher: even so for the illnest thou inuētest,
thou doest deserue the name of a tyrant.
Thou saiest thou salwest neuer cōsancy in a
womans loue, nor end in her hete: I saye not
a litle that other ladies in Rome as well as

I doe knowe thy smal wisdome: Beholde Marke I will not mocke the: For thou arte such a one as neuer deserved, y one shuld begin to loue, noz end to hate.

Wylte thou haue stabilitie in loue; and thou vnthankful of thy seruice: wilt thou serue in mockery, and be beloued faythfully: wilt thou enioy the parson without spendinge any of thy goodes: wilt thou haue no complayntes on the, and thou ceaseest not thy malice: Thou knowest the ill of women: I wil thou knowe, that we be not so folishe as ye wene vs: noz thou so wise as thou praysest thy selfe to be. Hitherto we haue sene mo men folowe the desire of women; then women haue liked to folowe men. I haue sene a thousand times, yea and thou thy selfe, that one man hath not so mighty a hart, as to ouercome three wise women, and one woman holdeth her selfe stronge enough to subdue. iii. C. light persons.

Thou sayest thou art ashamed of my lightnes, to se me forsake Rome and come to the into the warres. Great is the loue of the countrey, and manye leaue muche goodes which they haue in straunge landes, to liue poorely in their owne: but greter is my loue sith I woulde leaue Rome with the delites therin, and come to seke the in straunge landes among the rude souldiours. O malicious Marke, o straunge frende. If I leaue Rome, it were to go seke my hart which is with the in the warres. And certaynlye oftentimes when I thinke of thy absence, I fall into a swoone, as one that had no hart: but I neuer finde remedye. I thinke out loue is not like to these beastes, which haue their mindes only vpon sensuall pleasures, without the conioyning of the louing hartes. I sweare to the by the goddes, Vestal: the mother Berecintha: that thou owest more to me for the loue I haue bozne to the in one day, then for the seruice I haue done to. y in. xxi. yeres. Behold unhappy Marke howe much and deariye I loued the: in thy presence I alwayes beheld the: and absent

I alwayes thought of the. Sleeping I dreamed on the, I haue wept for thy sorowes, and laught at thy pleasures, and finally all my welth I wished y: at thy misfortunes I toke as mine, I ensure the of one thinge: that I fele not so much the persecutiō thou hast done to me, as if I do the wayling for getfulness thou shewest to me. It is a great grieue to a conetous man to lose his goods but without comparison it is a greater torment for the loue to se his loue full bestowed. It is a hurt that is alwayes sore, and a payne alwayes paynesfull, a sorow alwayes sorowfull, and it is a deathe that neuer endeth. O if men knew howe dearly and faith fully women do loue, when they are bent to loue: and with what malicious hart they hate, beinge set to hate: I sweare to you ye would neuer company with them in loue: or if ye did loue them, ye would neuer leaue for feare of their hate. And as there is neuer great hate, but where there was firste much loue: euen so thou shalt neuer be greatly hated, for that thou wert neuer truly beloued of the ladies. The sorowfull Boeme hath loued the. xxi. yeaues of her life: and now she only hateth the till after her deith. Thou sayst I may be eaten for bergisse: and yet wold be sold for wine. I knowe I haue erred as one both yong and light: and when I found me to strape out of the waye, and my mishappe could no way, noz remedye: It is a great losse of al losses when there is no remedye. I haue offended as a weake and frayle woman, but thou as a man strong. I erred by simple ignorance, but thou of a purposed and wilful malice: I sinned not knowing that I did amisse: but thou knewest what thou diddest: I did credite thy wordes as a faythfull knight: and thou betrayest me with a. 1000. lyes as a common lyer: Tell me diddest not thou seke occasion to come into my mothers house Getulia, to entise me her doughter Boemia to thy minde: diddest not thou promise my father, to teache me to reade in one yeare: and read

THE DIAL

dest me Ouide of the arte of loue: diddest not thou sweare to marry me, & after withdrew thy hand as a false aduouterer: doste thou not knowe that thou neuer foundest in my parsonne anye villanye, nor in thy mouth anye truthe: At the leaste thou canst not deny but thou hast offended the goddess, thou art defamed amongst men, odious to the Romaynes, a slanderer of the good folkes, an example to the ill, and finallye a traitour to my father, a breaker of thy faith to my mother, and to me the unhappy Boemia an unkind louer. O malicious Marke hast thou not cut me in leaues, offering to my father to kepe his vines safe? Cuell may the chicken trust the kite, or the lambe the wolfe, or the doo the faucon, but thou art worse to bring by the daughters of good men. O cursed Marke, a hurtfull keeper of vines hath the matrones of Rome found thee in keepinge their daughters. I sweare that there was neither grape nor cluster, but it was either eaten or gathered by thee, thou diddest eate me grene, for the which I promise thee it hath set thy teethe on edge.

Thou sayest I was rised by power of heat and strawe. It greueth me not so much that thou sayest it, as that thou givest me occasion to say to thee, thy shame is so shameles, and thy euill so malicious, that I can not make aunswere to thy purpose, onlesse I rubbe thee on the quicke. I asse the when thou marpedst Faustine: whether thou soudest her grene or rype? thou knowest well and so do I also, that other gaged the vessel, and thou drankest the lyes, other had the meate and thou the huskes, other dyd eate them beyng grene and with the refuge set thy teath on edge. O cursed marke: behold howe great thy euels are and howe the goddess haue iustly punished thee, that beyng young thou couldest not deserue to be beloued of thy louers, nor yet nowe in thy age thy wyfe kepe her faythe to thee. For me to be reneged of thy parson, I nedeno more

but to se thee married to Faustine. By the mother Berecynthia I promise thee, that yf thy smal wisdom might attayne to knowe at the full what they saye of thee, and her in Rome, thou wouldest wepe both daye and night for the life of Faustine, and not leaue the woful Boemia. O Marke litell care is taken for thee, and howe ferre is our vnderstanding vncoupled from thy thoughtes. For through thy great learning, thy house in the daye time is a scole of philosophers, and the wantonnes of thy wise Faustine in the night maketh it a receypte of ruffians. It is a iust iudgement of the goddess, sith that thy malice onely sufficeth to poison many that be good, the euilnes onely of one woman, shalbe enough to spoyle and take away thy good renoume. One difference there is betwene thee and me, and thy Faustine, whiche is, that my factes are in suspette: and yours done in derde, mine be in secrete, but yours knowne openlye, I haue but stumbled, but you haue fallen, for one onely faulte I deserue punishment, but you deserue pardon for none. My dishonour dyed with my facte, and is buried with my amendmēt, but your infamy is bozne with youre desires, nourished with youre malices, and spyl with your workes.

Finally your infamye shall neuer dye, for you liued neuer well.

O Marke malicious, with all that thou knowest, doste not thou knowe that to dye well, doth couer an euill fame, and to make an ende of an euill life dothe begin a good fame?

Thou ceaseest not to saye euill onely of suspette, whych thy false iudgements geue thee, and yet wouldest thou we shoulde conceale that we se with our eyes.

Of one thing I am sure, that neyther of the nor of Faustine there hath bene anye false witness. For there are so many true euilles, that there needeth no lyes to be inuented.

Thou

Thou sayest it is an olde custome with the amorous ladies in Rome, though they take of many, yet they are the poorest of all: because we want credite, we are honored for silver. It is most certaine, that of holpe we loke for prickes, of acozns, huskes, of nettels stinging, and of thy mouth malices, I haue seriously noted: I neuer sawe the say well of any, nor I neuer knewe any that would the good. What greater punishment can I desire for thy wickednes, or more vengeance for my iniuries, then to see all the amorous ladies of Rome discontented with thy life, and to thinke on thy death: cursed is the man whose life many do bewaile, and in whose death every one doth reioyce. It is the property of such unthankful wretches as thou arte, to forget the great good done to them, and to repent that little they geue. Howe much the noble hartes do reioyce in geuing to other: so much they are ashamed to take seruice unrewarded. For in geuing they are lordes, and in takinge they become slaves. I aske what it is thou hast geuen me, or what thou hast receyued of me: I haue aduentured my good fame, and geuen the possession of my parson: I haue made the lord of me and mine: I banished me, from my countrey, I haue put in perill my life: in recompence of this, thou dost detect me of miserie. Thou neuer ganest me ought with thy hart, nor I toke it with good will, nor it euer did me profite. As all thinges recouer a name, not for the worke we openly see: but for the secrete intencion with which we worke, euen so thou unhappy man desirest me, not to enioye my parsonne, but rather to haue my money, We ought not to call the a cleare lover, but rather a thefe and a wily person. I had a little ring of thine, I minde to throwe it into the riuer, and a gowne thou ganest me, which I haue burnt, and if I thought my boode were increased with the bread I did eate of thine, I would cut my fleshe being whole, and let out my blood without feare, I ma-

licious Marke, thy obscured malice will not suffer the to vnderstande my cleare letter. For I sent not to the to aske money to relieue my pouerty and solitarines, but only to acknowledge and satisfie my willinge hart. Suche bayne and conetous men as thou, are contented with giftes, but the hartes incarnate in loue, are not satisfied with a little money. For loue is rewarded alway with loue, the man that loueth not as a man of reason but like a brute beast, and the woman that loueth not where she is beloued, but onely for the gaine of her bodye, suche ought not to be credited in wordes, nor their persons to be honored. For y loue of her en, when goodes falleth: and his loue when her beauty decayeth. If the beauty of my face, did procure thy loue, and thy riches onely allured my good will, it is righte, that we should not be called wise louers, but rather foolish persons. O cursed Marke I neuer lo- ued the for thy goodes, although thou lykedst me for that I was sayre. The I loved with my hart, and now I abhorre the with al my hart. Thou sayest the gods bled great pity on me to geue me felwe children, and them many fathers. The greatest faulte in women is shameles, and the greatest villany in men is to be euil sayers. Diuers thinges ought to be borne in the weakenes of women, which in the wisdomme of men are not permitted. I saye this for that I neuer sawe in the temperance to cloke thine owne maliciousnes, nor wisdomme to shadowe the debility of others. Thou sayest my children haue many fathers, but I sweare to the, that the children of Faustine shall not be fatherles, although thou die, and if the gods as thou sayst haue bene pitifull to my children, no lesse art thou to straunge children. For Faustin kepeth the but to excuse her faultes, and to be tutor to her children: O cursed Marke, I needest not take thought for thy children haue no nede to be married: For one thing we are bound to the, that is the example of thy patience, for sins thou sufferest

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sufferest Faustine in so many open infamies, that it is no great neede we suffer any secreete in the. For this presente I saye no more I ende my letter, desiringe to se thozt by the ende of thy life.

The, lxxi. Chapter.

Of a letter vvhich the emperoure Marcus Aurelius sent to the ladye Macrine the Romaine of vvhom (beholdinge her at the vvindewve) he became enamoured, vvhiche declareth vvhath force the beauty of a fayre vvhoman hath in a vveake man.



MArke, the verye desirous to the lady Macrine greatlye desired, I know not whether by my euill aduenture, or by happe of my good aduenture: not longe agoe I sawe the at a windowe, where I hadst thy armes as close, as I my eyes displayd, that cursed be they for euer, for in beholdinge thy face, forthewith my hart abode with the as prisoner. The beginning of thy knowledge is the end of my reason, and falling in thourning one euill, come infinite trauayles to men. I say it for this, if I had not bene ybell I had not gone out of my house, and not gone out of my house, I had not passed by the streete: and not going throug the streete, I had not sene the at the windowe, and not seinge the at the windowe, I had not desired thy person, & not desiring thy person, I had not put thy fame in so great perill, nor my life in doubt: nor we had geuen no occasion to Rome to speake of vs, for of trouth lady Macrine, in this case I condemne my selfe. For willingly I do behold the. I did not salute the, although thou desirest to be sene. Sith thou were set vpp as a white, it is no meruayle

though I thotte with the arrowes of my eyes at the but of thy beauty. with rolling eyes, with shewes bent, wel coloured face, intarnate teethe, ruddy lippes, coured heere handes set with ringes, clothed with a thousand manner of coloures, hauing purses full of swete sauoures, the braceletes and eare ringes full of pearles and stones. Tell me what this meaneth. The moste that I can thinke of this is, sith you shewe vs your bodies openlye, ye woulde we shoulde knowe your desires in secret. And if it be so as I beleue it is it semeth to me, lady Macrine thou oughtest to loue him, that likeeth the, to ensoure him that seeketh the, to sware him that calleth the, to seale him that sealeth the, and to vnderstande him that vnderstandeth the, and sith thou vnderstandest me, I do vnderstand the, & vnderstand that thou knowest not. I do well remembre as I wer by the street solitarily to see the neare put to death, my eyes sawe the at a windowe: on whom dependeth all my desires. Woe iustice thou dost to me, then I to the theaues: for I being at iustice, thou hast iusticed the iustice, and want dare pain the. The gallows is not so cruell to the which neuer knewe but doing euill, as thou arte to me which neuer thoughte other but to serue the. They suffer but one death, but thou makest me suffer a thousande, they in one daye and one houre ende their lyues, and I eche minute do feele the panges of death. They died giltly, but I innocently, they dye openlye, & I in secreete. What wilt thou I say more to the, they wepte for that they died, and I wepe teares of bloud from my hart, for that I liue. This is the difference, their tormentes spreadeth abrode throug al their body, & I kepe mine together in my hart. Cruell Macrine, I knowe not what iustice this is, y they kill men for robbing and stealing of money, & suffer women to liue which steale mens hartes. If they take the liues fro them that picke purses, whye then do they suffer ladies which robbe oure entrailles

By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddess Venus I confure the, eyther satisfie for my desire, or restore to me mit hart which thou haste robbed from me. I woulde thou knewe lady Macrine the cleare intencion of my harte, rather than this letter witten with my hand. If my happe were so good and thy loue would permitte me to speake with the, I would hope by sight and speech to winne that which I am in suspect by my letter to lose. The reason wherof is because thou shalt read my rude reasons in this letter, and if thou sawest me, thou shoulde see the bitter teares which I wold offer to the in this my unhappy life. That my mouth could publish my cruel peynes as my hart fealeth them. I sweare to the lady Macrine that my woful playntes, would stirre vpp thy smal care, and as thy beauty hath made the thine owne, so thy knowledge of my grese should make the mine. I desire thou wouldest regarde the beginning, and therewith note the ende. For of truth, the same day I thou imprisonest my harte at thy window in the dungeon of my desires, I had no lesse weakenes to overcome, then thou haddest strengthe to enforce me, and greater was thy power to take me from my selfe, than my reason was to put me from the. Nowe lady Macrine I do not aske other mercy of the, but that we may declare our mindes together. But in this case what wilt thou I say vnto the: but that thou hast so much power ouer me, and I so litell of my libertie, that though I would not, my hart must needs be thine, and that being thine, thou wilt shewe thy selfe to be mine. And sith it may not be, but that my life muste be condemned in thy seruice, be thou as sure of my faith, as I am doubtful of thy good will: for I shal haue a greater honour to be lost for thy sake, then to winne any other treasure. I haue no more to say to the now, but that thou haue respect to my perdition, and drawe life out of my death, and tourne my teares to ioye, and because I hold my faith

in thy faith, and wilt neuer dispaire in thy hope, I sende thee x. litel ringes of golde, with x. ringes of Alexandria, and by the immortall goddess I confure the, that when thou putttest theym on thy finger, thou receyuest my loue into thy hart. Marcus thy louer wrote this with his owne hand.

The, lxxii. Chapter.

Of an other letter, vvhiche the emperour sente to the Ladye Macrine, vvherein he expresseth the firy flames vvhiche consume sonest the gentle hartes.



MArke thy neyghboure at Rome, to the Macrine his swete enemy. I call the swete for it is Iust I die for the: and enemy, because thou ceasest not to kill me. I can not tell howe it is, but sith the feast of Ianis hitherto, I haue witten thre letters vnto the, in the answers whereof I woulde haue bene contented to haue receyued but. ii. fro the. If wold I serue the, thou wilt not be serued, if I speake to the, thou wilt not answer me, if I behold the, thou wilt not loke at me, if I call the, thou wilt not answer me, if I visite the, thou wilt not se me, if I write to the, thou wilt make no answer, and the worst of all is, if others do shewe the of my greses, thou takest it as a mockery. That I had so much knowledge where to complayne to the, as I haue power to cease my playnt, then my wisdom should be no lesse praised amonge the wise, then thy beauty amongest the foolles. I beseeche the hartely not to haue respecte to the rudenes of my reasons, but regarde the faith of my teares, which I offer to the as witnes of my wyll. I knowe not what profits may come by my harme

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harme, nor what gayne of my losse thou mayst hope to haue, nor what suerty of my perill thou mayste attayne, nor what pleasure of my payne thou maiste haue, I had aunswere by my messenger that withoute reading my letters with thy owne handes thou diddest rent them in piéces, it oughte to suffice the to thinke howe many partos is tormented. If it had pleased you ladye Macrine to haue red those fewe lines, by which you should haue perceyued howe I am inwardly tormented. Ye womé be very extreme and for the misaduenture of one man, a woman wil complayne of all men in generall, so ye all shewe cruelty for one particuler cause, openly ye pardon al mens lines, and secretly ye procure death to all. I accompte it nothing lady Macrine that thou hast done, but I lament that whiche thou causest thy neighbour Valerius to say to me.

One thinge I woulde thou shouldest remember, and not forget, that is, With my liberty is so small, and thy power so great, that being wholly mine, am tozned to be thine, the more insurpe I doost to me, the more I hurtest thy selfe, sins by the I die, as thou by me doost liue. In this peruers opinion abide not, so mayst thou hatarde the life of vs both. Thou hurtest thy good name and destroyest my health, in the ende thou must come to the same phispyke. Pardone me lady Macrine if I say ought that maye offend the, I knowe ye women desire one thing greatly, that is to haue souerainty of vs, & yet not seme so muche as by thought to wishe the same. Thou haddest the same of a gentle nature though in deede thou were not so, yet thou haddest the same thereof, and an auncient good name oughte not to be lost with a newe unkindenes. Thou knowest howe contrarpe ingratitude is, to vertue in a vertuous house. Thou canst not be called vertuous, but if thou be curages.

There is no greater ingratitude, then not to loue agayne. Though I blicke the and thou not me, it is nothing though I remember the, and thou forgettest me, it is nothing, though I wepe and thou laugh, it is nothing, though I craue of the, and thou deny me, it is nothinge, though thou owest me, and paye me not: it is nothinge, but if I loue the, and thou not me, this is a great thinge, whiche the eyes can neyther dissimule, nor the hart suffer.

Althe vices in mortall men are to be pardoned because they offend naturally saue onely this discourtesy in women, and vngentlenes in men, whiche are counted of masculine,

Diuers seruices by me done to the: and all the good willes I haue heretofore bozned to the, thou onely ladye Macrine with one thinge reward me.

I praye the be not slacke to healepe me, for I was not so to offer me into perill.

If thou sayst that Patroclus thy husbände hath the property in the, at the least yet receyue me vpon prose, and I will pretende a possession of the, and in this wise the baine glorie in being thine, shall hide the hurte beinge mine.

Thou makest me maruayle not a litell that for so small a rewarde, thou wilt suffer so great an importunitie.

For certaynly we graunt manye thinges to an importunate man, which we deny to a temperate man.

If thou lady Macrine hopest to ouercome me, Beholde I yelde me as vanquished, if thou wilt lose me, I holde me losse, if thou wilt kyll me, I holde me deade:

For by the gestures whiche I make before thy gate, and the secrete sighes whiche I fetch in my house, thou mayst know how greatly I minde to resse, but thy braue assaults are rather buildinges to nourishe death, then to comfourt the life.

If thou wilt I escape this danger, done me not remedy. For it shalbe a greater dishonour for to slea me, then shame to saue me. It is no lust thinge for so small a gaynte to lose so faithfull a frende. I wote not howe to make the my detter, nor howe to make the paye me, and the worst of all is, I know not what to say, nor howe to determine. For I was not borne to my owne wealth, but to be faithfull in thy seruices, and syth thou knowest whom thou hast trusted with thy message, the same I do trust with this open letter, and my aunswere in secrete. I do sende to the a fewell of pearle, and a piece of gold, I pray the gods make the receyue them as willingly, as I do frely send them. Marke oratour to the Inerorable macryne.

The .lxxiii. Cpapter.

Of a letter vvhiche the emperoure Marcus Aure. sent to the beautifull Ladye Lybia, vvherein he proueth that loue is naturall, and that the mooste parte of the philosophers and vwise menne haue bene by loue ouercome.



Marke full of sorowve to the careles Lybia. If thy lytell care did lodge in me, and my sorowes were harbert in me, thou sholdest then se how litell the quarell is that I make to the, in respect to the tormēt I suffer. If the flames issued out, as the fire doth burne me within, the heauens should perishe with smoke, and the earth should make imbeare. If thou do well remember the first time I sawe the in the temple of the virgin Vestals, thou bring there diddest alway pray to the gods for thy selfe, and I vpon my knees prayed

to the for me. Thou knowest and so do I, that thou diddest offer oyle and honny to the goddes, but I did offer to the teares & sighes. It is lust thou geue more to him that offered his hart; then to him whiche draweth money out of his purse. I haue determined to wyte to I this letter; wherby thou maist perceyue howe thou art serued with the arrowes of my eyes; which were shorte at the white of thy seruice. O vnhappy that I am I feare least this present calme, doth threaten me with a tempest to come. I will saye that discourtesy in the, causeth doubrefull hope in me. Behold my misaduenture, I had lost a letter, and tourninge to the temple to seke it, I found the letter whiche was of small importaunce, and had almost losse my selfe, which is the greatest thing. Considering my small reward, I se my eyes the ladders of my hope, set on so highe a wall, that no lesse certayne is my fall, then my climming was doubrefull. Thou bendinge downe thy harnes of thy high desertes, and putting me to the poynt of continuall seruice, suffrest me to enioy the fruit, & geue to whom thou wilt the leaues. By the immortal goddes I sweare, that I marryale not a litell, for I thought that in the temple of the virgin Vestalles no temptacion could haue come to man, but nowe by experience I finde that that woman is easelster ouercome, which is most watched, then the other. Al bodily diseases be first had or they be knowen, and knowen or they be sene & sene or they be felt, and felt or they be tasted & so in all thinges except lone thys, whom they first seale the stroke therof, before they knowe the waye howe it commeth. The lightening commeth not so sodayne but it is knowen before by the thunder, the wal falleth not sodeynly, but first some stones fall downe, the rold commeth not so faste, but some small shiaering is sene before, onely lone is not felt untill he hath had power in the entraples. Let them knowe that are ignorant and thou lady Lybya if thou wilt knowe

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knowe. Loue sleapeth when we wake, and waketh when we slepe, laugheth when we weape, and wepereth when we laugh, it assur-eth in taking, and taketh in assuringe: it speaketh when we be still, and is still when we speake. And finally it hath such a condition, that to geue vs our desire it causeth vs to liue in payne. I sweare vnto the, whē my wil became thy seruauant, and thy beauty made the my mistres, when I was at the temple, and there found the, neyther thou in thy prayer didst minde me, nor I unhapp- py man did thinke on the. O unhapp- y hart of mine, that being hole thou art deuided, being in health thou art hurt, being alpyne thou art killed, being mine thou art stolen, and the worst of all is, that thou not hel- ping to my life, consentest that death shall assault me. Considering many times lady Lybia with my selfe, my thoughtes to be high, and my fortunes base, I would haue seperated my selfe from the, but knowing my trauayle to be well employed in thy ser- uice, I saue though I might, I would not be seperated from the. I will not deny one thing, that is, y^e cursed loue taketh awaye the tast of al thinges, and in those thinges onely it geueth vs pleasure, whiche are greatly agaynst our profite. This is the profe of him that loueth hartelye, that one crowne of her that he loueth, dothe moze greue him, then all the delightes of the rest of his life can please. I deme ladye Lybia thou art abashed to se me openly as a philo- sopher and to knowe me secretlye as a lo- uer. I beseeche the hartelye discover me not, for if the goddess graunt me long life, I am determind to amend my parson, & though I am now a yong foole, yet in age I wil be wise. The goddess knowe what I desire, and the force which doth enforce me there vnto. And as the fleshe is weake and the hart tender, the occasions manye, the ver- tues fewe, the world deceptfull, the people malicious, so I passe this spring time with floures, in hope that in haruest I shal haue

some fruite. Thinkest thou ladye Lybia, that philosophers be they neuer so wise, are not touched with the sharpe dartes of loue: & y^e vnder their course clothes there is not soft fleshe and white? Certaynly amon- ges harde bones, is nourished soft fleshe, and with in the prickling huskes growe the chesse nut. I saue that vnder simple attyre is the faithfull lone.

I do not deny but our frayle nature doth withstand our vertues. Nor I denye not but y^e the wanton desires are repressed wth vertuous mindes, nor I deny not but y^e the rashnes of youth are restrayned wth the reynes of reason. I deny not but many ti- mes wisdom dothe withstande that that the fleshe procureth, and yet I confesse that he that is not amorous is a foole. And dost not thou knowe althoughe we be wise, we leaue not therfore to be men: dost not thou knowe all that euer we learne in our life, suffiseth not to gouerne y^e flesch one houre: dost not thou knowe that to wise men in this case hath fallen many errours: doste not thou knowe that there haue bene and are many maisters of vertues. and muche moze there are and hath bene folowers of vices: then why doste thou make suche a wonder onely of me? I wil not say it with out a trouthe, that I neuer had my iudge- ment so good and persite, as when Cu- pide blew wind on me with his win- ges. There was neuer man vntill my time accompted wise, but first he was entang- led with Cupides snares. Gratian was in loue with Tamira, Solon Selaminus the gener of the lawes was enamoured with one Grettane Pitacus Mitelenus, lest he his owne wife and was in loue with a bonde womanne, that he broughte from the warre. Cleobulus when he was 80. yeare old, and had red philosophye, 45. yeres, climmng vpp a ladder to scale his neighbours house fel, and of the bruse dis- ed. Periander prince of Achaia and these philosopher at Grece, at the instance of
his

his louers, fletwe his owne wife. Anacharsis a Philosopher, a Sitchian by hys father, and a Greke by the mother syde, loued so dearely a frend of hys called Tebana, that he taughte her all that he knew, in somuch that he beinge sicke on his bed, the red for him in the scholes, Epimenides of Crete, that slepte .xv. yeares with oute wakynge, Althoughe he was a greate worshypper of the Gods, yet was he banished Athens .x. yeares for the landynge of women, Archytus Tarentinus the maister of Plato, and scholer of Pithagoras, occupied hys mynd moze to inuente new kindes of loue, then to employe hys minde to vertues and learnynge. Borgias Cleontino, bozne in Scicil had moe concubines in hys house, then bookes in his studie. All these were wise men, and we knewe them wise, yet at the end they were ouercome with the fleshy.

Therefore blame not me alone, for as I haue tolde the of these selwe, so could I of a hole army. For of trouth, he ought to haue many thinges that wilbe accompred a curious loue, he must haue his eyes dysplayed on her that he loueth, his vnderstandynge muche altered in that he thinketh, his tong troubled in that he shuld speake, so that in seynge he be blinde, in thynkinge dysmaide, in speakynge troubled. O ladye Libia, the loutynge in mockery, passeth by mockery,

our wybere as trewe love is grete is grete and no mockorpe, there hee spytte hys popson, and cruell Cupide fireth his arrowes by to the feathers, the eyes wepe, the harte sigheth, the fleashe trembleth, the senewes doe shrinke, the vnderstanding is grosse, reason faileth, and so al faileth to the earth. Finally the heauy loue abyding in him selfe, holpeth nothing of hym selfe. All this I say because if I want knowledge to make me a loue, yet am I sure that the woorkes faileth in me to woork the thy seruice. And thoughe by mishappe I saw the ver by good chance, I knewe the: I aske nothing of the but that thou loue me faithfully, sith

I loue the vnfaignedly, and if thou hearest that I am sicke from my harte, I desire the to doe me some good. Sith it is only in the to heale me, it is reason thou only do seke for remedy. I was greatly comforted when Fulius Carlinus desired me in thy behalfe to doe a pleasure, which I dyd in contentment that thou desiredst, to the intent that thou another daye shouldest doe frankly that I desire the. And beholde lady Libia, the woman that is serued with seruices, it is reason with in a while, she be sued vnto by prayer. And thoughe my strengthe cannot open the gates of the purpose, or not agreynge to thy demaunde, yet all my labours flake to vpholde thy renowne: I praye the dyscouer not the one, nor begyle me with the other. For thou seest in grantynge, is remedye, and in hopynge is comforte. But promise is deceivable, and delayeng is peryllous, and the entertaynyng byndeth. I see wel that the harty demaund, requyareth a longe aunswere. But I would not thou shouldest doe so, but as I loue the, so loue me, as I desire of the, so graunte thou me. I wyll saye once agayne I am all thine, and nothynge my owne. And note Ladye Libia, that it as muche honoure to the, as profytable for me, that thou chaunge these thy desires, and put in order, thy disorderd will. For thou seest it is muche better

to heale. Shorrelpe then to late with failynge thy purpose. All women obserue one euyl oppynion, that is, ~~ye neuer receiue~~ counsell, althoughe it be geuen you in neuer so waighthy a case. And if it be not so, then because thou arte esteemed beautifull, be lyke wyse honoured for takynge of good counsell. In this sorte, though my losse be much, and thy pacience litel, yet shall they accept me wise in geuynge counsell, and the mosse happy to folowe it. One thinge I will saye to the, and pardon me therein, women be so muche defamed in that they wyll take no counsell, and suche as doe assure their renowne so muche on the iudgemente of o-

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thers, as they condemne wel doing before.
I thinke good if it so lyke the, and woulde
if thou wylte, that thou shoulde doe in all
poyntes as I haue counseled the. I will say
no more Ladye Libia, but that I doe pre-
sente to the all my vnfortunate troubles,
my sighes as a desperate man, my seruice
as thy seruante, my troubled greses, my

wordes of Philosophy, and my teares as a
lover. I sende the here a gyrdel of golde, on
condicion that thou allwayes fire thy eyes
on that, and thy harte on me. I praye the
gods geue me to the, and the to me. Marke
the open Philosopher wrote this in greate
secrete.

FINIS.

St Christo

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